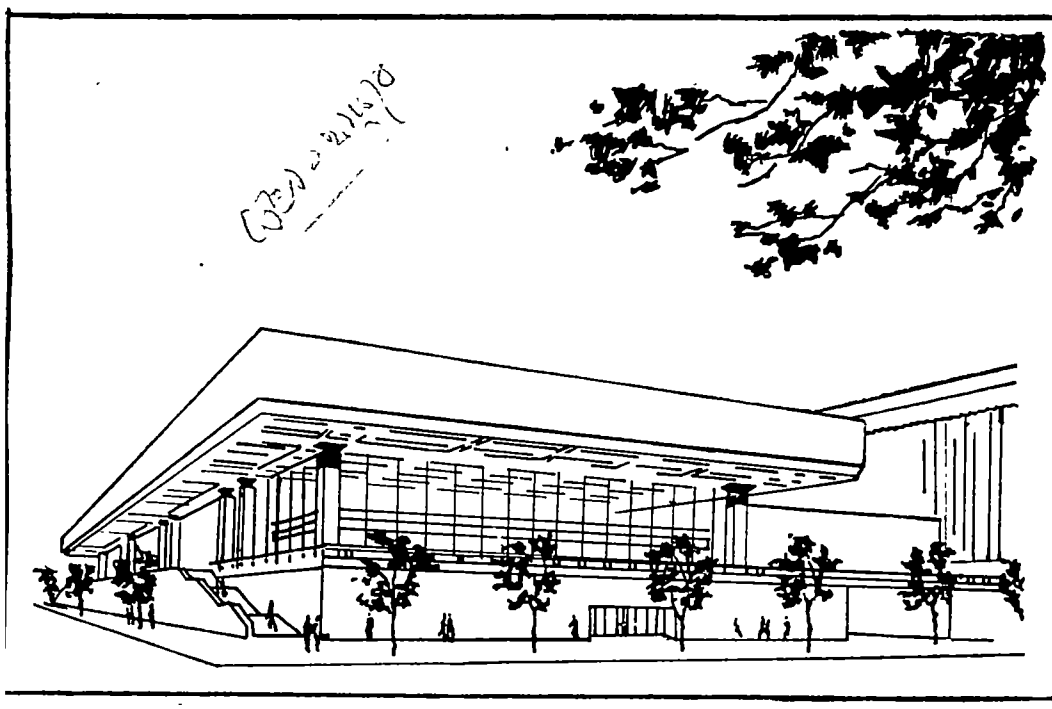
cu6-H03968-17-249229

JANUARY 1964

BULLETIN
OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations



027.07471
N49
17

BULLETIN OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

VOLUME 68 JANUARY 1964 NUMBER 1

CONTENTS

FRONT MATTER
- LIBRARY & MUSEUM OF THE PERFORMING ARTS AT LINCOLN CENTER 3
- RODGERS AND HAMMERSTEIN FOUNDATION GRANT 4
- LAWRENCE TIBBETT MEMORIAL COLLECTION 4
- BERG EXHIBITION CATALOGUE 4
- FIFTY YEARS OF INFORMATION 4
- RECENT PUBLICATIONS NYPL 5

NEW IN THE BERG COLLECTION: 1959–1961 (PART II) BY JOHN D. GORDAN 6

A CENSUS OF WASHINGTON IRVING MANUSCRIPTS BY H. L. KLEINFIELD 13

SOME FORGOTTEN ANECDOTES ABOUT SWIFT BY BARRY SLEPIAN 33

TRAVELLERS AND TRAVEL BOOKS BY WARNER G. RICE 45

READING VOGUES AT ENGLISH CATHEDRAL LIBRARIES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (PART II) BY PAUL KAUFMAN 48

EXHIBITIONS IN THE CENTRAL BUILDING 68

On the cover: The future Library & Museum of the Performing Arts, at Lincoln Center; drawing by staff artist Hal Wilson, from a rendering by the architects, Skidmore, Owings & Merrill.

Printed and published monthly except July and August, by The New York Public Library at Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10018. Subscription $3.00 a year, single numbers 30 cents.

Editor, DAVID V. ERDMAN; WILLIAM L. COAKLEY, *Editorial Assistant*

Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y. January, 1964. Volume 68. Number 1.

form p5 [1-20-64 10c]

R49229
027.07471
N489

Front Matter

Library & Museum of the Performing Arts at Lincoln Center

A dramatic new development in the history of The New York Public Library — that is to say theatrical, musical, and terpsichorean — is the Library & Museum of the Performing Arts now under construction at Lincoln Center. Planned for completion early in 1965, the Library & Museum will share with the Vivian Beaumont Theatre the third building in the unique cultural center being developed in New York City's west sixties.

The New York Public Library at Lincoln Center will occupy 162,000 square feet of space in an L shape combined with the 1,100-seat repertory theatre. On our cover is an artist's sketch of the architects' rendering of the west side of the Library & Museum and one wall of the Theatre. A visitor approaching from the Plaza level of Lincoln Center, west of Philharmonic Hall, will first come to the Plaza Entrance Gallery, which is to house exhibit space and an information desk. The other principal room on this level will be the General Reading Room, where the reader will have access to more than 50,000 circulating books, over 60,000 pieces of sheet music, and a collection of 50,000 circulating records.

On the Plaza Mezzanine level will be the Children's Library and Museum, and the Main Gallery. The two levels below the Plaza will be a Service Mezzanine and, below that, with outside access from the Amsterdam Avenue side of the building, the Auditorium, a large conference room and display area to be known as the Amsterdam Avenue Gallery, and three smaller, multi-purpose conference rooms.

These four levels, plus the west side of the basement, will be under the jurisdiction of the Circulation Department of the Library, with a coordinating officer who will report to the Chief of the Circulation Department.

The Research Collections, on the top floor, will include a Theatre Reading Room, a Dance Reading Room, a Music Reading Room, and a Rare Book Room. These and the east end of the basement will be under the jurisdiction of the Library's Reference Department with a coordinator reporting to its chief.

The research collections of The New York Public Library at Lincoln Center will include the Theatre Collection the Music Division, and the Dance Collection, all at present part of the Central Research Library at Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street. Several existing collections and units of the Circulation Department will be transferred to the new building when it is ready for occupancy. These will include the Music Library, at 127 East 58th Street, and a Children's Library now being formed in the Donnell Library Center.

The Record Library at Donnell and the drama materials in the 58th Street Library will remain in their present locations, although most of their holdings will be duplicated in the library at Lincoln Center. The Film Library at Donnell is not scheduled for transfer, but films relating to the performing arts are expected to be included in the new facility. The General Library will thus provide the full range of non-research services, programs, and collections for all age levels.

These combined resources will provide materials for enjoyment and research for all those interested in the continuing development of the performing arts.

Rodgers and Hammerstein Foundation Grant

One new research facility in the Library & Museum of the Performing Arts will be the Rodgers and Hammerstein Record Archives. Here the Library will for the first time be able to make available to the public its comprehensive collection of more than 90,000 recordings now in dead storage. With the help of a grant of $150,000 from the Rodgers and Hammerstein Foundation, the collection is now being prepared for use when the Music Division moves to Lincoln Center.

The Library's record collection was started in 1937, but space for accessible storage and a listening room has never been available. In scope the archives range from the Lionel Mapleson unique wax cylinder recordings of performances at the Metropolitan Opera in 1901–03 to recent LP releases. Both musical and non-musical recordings are included, phono-tape and phono-wire as well as cylinders and discs.

Some of the great rarities in the collection are the only known complete set of the original celebrity recordings in the Columbia Grand Opera Series, a privately recorded 7-inch disc of Mme Ernestine Schumann-Heink which is earlier than any commercial recording of her voice, the speeches of Dwight Moody, the voices of Ellen Terry and John Burroughs, and an early Sophie Tucker cylinder. Early recording artists represented include Emma Carelli, Olympia Boronat, Victor Maurel, Adelina Patti, Celestina Boninsegna, and many others.

Through the generous gift of the Rodgers and Hammerstein Foundation (which was set up to aid institutions and individuals in theatre, music and lyrics, musical plays, and recordings) a large part of this treasury of recordings will be catalogued for the first time and listening equipment will be provided. When the Rodgers and Hammerstein Archives are open, the public, with staff assistance and with due attention to the rarity and fragility of the more valuable items, will be able to explore the recorded music of sixty years.

Lawrence Tibbett Memorial Collection

The American Guild of Musical Artists has established a fund for the purchase of books, manuscripts, and libretti to round out the Library's Reference Department collections in American opera and American compositions for voice. Material purchased from this fund will become part of the Lawrence Tibbett Memorial Collection in the new Library & Museum of the Performing Arts. It will be appropriately bookplated.

Berg Exhibition Catalogue

The catalogue of the current exhibition of the new accessions of the Berg Collection, now appearing serially in the *Bulletin*, is available as a separate pamphlet: *New in the Berg Collection 1959–1961: An Exhibition* by John D. Gordan, 36 pages, four plates, $1.00.

Fifty Years of Information

Public Affairs Information Service, housed in the Economics Division of the Library, is celebrating its fiftieth year, having published Volume 49 of its Annual Cumulated Bulletin last month. This cooperative, non-profit service, considered by many the foremost index to English language publications in the social sciences, is based chiefly on the vast influx of books, pamphlets, and periodicals received by this Library, including publications of governments and international organizations, business reports, surveys, and indeed every kind of publication concerned with "public affairs."

The *PAIS Bulletin* goes to most of the leading libraries in the United States and Canada and to many abroad; from it a reader anywhere in the world can discover what is on our social science shelves.

Mimeographed at first, the Bulletin attained print with the issue dated October 15 1914. In 1918 the Service moved to its present quarters; in 1954 it was chartered by the Regents of the University of the State of New York as an educational corporation. Three chiefs of the Economics Division have been chairmen of PAIS: Charles C. Williamson, Rollin A. Sawyer, and the present chief of the division, John Fall. The present editor, Robert S. Wilson, moved to his post from that division in 1953.

When the printed publication first appeared, forty cooperating libraries paid $100 apiece for the service. That is still the price to members for the full battery of weeklies, cumulations, and annual. The first Annual ran to 344 pages: to keep up, even selectively, with today's flow of printed materials the recent Annuals have exceeded nine hundred.

Recent Publications NYPL

Literature as a Mode of Travel: Five Essays and a Postscript. With an Introduction * by Warner G. Rice. Illustrated. 120 pages. $4.00.

Simon Wheeler, Detective. By Mark Twain. First edition, from manuscripts in the Berg Collection. Edited and introduced by Franklin R. Rogers. With 5 collotype illustrations. Clothbound. xxxix, 204 pages. $5.00.

A Bibliography of Ship Passenger Lists, 1538–1825; Being a Guide to Published Lists of Early Immigrants to North America. Compiled by Harold Lancour; third edition, revised and enlarged by Richard J. Wolfe, with a List of Passenger Arrival Records in the National Archives by Frank E. Bridgers. Clothbound. 140 pages fully indexed. $5.00

New in the Berg Collection, 1959–1961: An Exhibition. By John D. Gordan. Illustrated, 4 plates. 36 pages. $1.00.

* Reprinted below, page 45.

New in the Berg Collection: 1959-1961

By JOHN D. GORDAN
Chief of the Berg Collection

PART II

GEORGE GISSING

The first published stories in the author's file copies; the first published novel in crimson cloth; and more autograph letters to Gabrielle.

The Berg Collection has built up over the years an outstanding collection of George Gissing, which contains the paramount biographical document, his diary for the years 1887–1902. The most obscure period of his life is the year — October 1876 to October 1877 — which he spent in the United States. He had recently served, at the age of nineteen, a month in prison at hard labor for petty theft committed for the sake of the young prostitute who was to become his first wife, and he was struggling to keep body and soul together in a foreign country. His longest sojourns were in and around Boston and Chicago. While in the Middle West, where he frequently went hungry, he sold stories to Chicago newspapers, the *Tribune* and probably the *Journal* and the *Evening Post:* "a story every week (three columns) for the leading daily paper," he wrote his brother, "for each of which I was paid eighteen dollars."

Recently the Collection acquired what seem to be Gissing's own carefully preserved clippings from the *Chicago Tribune* for 1877 that contained four of the stories: "The Sins of the Fathers" on March 10; "R. I. P." on March 31; "Too Dearly Bought" on April 14; and "Gretchen" on May 12. At the end of the first and second he wrote his initials G. R. G., in ink, and this confirms the identification of them as his in *Brownie,* the volume of his early stories brought out by the Columbia University Press in 1931. The other two are signed G. R. G. in print. Each story amounts roughly to three columns. These mementoes of the grimness of his youth have considerable pathos.

Soon after his return to England from the United States in October 1877, Gissing undertook to write a novel, which had been completed, rejected, and stored away by late July 1878. Immediately he set to work on another called at first *Far, Far Away,* later *Workers in the Dawn.* By the end of 1879 the new manuscript was making the rounds of publishers. It was rejected by Chatto and Windus, by Smith, Elder and by Kegan Paul. At last Gissing decided to publish it himself with one-third of a legacy of £300 which he had recently received. For £100, to be paid in three installments, he arranged that Remington and Company of London would bring out the novel in three volumes to sell at a guinea. Remington was to pay him two thirds of the profits after deducting some £20 for advertising. The book appeared in the spring of 1880 and by early autumn had sold 29 copies and by the end of the year a total of 49. The investment was almost completely lost.

Though *Workers in the Dawn* was published in khaki-colored cloth, there is at least one copy, shown here, in crimson cloth of a different weave. In other respects — in the elaborate stamping on the front and back covers and on the spine, in the color and quality of the end papers — the crimson copy is identical with the familiar binding. This copy carries the binder's ticket of Burn and Co. and also a bookseller's ticket for the West Yorkshire Printing Co. of Wakefield, the town in which Gissing was born and his family was residing in 1880. If the crimson is a special binding that Gissing presented to a member of his family or a Wakefield friend, it has no inscription, unlike the inscribed copy in khaki cloth (now in the Berg Collection) which he presented to his brother Algernon on May 28 1880.

Workers in the Dawn was followed by twenty novels, a collection of short stories, a travel book, and two studies of Charles Dickens before Gissing died in 1903 at the age of forty-six, and by half-a-dozen posthumous publications. For such unflagging industry the reward was slight: he was never a success with the public and consequently with publishers, though some, notably Lawrence and Bullen, tried their best for him. On display are copies of thirteen contracts with various publishers and a couple of informal sales reports from Lawrence and Bullen. The con-

tracts begin with that for *Isabel Clarendon,* dated March 3 1886; include *Denzil Quarrier, The Odd Women, Eve's Ransom, The Paying Guest, Sleeping Fires, The Whirlpool, Our Friend the Charlatan, The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft,* and *Will Warburton;* and conclude with that for *Veranilda* dated November 12 1903, not quite seven weeks before he died. The publishers involved were Chapman and Hall, Lawrence and Bullen, Cassell, Dodd Mead, Henry Holt, T. Fisher Unwin, and Archibald Constable. The accounts rendered by the generous Lawrence and Bullen tell a sad story: on *Denzil Quarrier* (1892) they reported payment of £124.14.3 and earnings of £70.3.1; on *The Odd Women* (1893) payment of £149.12.5 and earnings of £123.7.2.

George Gissing was almost as unlucky in love as he was in sales. His first two marriages were disastrous, and from the second he was never able to disentangle himself legally. The last five years of his life, however, were rewarded by a union of which the basis was moral rather than legal with a French woman of good family and education, Gabrielle Fleury. Certainly no other marital experience brought him the satisfactions and happiness this did.

Following her death after fifty years of widowhood, Gissing's letters to her have been acquired by the Berg Collection at auction in three lots. There were 7 letters in the first lot in 1956; 45 in the second in 1959; and 49 in the third in 1961. The letters, mostly dated, cover the years between June 23 1898 and May 7 1902. Some of them have been heavily censored, presumably by Gabrielle Fleury Gissing herself. Lines have been inked over, sections of a page cut out with scissors, and whole pages obviously destroyed. Madame Gissing even made some editorial attempt to bridge the gaps she had created by writing connecting links, as if she were preparing the letters for an edition that has never materialized. The letters are soon to be published by The New York Public Library with the kind permission of Mr Alfred Gissing.

Charlotte Mew

Some letters and publishing accounts.

For some time the Berg Collection has owned the important runs of letters written by Charlotte Mew to Sir Sydney and Lady Cockerell and to the second Mrs Thomas Hardy. Charlotte Mew's life was solitary and unhappy and ended in suicide in her fifty-eighth year. Among the few other friendships that she allowed herself were those with May Sinclair, the novelist, and with the Monros of the Poetry Bookshop, who published the only volume of her poetry that appeared in her lifetime, *The Farmer's Bride,* first in 1916 and then enlarged in 1921. The records of these friendships have recently been added to the Collection.

Twenty letters from Florence Hardy to Charlotte Mew have come to join the ones which were already in the Berg Collection. These interlace with twenty-six letters from Miss Mew to Mrs Hardy to give both sides of the correspondence and of the friendship. It was Mrs Hardy who in 1918 made the first friendly overture by writing to tell the poet what pleasure *The Farmer's Bride* had given the Grand Old Man of English Letters and to invite her to visit them in Dorchester. The next day Miss Mew replied somewhat formally, like one unused to friendliness: "You have written a very kind letter to a stranger, & for this too please accept my grateful thanks." It was after seven years of correspondence and the exchange of visits that the two women got on first name terms. In 1921 Mrs Hardy had tried "my dear Charlotte Mew (if I may venture)," but, obviously receiving no encouragement, reverted to formality. About half of Mrs Hardy's letters received rapid replies. Obviously, however, all the letters on either side have not come to rest in the Berg Collection — indeed, may no longer be in existence.

In 1921 Louis Untermeyer, the critic and compiler of anthologies of modern poetry, began a correspondence by sending Charlotte Mew "a rather hasty . . . tribute." "Some day," he wrote, "I hope to expand it. At that time I will include it in a critical anthology ('Modern British Poetry'). . . ." In the first edition of *Modern British Poetry,* 1920, Untermeyer included no selections from her work. In the second edition, 1925, he elaborated the review mentioned above, called her "one of the most amazing figures in modern poetry . . . among the most distinctive and intense of living poets," and reprinted five of her poems. To these in his third edition, 1932, he added three more poems and more than doubled his descriptive account of her work. There are only nine letters from Untermeyer in the group in the Berg Collection, all concerned with literary amenities. Though within a year he had started addressing her as "dear Charlotte Mew," he seems never to have progressed beyond that point. They met on the Untermeyers' trip to England, but Untermeyer remained only a correspondent.

Of Charlotte Mew's correspondence with May Sinclair, who was her senior by five years, just the latter's letters (some thirty in number) are now in the Berg Collection. They belong to the years 1913 to 1916. The elder woman tried to advance Charlotte Mew's fortunes with various editors — including Richard Aldington, Austin Harrison, Ernest Rhys, and even Ezra Pound! — and with reviewers like Rebecca West and J. C. Squire. The letters contain literary chit-chat and criticism as well as personal information. They reveal that Charlotte Mew was at home in the rules of French prosody and that she continued to write short stories during the First World War, long after her debut in *The Yellow Book*, that won praise from May Sinclair. "Your prose is as beautiful as your poetry," the older woman wrote her. The two exchanged frequent visits, but it was only after a year of friendly services that May Sinclair initiated the habit of calling her correspondent Charlotte: "(Can you stand this?)," she asked diffidently.

Harold Monro, who was nine years Charlotte Mew's junior, has been described as having a genius for friendship. He was able to attract poets to him through his successive poetry magazines, the Poetry Bookshop, and the publications of the Bookshop. Upon Charlotte Mew he exercised the appeal which so many had felt. Her first book appeared with the imprint of the Poetry Bookshop — *The Farmer's Bride* in 1916. It was reprinted, with eleven additional poems in 1921. The correspondence between Charlotte Mew and the Monros — fourteen letters by the former and eight by the latter written between 1918 and 1927 — displayed here is mostly concerned with obtaining an American publisher for the Poetry Bookshop's enlarged edition. At first Charlotte Mew found Monro a little dilatory, but when he disposed of 260 sets of sheets of *The Farmer's Bride* to the Macmillan Company, for publication under the title *Saturday Market*, she was for a time reassured. He also guided her in her dealings with anthologists, always attempting to get as much money for her as possible. She never seems entirely to have accepted his *bona fides*, however, and all letters are addressed to him as Mr Monro, though she early accepted Mrs Monro as Alida and a friend to whom she could write about her adored sister's illness and death. Also displayed are accounts submitted for the sale of her book by the Poetry Bookshop, which help explain why Hardy and others endeavored to obtain a Civil List pension of £75 a year for her half a dozen years before her death.

Lord and Lady Alfred Douglas

Autograph letters and autograph diaries.

The papers in this part of the exhibition tell the story of the courtship and married life of two poets whose gift for poetry was choked by the other gifts, both good and bad, which fortune bestowed upon them. Lord Alfred Douglas was born to high social position, wealth, good looks, and a talent which produced at least a few sonnets which have been anthologized for more than half a century. Olive Custance Douglas was endowed with the same gifts on a more modest scale. The privileges which came so easily to them they threw away as thoughtlessly as they received them. Lady Douglas was not the woman to save her husband from the violence of his own emotions, which make him one of the most psychologically interesting and least appealing figures in the annals of English literature.

The papers date from the turn of the century, from shortly after the death of Oscar Wilde. They add little to the knowledge of that most famous victim of Douglas' power to fascinate and to destroy. Yet they give a vivid glimpse of the fashionable and semi-bohemian world of the Edwardian period in which Olive Custance and Alfred Douglas met and decided to try matrimony together. The attempt was far from a success but not altogether a failure. Though their union seems to have exacted quite a price from her conventional parents, from their only child, Raymond, and even from themselves, the Douglases lived on terms of friendly separation toward the end of their lives.

The two hundred and more letters from Alfred Douglas to his wife begin in June 1901, when Olive Custance seems to have introduced herself as a "girl poet" by sending him a "beautiful letter" and a "crown of wild speedwells." They touch upon Douglas' visit to the United States in the autumn of 1901 when he unsuccessfully attempted to barter his name for an American fortune. They cover his subsequent courtship of Olive, who seems to have been quite as worldly wise and perhaps even as experienced as the man she married on March 4 1902. There are letters from almost every year up to 1919, which embrace the troubled course of Douglas' relations with the Custances, with Olive, and with Raymond, who was more or less of an invalid.

Accusations, quarrels, and frequent litigation led to a break of twenty years in the correspondence in the Berg Collection. It resumes in 1938 and continues through 1943. There are also three letters or rough drafts of letters from Olive to Douglas.

More or less closely related to this correspondence are four letters from Olive to her mother, three written when she was a little girl using ruled paper and one during her troubles with her husband. There are some thirty letters from Colonel Custance to his daughter and half a dozen from Raymond Douglas as a school boy to his "darling mummy." In addition there are several dozen letters to Lady Douglas from family friends and retainers, some of which reflect on her disturbed marital relations.

Among the most interesting items in the Douglas papers are the letters written to Olive Custance by women and men who admired and loved her. There are appeals for affection from "Passionate Pierrette," from Natalie, from Isabel, from Paul, who was probably Pauline, and an especially interesting group of eight letters from Henry Harland, one of the editors of *The Yellow Book*. There are friendly letters from Aubrey Beardsley, Robert Ross, the Le Galliennes, and Bernard Shaw.

Though there are few letters by Olive Douglas among the recently acquired collection, there are several mutilated diaries. The earliest entries are traceable to the autumn of 1894 when her heart was occupied by "King Narcissus" — who presumably was Richard Le Gallienne, then recovering from the loss of his first wife. She recorded her reading (*Marius the Epicurean* — "what a beautiful book"), her sale of a poem to *The Yellow Book*, her meeting with Sir Frederick Leighton and John Davidson at tea at the Bodley Head, her friendship with John Gray, the poet. The dismembered diaries continue in fragments through the 1890s and the first decade of the new century and give broken glimpses of the Douglases' domestic and social life — Olive's repeated days in bed, her clothes, Bosie's cruelties, her reminiscences of William Rothenstein and Lady Gregory. There are no diary fragments after 1909 until 1913, a year of family trouble with her father and husband, or from then until 1937–40. The latter years are covered in two volumes of extremely intermittent notes.

A handful of poetic manuscripts mostly by Alfred Douglas came with the papers. Some of them are expressions of dependence on Olive and love for her. Others — not unexpectedly — are bitter attacks upon her character: "I know you now, Circe and Sycorax," he concluded in summing up the first dozen years of their married life. There are also two manuscript poems signed Olive Custance and dedicated to John Gray: "The Songs of Love" and "The Silence of Love."

To the collection of Douglas papers was added Lord Alfred's correspondence with Madame Francis d'Avilla, who translated some of his poems into French. The letters, which run to over one hundred, begin in 1930 and extend to within six weeks of his death on March 20 1945. Olive Douglas had died thirteen months earlier, on February 12 1944. The letters shown here cover a multitude of subjects, including Madame d'Avilla's translation. A copy of her translation, *Poèmes*, Paris 1937, is also displayed — the copy presented by the translator to her mother.

Max Beerbohm

Autograph manuscripts of *A Christmas Garland*, of "No. 2. The Pines," of " 'Savonarola' Brown," and of *The Dreadful Dragon of Hay Hill*.

Sir Max Beerbohm possessed a gift which cannot be described or paraphrased: wit. It cannot be accounted for by the explanation that he came of a family gifted in other ways; that he was a student at Charterhouse and Oxford; that he was once a drama critic of discernment; that he lived in Italy as much as he could. But wit helped to make him a caricaturist of genius and a genial satirist in verse, in the essay, and in the novel.

At the sale of the papers, letters, and books from his house at Rapallo, which took place in London in December 1960, the Berg Collection had the opportunity of considerably improving its Beerbohm holdings. Of these items acquired at the sale, a few have a close personal association with the man — for example, the manuscript, corrected typescript, and corrected galley proof of a sketch of his older sister, Dora, who in her twenties became a Sister of Mercy. The informal biography shows an emotional side of Sir Max not often revealed to the world.

Then there is a dummy copy of *Zuleika Dobson* — sent for approval of the binding — which was used as a diary by Beerbohm and his first wife in 1911 and sporadically in the 1920s and early 1930s. It records the pleasures of Sister Dora's visit to Rapallo in the autumn of 1921,

described in the account of her life mentioned above. It even contains several brief annotations in her hand. Sir Max also used the dummy as a sketch book in which he tried his pencil on dozens and dozens of heads and figures — some easily recognizable, including a self-caricature.

Another notebook, alphabetically arranged, offers Sir Max's recollections of many eminent and obscure personalities whom he had encountered. It opens with notes on William Archer. Inevitably it too contains countless small drawings.

One of the satirical forms over which Max Beerbohm had such admirable control was the parody. He had begun working up literary burlesques and publishing some of them in periodicals as early as the mid-1890s. They demonstrated with the greatest good humor, around a theme connected with Christmas no matter how tenuously, the individual foibles in thought and expression of some of his contemporaries. In 1912 he collected seventeen of these pieces, many never before published, in a volume entitled *A Christmas Garland.*

The manuscripts of ten of these parodies came to the Berg Collection at the time of the auction sale: H. G. Wells, Thomas Hardy, Frank Harris, Arnold Bennett, John Galsworthy, G. S. Street, Joseph Conrad, Edmund Gosse, Hilaire Belloc, and George Meredith. The last is of the revised version. Though they are the manuscript from which the printers set type, they are copiously corrected. Max Beerbohm's method of making his deletions with india ink as if with a brush, though picturesque, unhappily obscures his original wording completely.

The Berg Collection also obtained the manuscripts of three well-known Beerbohm pieces. The earliest of these was his brilliant and touching character sketch of Swinburne in old age intitled 'No. 2. The Pines." From the textual reading and the heavy corrections — fortunately done in pencil — this manuscript would appear to be the first draft. Dated 1914, the biographical sketch did not appear until 1920 in the *Fortnightly Review* and in book form in *And Even Now.*

Possibly the most hilarious character sketch Max Beerbohm ever wrote is entitled " 'Savonarola' Brown": it concerns a talentless practitioner of poetic drama named Brown and his *chef d'oeuvre* about Savonarola, which utilizes every cliché in the canon. First published in the *English Review* in 1919, it was reprinted in *Seven Men* in 1920. The manuscript is shown here. The title of this superb spoof was first "Addison Wilcox" and then " 'Savonarola' Smith." Beerbohm was slow to select the exact name for his dramatist: he also played with the sound and connotations of Thomson and Hinks before he settled on "L. Brown." The whole manuscript shows heavy correction.

The collection also acquired a manuscript of Beerbohm's long parable, *The Dreadful Dragon of Hay Hill,* which was published in 1928. The Berg manuscript represents different stages of composition. There are fourteen pages of a late but corrected draft that roughly represents the first third of the published text. There is evidence that this draft must once have existed in its entirety: a single sheet headed "Conclusion," on the same paper and generally corresponding to the last page of the published text. There are forty pages of a heavily corrected manuscript on a different paper that must be an earlier draft and that cover approximately the remaining two-thirds of the published text. In addition there are fifteen pages of lightly corrected, not quite consecutive typescript that contain the text around the second section where the later draft (of the beginning of the story) stops and the earlier draft (of the latter part of the story) begins. It is interesting to discover that the adjective in the title was an afterthought.

The margins and the versos of the sheets in both drafts of *The Dreadful Dragon* are decorated with drawings of heads and full figures. One of these is a rough pencil sketch for the frontispiece showing Thia and Thol. The Collection was also able to obtain the signed and finished water color sketch from which the frontispiece seems to have been made.

Because of the Second World War the Beerbohms left Rapallo and returned to England. There Sir Max was prevailed upon to lecture and to broadcast. One of the most famous of these autumnal appearances was the lecture he gave in 1943 on his friend Lytton Strachey, who had died eleven years before. The charm of this essay and the wisdom of its dicta were not achieved without much consideration, as the heavily corrected manuscript demonstrates. The essay ends, ". . . I would like to dedicate this one to the memory of Lytton Strachey. I am always very proud that he dedicated one of his books, his last one, to me. Forgive me for boasting that he said 'with gratitude and admiration.' To him I dedicate this lecture with far greater gratitude than ever he can have felt to me, and with far deeper admiration than ever he can have had for anything of mine." Beside the manuscript has been put the copy of *Portraits in Miniature,* 1931, which Lytton Strachey inscribed and sent to Max Beerbohm, to whom it was dedicated. Beneath the inscription the recipient wrote in 1932:" 'And, Brother, for all time Hail and Farewell!' "

PARK BENJAMIN, EDITOR.

FRANKLIN EVANS,

OR

THE INEBRIATE.

A TALE OF THE TIMES.

BY A POPULAR AMERICAN AUTHOR.

"Oh, thou invisible spirit of wine, if thou hast no name to be known by, let us call thee—Devil."
SHAKSPERE.

NEW-YORK:
J. WINCHESTER, 30 ANN-STREET.

1842.

PRICE 12½ CENTS.

J. WINCHESTER, PRINTER,
30 Ann-street, New-York.

1 Walt Whitman. Front wrapper of *Franklin Evans*.

The New Story
First Weekly Part
Title not yet decided on

(1)

The Black Robe;

By Wilkie Collins.

[The Right of Translation is Reserved].

First Scene. Boulogne-sur-Mer. — The Duel.

I.

The Doctors could do nothing more for the Dowager Lady Berrick. When the medical advisers of a lady who has reached seventy years of age recommend the mild climate of the South of France, they mean in plain language that they have arrived at the end of their resources. Her ladyship gave the mild climate a fair trial, and then decided (as she herself expressed) to "die at home." Travelling slowly, she had reached Paris at the date when I last heard of her. Nevertheless, A week later, I met with her nephew, Lewis Romayne, at the club.

"What brings you to London at this time of year?" I asked.

[N.B. "The fatality that pursues me," he answered grimly. "I am one of the unluckiest men living?"

He was thirty years old; he was not married; he was the enviable possessor of the fine old country seat, called Vange Abbey; he had no poor relations; and he was one of the handsomest men in England when he [illegible]. I add that I am, myself, a retired army officer, with a wretched income, a disagreeable wife, four ugly children, and a burden of fifty years on my back, no one will be surprised to hear that I answered Romayne, with bitter sincerity, in these words:

"I wish to Heaven I could change places with you!"

"I wish to Heaven you could!" he burst out, with equal sincerity, on his side. "Read that."

He handed me a letter addressed to him by the travelling medical attendant of Lady Berrick. After [illegible] in Paris, the patient had continued her homeward journey as far as Boulogne. In her suffering condition, she was liable to sudden fits of caprice. An instrumentable horror of the channel passage had [illegible] possession of her: she positively refused to be taken on board the steamboat [illegible] the lady

II Wilkie Collins. Page of the manuscript of *The Black Robe* as sent to the printer.

"A Christmas Garland"
Max Beerbohm
Villino Chiaro
Rapallo
Italy

47

The Feast
by
Joseph Conrad.

= The hut in which slept the white man was [redacted] on a clearing between the forest and the river. Silence, the silence [redacted] murmurous and unquiet of a tropical night, brooded over the hut that, baked through by the [redacted] sun, sweated a vapour [redacted] beneath the cynical light of the stars. [redacted] Mahamo lay rigid and watchful at the hut's mouth. In his upturned eyes, and along the polished surface of his [redacted] lean body black and immobile, the stars [redacted] who are illusions.

were reflected, creating an illusion of Mussolini

1 = The roofs of the congested trees, writhing in some kind of agony private and eternal, made [redacted] tenebrous and [redacted] shifty silhouettes against the [redacted] sky, like shapes cut out of black paper by a maniac who [redacted] pushes them with his thumb this way and that, [redacted] irritably, on a concave surface of blue steel. Resin oozed unseen from the upper branches to the trunks swathed in creepers that clutched and interlocked with tendrils venomous, [redacted] frantic, and faint. Down below, by force of habit, the lush herbage went [redacted] through the farce of growth — that [redacted] farce old and [redacted]

screaming, whose sole end is decomposition

2 = Within the hut the form of the white man, corpulent [redacted] and pale, was covered with a mosquito-net that was itself illusory like everything else, [redacted] only more so. Flying squadrons of mosquitoes inside its meshes [redacted] flickered and darted over him, [redacted] keeping silence so as not to excite him from sleep. Cohorts of yellow ants [redacted] disputed him against cohorts of purple ants, the two kinds slaying one another in thousands. The battle was undecided when suddenly, with no such warning as it gives in [redacted] some parts of the world, the sun blazed up

3 over the horizon, turning night into day, and the insects vanished back into their camps.

working hard, but

III Max Beerbohm. Page of the manuscript of *A Christmas Garland*

Mrs. Dalloway. Nov: 9th 1922

So far Mrs D in Bond Street —
the P.M. are written.
Too jerky & minute. Some
general style must be found, or one's
attention is too broken.
Suppose the idea of the book is
the contrast between life & death.
All inner feelings to be lit up.
The two minds. Mrs D. & Septimus.
And the design is something like
this —
Mrs. D. end comes on alone.
(as in first chapter)
We then go on to a general
statement, introducing Septimus.
They are linked together by
the aeroplane.
We then return to Mrs. D.
alone in her drawing room.
& settle into her.

IV Virginia Woolf. Notebook page with plans for *Mrs. Dalloway*.

It will be remembered that Max Beerbohm succeeded Bernard Shaw as drama critic on the *Saturday Review*, with the famous Shavan introduction: "The younger generation is knocking at the door; and as I open it there steps in spritely the incomparable Max." Shaw's career as a practising dramatist had been sparked by William Archer, the critic, dramatist, and champion of Ibsen. It was to William Archer that Sir Max gave in 1920 a wittily embellished copy of the Shaw bible, the somewhat humorless and sententious *George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works: A Critical Biography (Authorized)*, by Archibald Henderson, M.A., Ph.D. In the volume, which has been well-described by S. N. Behrman in *Conversation with Max*, Max the caricaturist has reworked the original illustrations to create effects quite different from those originally intended; and Max the satirist has annotated them with pontifical statements ascribed to Professor Henderson. A sample of Beerbohm's effectiveness can be enjoyed by comparing the original photograph of Shaw taken in 1891 with the doctored likeness and by reading the "Note by Prof. Henderson" in the hand of Sir Max, which roguishly begins: "When Shaw rummaged out this coloured photograph and handed it to me, I suggested it should not be reproduced in the book. Shaw was adamant."

Adjacent is a thank-you note of half a dozen lines from Shaw to Beerbohm dated June 1 1898, which ends on an unexpected anticipation — "I get married this morning" — of a song in *My Fair Lady*.

Maurice Baring

Some private printings; some autograph manuscripts; and some corrected typescripts.

Sprung from families that had made a mark on financial, social, and political life in England for over a century, Maurice Baring was born to privilege. He was educated at Eton and Cambridge. In 1898 he entered the diplomatic service and saw duty in Paris, Copenhagen, Rome and London. Resigning, he went into journalism and was foreign correspondent in the Far East, Russia, and the Balkans. After the First World War, in which he served in the Flying Corps, he devoted himself to non-journalistic writing.

Baring's interest in writing went back to his childhood. Experience made him an accomplished linguist and stylist and provided him with a variety of material. He was a poet, dramatist, essayist, novelist, and short story writer whose sophistication was more appreciated on the Continent than in England.

Among the Baring items recently acquired was a copy of what may well be his first book, *La Princesse Myosotis et le Prince Muguet*, which has no imprint. It was a fairy story of which the author was the Baring children's French governess, known as Chérie, whom the young Maurice considered "the most beautiful, the cleverest, and altogether the most wonderful person in the world." The small boy provided original pencil and watercolor drawings for each copy. *La Princesse Myosotis* is identified as "par O. M. G. (Reine de Beauté) Illustrée par M. B. (Son Mari)." It was privately printed by his mother, probably in the late 1870s or early 1880s, and provided him with the theme for his *Story of Forget-Me-Not and Lily of the Valley*, privately printed in 1905 and published some twenty years after that.

La Princesse Myosotis was probably the first of many private printings. Another was *Pastels and Other Rhymes* [Eton] 1891, dedicated to one of his teachers at Eton, Arthur Christopher Benson. This copy, which carries corrections, was sent to his French governess inscribed, "Chérie de Maurice," as a birthday present. Beside it is shown a poem in French reproaching her with impassioned flatness for not writing,

Stances à l'infidèle

Si vous n'avez rien a m'écrire —
Pourquoi me traiter comme un chien?
Ce silence je ne puis subir
Oh! Télegraphiez au moins!

Other such printings on display are a proof copy of *Poems* [Edinburgh 1897]; *Per Ardua: 1914–1918*, Baring's own copy with his signature, bookplate, and corrections; and *Robert Peckham* [London] 1934, which also bears his signature, bookplate, and corrections.

Among manuscripts recently acquired were two typescripts of Baring's poetic tragedy, *The Black Prince.* "My play, if it is a play," he wrote in February 1901, "would begin after Poitiers, . . . and there would be the first realization on his return from Spain, that all the splendid promise was coming to nothing: he would *know* he was finished without the consolation of having died young." The two typescripts come to join the original manuscript, written on official Foreign Office paper and heavily corrected. Though both typescripts are only lightly corrected, one presents an earlier state of the text than the other. The play was produced in 1902 and published toward the end of that year.

A lightly corrected typescript of Baring's next poetic tragedy, *Gaston de Foix,* was also acquired. The Collection already had the heavily corrected manuscript. The play was published in 1903, revised and republished in 1913. The manuscript of a French translation, with some corrections, is also on display.

A corrected typescript of another poetical drama, *Mahasena,* is now reunited with the two corrected manuscripts of the play previously purchased by the Berg Collection. An idea of the work which Baring devoted to his lines can be gained by comparing the two versions of the manuscript, the typescript, and the published version, Oxford 1905. On exhibition is another corrected typescript, that of *Proserpine,* which Baring describes as a masque. There are two other such typescripts: *Sigurd,* a poetic tragedy on Norse themes, with some corrections, and *Desiderio,* a drama based upon the fantastic story of the foundling Kaspar Hausar.

Among the Baring manuscripts recently added to the Collection is a group connected with *Manfroy, Duke of Athens,* which was written in 1919 and first printed privately in 1920. These are a nine-page manuscript scenario, a heavily corrected manuscript draft with some inserted typescript, and a typescript showing a fair number of corrections.

Baring made an attempt upon the popular theater in which he was encouraged by Bernard Shaw. The Berg Collection has acquired several manuscripts and corrected typescripts that demonstrate Baring's perseverance. One of the latter entitled *The Strike,* "a farce in three acts," which may have been written in the latter part of 1906 from its use of the Great Strike of that May, has been physically ripped up by the author, who tore out long sequences of pages. Another typescript, bearing sparse manuscript corrections, is of his second attempt on the commercial theater in 1911 with *The Green Elephant.* It was not a success even though Henri Bernstein publicly stated his belief in it on opening night. Another of these efforts, *His Majesty's Embassy,* written in 1912 but unproduced and published in 1923, can be found in the Collection in the heavily corrected manuscript as well as in a corrected typescript. It has been described as a recognizable picture of life in the foreign service before the First World War.

After the war Baring continued to press his attack on the commercial theater. *The Prodigal Daughter* — published in 1923 as *June and After* — exists in the Collection in early and late corrected typescripts. The play is in two acts, the first taking place in 1904 and the second in 1922.

Baring's experiences during the First World War are to be found here in typescript in five volumes entitled *War Diary.* A carbon, it bears relatively few corrections. The diary gives little indication that Baring realized that the war would destroy the society which produced urbane and cosmopolitan men like himself and provided them with leisure and material for writing.

(To be continued)

A Census of Washington Irving Manuscripts

By H. L. Kleinfield
C. W. Post College

THE LITERARY MANUSCRIPTS of Washington Irving have long been favored game for collectors of Americana. Otherwise neglected, however, except for the devoted scholarly interest of Stanley T. Williams, they have circulated widely and disappeared into the rare book rooms of libraries in all corners of the United States. Under the stimulus of present literary scholarship, interest in Irving has been reawakened to a degree sufficient to warrant a check-list of his manuscripts. This census arises, however, from the specific intention of a committee of scholars who have undertaken to edit Irving's journals and letters, which have never been published in complete form with the benefits of historical scholarship.

Comprising his travel journals, related notebooks, and correspondence, this edition will bring together all the material pertinent to Irving's personal affairs, much of which has never been printed. When complete, the journals will offer the travel record of an alert observer who drew upon his experiences and surroundings for much of his literary material. The letters are those of a successful literary figure who had a broad acquaintance in European capitals, held a notable diplomatic post, and gained stature as an historian. Beyond these evident benefits, one may find in Irving's manuscripts reflections of life in the past, interesting for many aspects of our culture. As a diarist, he did not record stirring events or reveal his innermost feelings. Indeed, his journals are barren of subjective reflections. Yet with his eye for color, for the picturesque, for the quaint figure, the striking scene, the monumental corner, Irving also gives us impressions of a more subtle nature concerning the world he moved in and the sphere of a nineteenth-century man of letters. Through the journals and letters it will finally be possible to draw a clear picture of Irving's literary development and to understand more adequately its relation to the growth of the republic into which he was born.

I am especially grateful to the American Philosophical Society for a research grant which enabled me to make the survey to produce this census. Librarians throughout the United States cooperated willingly and made my task easier. The custodians of the largest Irving collections, those at Yale University, The New York Public Library, the Barrett Collection at the University of Virginia, and Sleepy Hollow Restorations, gave me cordial

and most welcome help. The census has been organized principally for the members of the Irving committee, who are acting under the leadership of Henry A. Pochmann. For their purposes the journals have been listed chronologically, the literary manuscripts alphabetically, and the letters chronologically except where they are unclassified in bulk collections. Owing to the limitations of space and the preliminary nature of this listing, I have been prevented from indicating the location of each separate letter. The Irving manuscripts in the possession of Sleepy Hollow Restorations have not been included because they are already suitably classified and accessible.

Abbreviations

Andover	Phillips Andover Academy Library, Andover, Mass
Buffalo	Univ of Buffalo Libraries, Buffalo, N Y
Buffalo & Erie	Buffalo & Erie County Public Library, Buffalo, N Y
Columbia	Columbia Univ Libraries, New York City, N Y
Duke	Duke Univ Libraries, Durham, N C
Fordham	Fordham Univ Library, New York City, N Y
Harvard	Harvard Univ Library, Cambridge, Mass
Haverford	Haverford College Library, Haverford, Penna
Hispanic	Hispanic Society of America Library, New York City, N Y
Huntington	Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif
Illinois	Univ of Illinois Library, Urbana, Ill
Indiana	Indiana Univ Library, Bloomington, Ind
Johns Hopkins	Johns Hopkins Univ Library, Baltimore, Md
Mass Hist	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass
Michigan	Univ of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor, Mich
Morgan	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City, N Y
NY Museum	Museum of the City of New York
NYPL	The New York Public Library (Manuscript Division)
NYPL-Arents	The New York Public Library (Arents Collections)
NYPL-Berg	The New York Public Library (Berg Collection)
NY State	New York State Library, Albany, N Y
Newberry	Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill
Penna Hist	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Penna
Princeton	Princeton Univ Library, Princeton, N J
St John's	St John's Seminary, Camarillo, Calif
Texas	Univ of Texas Library, Austin, Texas
Virginia	Univ of Virginia Library (Barrett Collection), Charlottesville, Va
Washington, St Louis	Washington Univ Libraries, St Louis, Mo
Wellesley	Wellesley College Library, Wellesley, Mass
Yale	Yale Univ Library, New Haven, Conn

The Census *

I

JOURNALS AND RELATED NOTEBOOKS

Journal, July 1 – [August 30] 1803
Travels in up-state New York.
57 pages 4° (Fordham)

Journal, July 1 1804 – January 23 1805
Travels in France, Italy and Sicily.
Written in ink in the form of a letter to his brother.
115 leaves 4° (NYPL)

Journal, August 5 – November 1804
Travels in France and Italy with special reference to Bordeaux, Toulouse, Nice, Marseilles and Genoa; also his daily expense account of June 30 – December 23 1804.
92 leaves 16° 4 drawings (NYPL)

Journal, December 23 1804 – May 10 1805
Travels through Italy, with special reference to Genoa, Messina, Palermo, Naples and Rome, thence through Switzerland en route to Paris; also his expense account.
94 leaves 16° 2 poems, 4 drawings (NYPL)

Notebook, 1804–1805
Notes of a tour in Europe in 1804–1805, Volume 2, from January 24 to April 13 1805, containing route from Messina through Sicily and to Rome with residence at different places.
137 pages 23cm (Yale)

Diary, April 14 – May 15 1805
Tour from Rome through Loreta, Bologna, Modena, Lodi, Milan, Altorf, Lucerne, etc to Zurich.
92 leaves 8° (NYPL)

Journal, May 17 – October 8 1805
Travels from Zurich to Paris and from Paris through Holland to London.
47 leaves 8° (NYPL)

Journal, May 24 – June 19 [1805]
Journal kept at Paris.
9 pages 8° (NYPL-Berg)

Notebook, 1805–1806
Notebook kept mainly in London and Paris, containing his expense account; notes on drama, botany; journal of a portion of his voyage from England to Amercia.
63 leaves ob 16° About 20 pencil drawings (NYPL)

Journal, 1807
Trip to the Scottish Highlands, with notes on Paris.
100 pages of autograph notes 16.4cm (Texas)

* The census does not include the extensive manuscript holdings of Sleepy Hollow Restorations, nor those of private collectors.

Notebook, ca 1810

63 pages 8° (Huntington)

Journal, July 30 – August 14 1815

Tour through Wales.
53 leaves 8° 30 drawings (NYPL)

Notebook, December 1817

Extracts from different books of travels in the United States.
Notebook, marked on front cover in Irving's handwriting: "Notes concerning the United States 1818."
90 pages 18cm (Yale)

Notebook, 1817

"Notes while preparing the *Sketch Book*, etc."
80 pages 16½cm (Yale)

Notebooks, 1817

Tour in Scotland, and other notes; includes excursion to Runwin and fragments.
102 pages 8° 11 sketches; 91 pages sm 8° 14 sketches [Owned in 1927 by Mr Preston Davie, New York City]

Notebook, [1817?]

Notes kept while in England, containing memoranda, verses, etc.
14 leaves 32° 3 drawings (NYPL)

Journal, [1817 or 1819]

1 page (Virginia)

Notebook, [1818]

Memoranda, thoughts, anecdotes, etc written at London, Brighton, Rouen, and Paris in 1818 and other years.
36 leaves 32° 1 drawing (NYPL)

Notebook, [1818]

Notebook containing excerpts, anecdotes, plots, etc. Some notes written 1825 or later?
74 leaves 16° (NYPL)

Notebook, 1819–1823

A commonplace book (selections of verse).
55 leaves (Harvard)

Journal, August – November 1820

Journal describing his travels in England and France.
44 leaves 8° Some original drawings (NYPL)

Diary, April 25 – April 26 1821

Ms pages written in Paris.
7 pages 18cm (Yale)

Journal, May 5 1821

1 page 8° (NYPL-Berg)

Journal, August 1 – September 1822

Describing his travels in Germany through Aix, Cologne, Wiesbaden, Mayence, etc.
32 leaves 16° (NYPL)

Journal, September 6 – October 7 1822

Journal describing travels along the Rhine and through various German cities; plot for story; memoranda; etc.
34 leaves 16° 3 drawings (NYPL)

Journal, October 10 – October 20 1822

Journal describing his travels through Munich, Salzburg, etc.
36 leaves 16° (NYPL)

Journal, October 21 – November 15 1822

Journal describing his travels from Salzburg to Vienna with special reference to the Liechtenstein gallery and the Imperial gallery at Vienna.
35 leaves 16° (NYPL)

Journal, November 18 – November 28 1822

Journal describing his travels from Vienna to Dresden.
36 leaves 16° (NYPL)

Journal, December 3 1822 – January 19 1823

Journal describing his sojourn in Dresden, with special reference to social affairs, game hunting, etc.
35 leaves 16° (NYPL)

Journal, January 20 – May 20 1823

Journal describing his sojourn in Dresden, social affairs, studies, literary work, etc.
74 leaves 16° (NYPL)

Journal, May 20 – July 11 1823

Journal describing his travels from Dresden through Silesia and Bohemia and return to Dresden.
35 leaves 16° Some drawings (NYPL)

Journal, July 12 1823 – August 11 1824

Journals of his travels from Dresden to Paris and London.
388 pages 3 drawings (Virginia)

Journal, August 13 – October 19 1824

Journal describing his travels from London to Paris and Tours; sojourn in Paris.
36 leaves 16° (NYPL)

Journal, October 20 1824 – January 31 1825

Journal of his travels from Tours to Paris, sojourn in Paris, etc.
37 leaves 16° (NYPL

Journal, February 1 – June 13 1825

Journal describing social activities, literary work, etc while in Paris.
33 leaves 16° (NYPL)

Journal, June 14 – November 4 1825

Journal of his travels from Paris to Havre, Rouen, Paris, Versailles, etc.
34 leaves 16°, with 17 leaves 32° inserted (NYPL)

Notebook, 1825

Commonplace book containing extracts from reading.
On front cover: "Notes, Extracts, etc 1825".
94 pages 15.4cm (Washington, St Louis)

Journal, November 5 1825 – February 8 1826

Journal of his social and literary activities at Bordeaux.
14 leaves 16° (NYPL)

Journal, February 10 1826 – April 30 1827

Journal of travels from Bordeaux to Madrid; sojourn in Madrid; work upon the *Life of Columbus*, and Navarette's *Voyages*; social life; etc.
48 leaves 16° (NYPL)

Journal, May 1 1827 – February 29 1828

Journal kept in Madrid.
48 leaves 16° (Fordham)

Journal, March 1 – April 6 1828

Journal of his residence in Spain, with miscellaneous notes on Moorish legend and history.
157 pages sm 8° (NYPL-Berg)

Diary, April 4 1828 – February 28 1829

Diary of residence and travels in Spain.
72 leaves (131 pages) 15.1cm (Hispanic)

Notebook, March 29 – July 11 1829

Memoranda by Washington Irving of Sunnyside-Alhambra, Spain, 1829: Manuscript notebook, kept during a visit to Spain and the Alhambra in 1829.
122 pages 15cm (Yale)

Journal, July 28 – August 23 1829

Journal of his travels through Spain from Granada to Perpignan, describing scenery, natives, robbers, contrabandistas, etc.
32 leaves sq 8° (NYPL)

Journal, [July – August] 1829

Rough notes of his travels from Granada to Paris; expense account on inside cover.
A portion of the text of this volume will be found also in the Journal, July 28 – August 23 1829.
10 leaves 16° (NYPL)

Journal, September 3 – September 14 1832

Journal describing his travels by boat from Cincinnati, Ohio to St Louis, Missouri; with a drawing of buildings at Cincinnati.
38 leaves ob 32° (NYPL)

Journal, September 26 – October 6 1832

Journal of his travels from Independence, Missouri, across the prairies.
17 leaves 16° (NYPL)

Journal, October 6 – October [17] 1832

Journal of his travels through the western part of the United States.
40 leaves 16° 1 drawing (NYPL)

Journal, October 31 – November 10 1832

Journal of travels through western part of the United States.
18 leaves 16° (NYPL)

Journal, November 11 – November – 1832

Journal of travels through western part of United States.
16 leaves 16° (NYPL)

Notebooks, [1832?]

Four notebooks containing memoranda, extracts, etc relative to Indians, animals, flora, etc of Western part of the United States.
4 books, each volume 8 leaves 16° (NYPL)

Notebook, August 2 – August 30 1832

Notes in diary form.
84 pages 9.9cm (St John's)

Journal, September 11 – [September 24] 1833

Journal of his travels from Albany, New York, through Kinderhook, Hudson, Poughkeepsie, Kingston, Rochester, Ellenville, Wurtsboro, Goshen, Haverstraw, Nyack, Tappan and Hackensack to Communipaw, New Jersey.
21 leaves 16° (NYPL)

Journal, April 10 – July 20 1842

Journal of his travels from New York through Bristol, London, Sulgrave, Southampton, Havre, Rouen, Paris, Versailles, Orleans and Bayonne.
25 leaves 16° (NYPL)

Notebook, January 10 – January 24 1843

Notes dealing with his personal reminiscences, written at Madrid.
10 pages 21cm (Yale)

Notebook, undated

Autograph commonplace book containing observations and reading notes on the American character, the country's social economics, the US Navy, wealth, freedom, religion, etc.
94 pages 15½cm (NYPL-Berg)

Notebook, undated

Miscellaneous manuscript fragments, four of which are of notebook interest.
6 separate items: 9, 18½, 18½, 15, 12, 16cm (Yale)

Notebook, undated [1810?]

Manuscript notes, undated, with entries both in ink and pencil.
108 leaves (several blank) 13½cm occasional drawings (Yale)

Notebook, undated

Private memoranda: ms fragment of autobiography.
16 pages 19cm (Yale)

Notebook, undated

Trip through the West.
8 pages 12° (Virginia)

II

MISCELLANEOUS

Agreement with Galgnani and Didot, March 14 1824

2 pages (classified with correspondence) (Virginia)

Account-book, Jan 6 1820 – July 2 1831

Disbursements for the contingencies of the Legation of the United States at London; with his personal account-book for 1841.
15 leaves 16° (NYPL)

Account-book, 1840–1841

Recording personal, farm and stable, and household expenses, such as clothing, servant's wages, poultry accounts, etc, during the year 1840; also a summary of stocks and properties owned in 1841.
23 pages 12° (NYPL)

Account-book, 1841

Personal house and farm expenses for 1841. (*See* Account-book, Jan 6 1820 – July 2 1831, above).

Account-book, April – October 1842

Showing disbursements on a voyage from the United States to Spain (via England) to become minister to Spain; also expenses of furnishing and maintaining the Embassy in Spain.
26 pages sm 8° (NYPL)

Consular Information, ms ca 1842

Notes relating to American trade with Spain, apparently derived from the letter-reports of various US consuls in the several chief cities of Spain and from correspondence of the Spanish attachés. Written by Irving about the time he took up his post as American Ambassador to Spain.
16 leaves (rectos only, with statistics on 2d verso) sm 8° (NYPL-Arents)

General Order, 1814

As aide-de-camp. Albany, October 3 1814.
1 page (NY State)

[Last will and testament, July 28 1850]

Typewritten transcript.
3 leaves (NYPL)

Last will and testament, 1858

Dated Sunnyside, December 3 1858.
A copy — not autographed.
(Morgan)

Mortgage, 1840

Record of payment: April 20 1840, of a mortgage executed by David Godfrey of Ann Arbor to Washington Irving and Gouvernor Kemble of New York, May 16 1838.
(Michigan)

Power of Attorney, 1836

Issued by Washington Irving in favor of David Godfrey of Ann Arbor before Judge Ulshoeffer in New York, May 25 1836.
(Michigan)

Power of Attorney, 1838

Issued by Washington Irving at New York City, August 11 1838, to David Godfrey of Ann Arbor for the sale of 296 and 80 acres in what are now Ionia and Jackson Counties. Recorded in Jackson County.
(Michigan)

Receipt

Receipt for bonds in causes of C. T. Vogel et al. vs. Bonaventure Sire and B. F. Hasken vs. R. Underhill.
D.S. "for William Cutting Washington Irving."
1 page (NYPL)

III

LITERARY MANUSCRIPTS

Abbotsford

Notes made after 1850. 1 leaf (Yale)
Page 22. (Virginia)

Abderahman

Ms. [1840?]. (Hispanic)
Abderahman: portions of text extracted from the Knickerbocker magazine, May 1840, with holograph additions and corrections for the revised version printed in Irving's Spanish papers. 16 pages (NYPL-Berg)

Abu Hassan

Author's complete ms. 79 pages 12° (NYPL)

Address, delivered upon return from Spain

Ms. [1832]. 8 pages (Virginia)

The Alhambra

The Alhambra. 1 page 12° (NYPL)
Notes while writing the Alhambra, etc (1829). (Yale)
The Alhambra: ms, partly in author's, partly in copyist's hand, written in Spain and/or London, between 1829 and 1832, and used as copy for both the first American edition (Philadelphia 1832) and the first English edition (London 1832). (Illinois)
2 packets of holograph notes headed "Alhambra" and "The Alhambra." 44 pages, 20 pages (NYPL-Berg)
2 fragments and 11 pages of holograph translation apparently from B. J. Feijóo y Montenegro's Teatro critico (10 of the pages headed "The cave of Salamanca"). (NYPL-Berg)
The Alhambra: local traditions; early holograph draft for vol II, chapter 1 (Philadelphia 1832). 1 page (NYPL-Berg)

Alonzo the Chaste and Alonzo the Catholic

Early draft. 48 pages 8° (Virginia)

Anecdotas

Original ms of Two short stories, written in Spanish. 8 pages (Yale)

Ascham

Four quotations from Roger Ascham's *Toxophilus*. 2 pages (Columbia)

Astoria

Notebook containing queries, extracts from printed sources, etc, relating to *Astoria*. 8 leaves 16° (NYPL)
Parts of vol 1; chapters 6–8; 10–14; 16–18; 20–27; 29. [ca 1835]. 223 leaves (NYPL)
166 additional leaves rec'd May 1939; NYPL now has 17 complete chapters and 5 incomplete chapters. (NYPL)
Astoria. 123 pages (Virginia)

Bonneville

One page (Virginia)

Bracebridge Hall

Bracebridge Hall or The Humorists: vol 2. 335 leaves (Virginia)

249229

Bracebridge Hall [Dolph Hygeler] 7 pages (Virginia)
Bracebridge Hall. page 13 (Texas)
Bracebridge Hall: part of the original ms, containing 13 complete and 15 incomplete tales. (Columbia)
Bracebridge Hall: holograph of most of the introduction; and of a portion of "The author's farewell." 11 pages, 3 pages (NYPL-Berg)
Bracebridge Hall. 3 pages 12° (NYPL)
Bracebridge Hall: 14 chapters of the author's ms. 155 leaves, with 4 printed leaves 4° (NYPL)
Bracebridge Hall: 1 page of original ms. (Yale)
Bracebridge Hall: 29 handwritten lines which comprise the last paragraph of the chapter, "The School"; ms pages 77 and 78. (Buffalo)

Charles Martel

Notes relative to Charles Martel and Eudo, Duke of Aquitaine, and their defeat of the Saracens at Poictiers, A.D. 732. 2 pages (NYPL)

Chronicles of the Ommiades

A portion of the original manuscript. (Columbia)

Columbus

Life of Columbus: 1 page. (Mass Hist)
Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions of Columbus: 24 of 36 chapters. 465 pages 12° (Virginia)
Portraits of Columbus: original ms. (NY State)
Life and Voyages of Columbus: ms as prepared for printer of 1850 edition. (Virginia)
Life of Columbus: 2 pages, 1 page, 4 pages, preface (Madrid 1827). (Virginia)
Life and Voyages of Columbus: book 6, chapter 6, 8 pages; another portion, 1 page (missing); ms for a new edition, 116 pages. (Virginia)
History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus: vol I, Book 1, chapter 8 (N. Y. 1828), 11 lines of holograph of last paragraph. (NYPL-Berg)
History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus: scattered pages of holograph of Books 5 and 6 of vol I (N. Y. 1828). 19 pages (NYPL-Berg)
History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus: 1 page of chapter 38. (Duke)
History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus: ms [1847?]. Fragment: vol I, book 5, chapter 10. (Harvard)
The Triumph of Christopher Columbus, designed by himself. Rough translation (March 2 1843) of an unidentified work, accompanied by a page of galley proof. 2 ms leaves (NYPL-Berg)
Contract with publishers, Marsh, Capen & Lyon, March 1 1839. (Huntington)

Communipaw, N. J.

Essay on Communipaw, N. J. 11 leaves (NYPL)
Book of the Hudson: Communipaw; the first essay in the volume. 6 pages 12° (NYPL)
Communipaw: holograph signed "Hermanus VanderDonk." 21 pages (NYPL-Berg)
Holograph note relating to Communipaw. 1 leaf (NYPL-Berg)

Conciergerie of the Palais de Justice (?)

Holograph description. 1 page (NYPL-Berg)

The Conquest of Granada

The Conquest of Granada. 1025 pages (Morgan)
Portion of ms for a new edition. (Virginia)
Holograph of pages 247–257 of vol I (Philadelphia 1829). 16 pages (NYPL-Berg)

Conspiracy against Alhakin

Conspiracy against Alhakin — Its terrific suppression: ms [in Pierre Irving's hand] of chapter 8 of an unidentified work of Washington Irving. 4 pages (NYPL-Berg)

Conspiracy of the Cocked Hats

Ms of portion of the essay as published in Knickerbocker Magazine, October 1839. 2 pages 8° (NYPL)

The Conspiracy of Neamathla

The Conspiracy of Neamathla [ca 1840]. 24 pages 8° and 16° (Huntington)

Notebook containing notes for The Conspiracy of Neamathla [ca 1840]. 21 pages 8° (Huntington)

A Contented Man

[Published in Wolfert's Roost]. 10 pages 12° (Virginia)

Count Van Horn

Portion of essay published in *Wolfert's Roost*. 13 pages 12° (NYPL)

Crayon Papers

"Broek" 2 pages; "The Charming Letorieres," 10 pages (Virginia)

English and French Character

8 pages (Virginia)

Evening Gossip

Chapter 3 (fragment), an unpublished Spanish Tale. 2 pages (Columbia)

Fragments

Unidentified. 8 pages (Virginia)

French Romance

Original ms. 14 leaves (Yale)

Goldsmith, Oliver

Oliver Goldsmith: A biography. Author's ms for the revised edition published 1849, 2 vols. 4° (NYPL)

The Grand Prior of Minorca

Holograph addressed "To the editor of the Knickerbocker" and published as the introduction to The Grand Prior of Minorca; signed Geoffrey Crayon. 4 pages (NYPL-Berg)

Holograph signed with initials G.C. 36 [i e 34] pages (NYPL-Berg)

Guests from Gibbett Island

8 pages (Virginia)

Harvey

Anecdote of Admiral Harvey: Author's original ms. 2 pages 16° (NYPL)

Knickerbocker's History of New York

A History of New York from the Beginning of the World to the End of the Dutch Dynasty: fragment. 1 page (Harvard)

[A History of New York . . . by Diedrich Knickerbocker]: Ms. 2 vols 8° (incomplete) [1854]. Printed copy interleaved with author's ms. Corrections and revisions for edition of 1854. (Huntington)

Knickerbocker's History of New York: Original ms [incomplete]. 38 leaves, with 4 additional pages. (Virginia)

Knickerbocker's History of New York. Author's manuscript of first page, book 3, chapter 7. 1 page 4° (NYPL)

History of New York. 2 pages 4° (Virginia)

Knickerbocker's History of New York: author's apology to revised edition. 12 pages 12° (NYPL)

Knickerbocker's History of New York: chapter 6, page 1. 1 page 8° (NYPL)

History of New York: early draft of portions of page 196 and page 199 (1809 edition); marginal note: "draught of Knickerbocker. Washington Irving, 1838." 1 leaf (NYPL-Berg)

Notes for Knickerbocker, 1808. 16 pages (NYPL-Berg)

A history of New York: ms notebook with early drafts of passages used chiefly in vol 2 of the N. Y. 1809 edition. 30 pages (Yale)

Notes for Knickerbocker's History of New York, with other miscellaneous notes, 1807–1808. 22 leaves 16° (NYPL)

Notes for Knickerbocker's History of New York, 1808–1809. 23 leaves 16° (NYPL)

Notes while preparing Knickerbocker, 1807–1809. 71 leaves (Harvard)

The Legend of Prince Ahmed

Introduction.
8 pages 11.6cm (Princeton)

Legend of the Engulfed Convent

Legend of the Engulfed Convent, by Geoffrey Crayon, gent. 17 pages 30cm (NYPL-Berg)

Mahomet and His Successors

Original ms. 40 pages (NY Museum)

Mahomet: chapters 1–2, chapters 6–22, and part of chapters [48]–49. Differs greatly from 1850 edition; chapter 48 evidently an early draft. 167 pages (NYPL-Berg)

Mahomet: chapters 22 to Appendix. 340 pages. (NYPL-Berg)

Mahomet and His Successors: page of holograph of vol I, chapter 12. Differs slightly from page 123 of 1850 edition. (NYPL-Berg)

Notes used in writing Mahomet and His Successors [Madrid and Sunnyside, 1828–1849]. 101 pages (NYPL-Berg)

Notes used in writing Mahomet and His Successors. 100 pages (NYPL-Berg)

Notes on the life of Mahomet. 5 leaves 4° (NYPL)

Notes made for the study of the Arabic language previous to writing the *Life of Mahomet* (not in Irving's handwriting?). 30 leaves 16° (NYPL)

Quotation from the Historian Alcantara: background for Irving's Mohammed or Mohammed and His Successors. 1 page (Columbia)

Life of Mahomet: chapter 1. 15 pages 12° (Virginia)

Mahomet: page 367 appendix. (St John's)

Mathews

Mathews not at home. 3½ pages 8° (Virginia)

Mementos of Boabdil

Mementos of Boabdil, [Last Moorish monarch of Spain]. 2 page printer's proof with 4 pages author's manuscript additions. (NYPL)

Milton

Holograph copy of a quotation from one of Milton's letters to Carolo Deodati headed "Milton's meditation of Paradise Lost." 1 page (NYPL-Berg)

Milton's account of his motives for writing "Paradise Lost." 6 pages 12° (Virginia)

Miscellaneous Manuscript Material

Miscellaneous ms pages: notes for books; fragments of description; possibly parts of letters. 12 pages (Yale)

Miscellaneous ms materials. 92 pages, folio (Yale)

Miscellaneous holographs, including rough drafts of uncompleted essays and notes relating to the Sketch Book and Wolfert's Roost. 31 pages 32cm (NYPL-Berg)

Mountjoy

Author's ms. 67 leaves, with 13 printed leaves inserted to substitute missing manuscript. 4° (NYPL)

My Uncle

Original ms describing his character. 12 pages (Yale)

Newstead Abbey

Holograph (the first 4 pages wanting) [1834?]. 200 pages 32cm (NYPL-Berg)

Notes for Newstead Abbey. 104 pages (Virginia)

Newton the Painter

3 pages (NYPL-Berg)

Notes and Notebooks

Notes copied by Irving from an article in the British Review and Critical Literary Magazine [1811–1825]. 4 pages 12° (Huntington)

Notebook kept in Paris, 1824–1825, containing historical excerpts etc. In French and English. About 25 leaves 8° (NYPL)

Notes on American trade with Spain and Cuba [1844]. 10 leaves 16° (NYPL)

3 notebooks, chiefly memoranda concerning the Arabs, written about 1830. 75 pages, 72 pages, 58 pages (NYPL-Berg)

Notes from Arabian historians relating to Otman and his Christian bride and the defeat of the Moslems by Euden, duke of Aquitaine. 24 pages (NYPL-Berg)

Notes on the Tower of London: incomplete holograph. 15 pages (NYPL-Berg)

Ms notes written after 1850, in answer to twelve questions dealing with the times and places of writing; the dates of various editions with amounts received for each; and the dates of revision. 8 pages (Yale)

Notebook containing extracts of poetry and prose; hint for a tale of a farce; and miscellany. 77 leaves 16° (NYPL)

Notebook containing notes for The Origin of the White, The Red and the Black Man, etc [ca 1840]. 66 pages 8° (Huntington)

Ms notebook [1823]. 42 pages 12° (Virginia)

Paris at the Restoration

14 pages (Virginia)

Peter the Venerable

Story told by Peter the Venerable Abbot of Cluni: original ms. 11 pages (Yale)

Polly Holman's Wedding

Holograph notes of an unfinished story. 23 pages (NYPL-Berg)

Ralph Ringwood

[The early experiences of Ralph Ringwood, ca 1848]. 58 pages 8° (Huntington)

Notes of conversations with W. P. Duvall the original of Ralph Ringwood. 55 pages (NYPL-Berg)

Rocky Mountains

Fragments. 3 pages (Virginia)

Sahagun's Conquest of Mexico

Translation of Sahagun's Conquest of Mexico. 86 leaves 8° (NYPL)

Salmagundi

Salmagundi: Cockloft Hall. 1 page (Virginia)

The Schooner Amistad

Summary of original ms of Irving's notes, written after June 1842. 59 pages (Yale)

Seven Sons of Lara

18 pages (Texas)

The Seminoles

Ms [ca 1840]. 13 pages 8° and 16° (Huntington)

The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent

Original ms of some of the stories. 225 leaves (Virginia)

Sketch Book: incomplete drafts of the "Preface to the revised edition," N. Y. 1848. Included is the original of the ALS from John Murray, Albermarle [Oct 27 1819] which Irving used as part of his Preface. 12 pages (NYPL-Berg)

Spanish Papers

Historical notes on 11th-century Spanish history. 2 pages (Columbia)

Portions of early ms of "Fernando"; portions of final manuscript of "Fernando." Fernando the Saint. 16 pages 8° (Virginia)

Chronicle of Fernando the Saint: holograph of chapters 14 (beginning with paragraph 3)–16, and portion of chapter 17. 36 pages (NYPL-Berg)

Legend of Pelayo. 71 pages 8° (Virginia)

Fernan Gonzales. 108 pages (Virginia)

Unpublished ms [feud between Don Ruy Velasquez and Gonzalo Gustios]. 35 pages (Virginia)

Fernando the Saint. 97 pages (Virginia)

Unidentified ("A Spanish Tale"). 3 pages (Virginia)

Don Garcia Fernandez [unpublished]. 19 pages (Virginia)

Spanish paper relating to Don Garcia Fernandez of Castile: incomplete holograph. 33 pages (NYPL-Berg)

Legends of the conquest of Spain [Alhambra, Spain 1829]. 394 pages 31cm (NYPL-Berg)

Memoranda, extracts, etc, for the Chronicle of the Caliphs, from the death of the prophet to the invasion of Spain by the Saracens. 72 pages (NYPL-Berg)

Memorials of the conquest: ms in an unknown hand, paged 192–199. 8 pages (NYPL-Berg)
Proverbs, aphorisms, etc, apparently from Spanish or Arabic sources. 1 leaf (NYPL-Berg)
Spanish notes: miscellaneous. 32 pages (NYPL-Berg)
Historical notes on early 14th-century Spanish history. 7 pages (Columbia)
Notes for one of his Spanish histories. 4 pages 12° (NYPL)
Notebook of memoranda on Spanish literature, art and history. 1 vol 16° (NYPL)
Legend of Hixem. Specimen pages 21–48, 54–58 (Johns Hopkins)
Fragment of an unpublished Spanish Tale involving "Ruy Velasquez." 2 pages (Columbia)
Autograph poem in Spanish: "Ay Dios de Mi Alma" 9 Sept 1830. (Virginia)

Tales of a Traveller

Tales of a Traveller [ca 1824]. 185 pages 8° (Huntington)
Tales of a Traveller. 1 page (NYPL)
Tales of a Traveller: notes made after 1850. 1 leaf (12 items) (Yale)
Tales of a Traveller: "A Practical Philosopher." 1 page 4° (Virginia)

The Tagus

Ms [ca 1828]. 6 pages 12° (Virginia)

Talma

Conversations with Talma: Paris, [France] 1821. 18 pages (Huntington)

The Three Kings of Bermuda

The Three Kings of Bermuda and Their Treasure of Ambergris. 14 pages 30cm (NYPL-Berg)

Torre de la Observacion

Original ms. 5 pages (Yale)

Tour on the Prairie

Notes made after 1850 — concerning English publication. 1 leaf (Yale)
Tour on the Prairie. Ms pages 1–421 (Texas)

The Tuileries and Windsor Castle

Ms [ca 1825]. 12 pages 8° (Huntington)

Village of Las Dos Hermanos

Original ms. 12 pages (Yale)

The Vindication of Christmas

6 pages (Virginia)

Washington

Life of Washington: ms page 545 (no chap identification); chapter 9, pages 88–100 (Texas)
Life of Washington: ms notes, 125 pages; chapter 10, 8 pages; corrected page proofs, 6 pages. (Virginia)
Life of Washington: fragments, 32 pages [includes chapter 15, 22 pages]. (Virginia)
Life of George Washington: 1 page (vol IV pages 38–39). (Indiana)
Life of George Washington: 2 ms pages (vol IV pages 39–40 and 231). (Yale)

Life of Washington: 1 leaf (vol IV, pages 226–227). (Wellesley)

Life of Washington: 1 page (page 330 of vol IV from 12° ed, 1862 or earlier). (Andover)

Life of Washington: vol IV, chapter 9 [ca 1857]. 92 pages 8° (Huntington)

Life of George Washington: vol IV, chapter 15. 18 pages (NYPL-Berg)

Life of Washington: vol IV, chapter 33 [ca 1857]. 16 pages 8° (Huntington)

Life of Washington: Author's ms of chapters 1, 2 and 3 of vol V. 32 leaves (NYPL)

Life of George Washington: Author's ms of chapter 5, vol V. 19 leaves (printed text inserted, 6 leaves) 4° (NYPL)

Life of Washington: 66 pages equivalent to chapter 12, vol V [1859]. (Buffalo & Erie)

Life of George Washington: 1 page of author's ms (page 104, chapter 14, vol V [1859]) (NYPL)

Life of Washington: 20 pages from vols IV and V. (Morgan)

Life of George Washington: vol V, chapters 21 [i e 16]–20, chapters 22–25 (chapters 21 [i e 26], 24, and 25 incomplete). 128 pages (NYPL-Berg)

Life of Washington: vol V, chapters 29 and 30 [ca 1857]. 46 pages 8° (Huntington)

Life of George Washington: vol V, chapter 31. 27 leaves, with 5 leaves inserted of printed text 4° (NYPL)

Life of Washington: vol V, chapter 33 [ca 1857]. 14 pages 8° (Huntington)

Life of George Washington: a portion of the original ms. 75 pages large 8°, 8°, 12°, and 16° (NYPL-Arents)

Life of George Washington: holograph notes. 101 pages (NYPL-Berg)

Life of Washington: ms corrections [in Pierre Irving's hand] for vols 1–4; dated Feb 1 1858 – June 16 1859. 7 pages (NYPL-Berg)

Life of George Washington: 1 page 8° (NYPL)

Life of Washington: 1 page (ms page 1048). (Haverford)

Life of George Washington: 1 ms page. (Mass Hist)

Life of George Washington: 1 page. (Newberry)

Life of George Washington: 1 leaf. (Penna Hist)

Life of George Washington: author's ms notes. 1 page 12° (NYPL)

Notes for his *Life of George Washington*, including extracts from diaries, correspondence, etc. 47 leaves, with 9 leaves inserted 16° (NYPL)

Life of George Washington: miscellaneous ms notes for this work. 38 pages (Yale)

Notes for the Life of George Washington. 157 leaves 4° (NYPL)

Wigs and Haircutting

Draft of verses relating to wigs and haircutting [1804?]. 1 page (NYPL)

The Wild Huntsman

The Wild Huntsman [a tragedy]: author's complete ms. 106 pages 8° and 12° (NYPL)

Wilkie, Sir David

Essay on Sir David Wilkie in Spain: original ms corrected. 6 pages (Yale)

William the Conqueror

Unfinished essay [Paris 1824]. 23 pages (NYPL-Berg)

Wolfert's Roost

1 page (Virginia)
1 page (NYPL)

IV

MANUSCRIPT LETTERS

Collections not enumerated by years *

Period	Total	Addressees	Location
1809–1843	73 (54 transcripts)	Henry Brevoort	(NYPL)
1815–1859	70	Charles R. Leslie, Thomas Aspinwall, and others among his friends and family **	(NYPL-Berg)
1822–1858	210 (parts of 7)	Catherine Rodgers (Irving) Paris and Sarah Sanders (Paris) Storrow. [The majority of these fall between 1841 and 1843]	(Yale)
1821–1827	10	[Mrs] Thomas Wentworth Storrow	(Harvard)
1822–1859	44	Thomas Wentworth Storrow	(Harvard)
1822–1826	3	Susan Storrow	(Harvard)
1828–1842	18	Prince Dmitri Ivanovitch Dolgourki	(Yale)
1828–1837	4	Colonel Thomas Aspinwall	(Yale)
1828–1837	4	Sir David Wilkie	(Yale)
183?–1847	4	John A. Dix	(Columbia)
1853–1856	3	Professor Benjamin Silliman	(Yale)
	42	Private papers of Washington Irving to his family and friends and letters addressed to Irving	(NYPL)
	3	Letters in Allibone Collection	(Huntington)

Other letters by dates †

Year	Total	Addressees
1802	1	John Furman
1804	10	Alexander Beebee (3), Mons E. Cathalin, Cadwallader E. Colden, John Furman, Elias Hicks (2), to a brother, to "My dear fellow," Peter Irving (2)
1804–1805	9	William E. Irving, Jr
1805	8	Beebee, "Andrew Quoz," William Irving (3), Peter Irving, Andrew Hicks (2)
1807	6	Mary Fairlie (4), Rebecca Gratz, William Meredith
1808	1	
1809	3	Henry Brevoort, Jr, John Howard Payne (2)
1810	2	H. Brevoort, Jr, Col. John P. Van Ness
1811	4	H. Brevoort, Jr (2), Mrs [James] Madison, William P. Van Ness
1811–1812	4	James Renwick
1812	2	H. Brevoort, Jr, D. Longworth

* This list does not include the extensive manuscript holdings of Sleepy Hollow Restorations nor those of private collectors.

** The Berg Collection also includes a letterbook containing copies of 33 official letters written in 1844.

† None of the letters listed by collection in the previous list is included here.

Year	Total	Addressees
1813	2	Mrs Jane Renwick, Moses Thomas
1814	1	Moses Thomas
1815	5	H. Brevoort, Jr, C. Colden, Mrs Sarah (Sanders) Irving, Major [Henry] Lee, Moses Thomas
1816	5	Mrs Sarah Irving, Mrs Jane Renwick, Moses Thomas (3)
1817	6	Washington Allston, Carey & Lea, Peter Irving (4)
1818	5	Bartley, Joseph Hopkinson, [Thomas] Moore, Silas Richards, Henry Wheaton
1819	8	Henry Brevoort (3), Ebenezer Irving, James A. Hillhouse, J. T. Irving, G. S. Newton
1820	3	William S. Cardell, J. H. Payne (2)
1821	4	George Jay, T. Moore, J. H. Payne (2)
1822	7	T. Moore, G. S. Newton (2), J. H. Payne, Gen John P. Van Ness, William Wood
1823	15	H. Brevoort, Jr, W. Huskisson (Huthman?), J. H. Payne (13)
1824	17	Thomas Aspinwall, John Murray, J. H. Payne (15)
1825	23	Archibald Constable, Emily Foster, John Murray (2) Cadwallader Colden, J. H. Payne (18)
1826	7	William Macready, J. H. Payne (6)
1827	8	Thomas Aspinwall, Baring Bros, Lady Granard, Baron Carl Otto von Löwenstern, Philips, Marquis de Rumigny, Sir Walter Scott, William Sotheby
1828	9	T. Aspinwall (5), Henry Carey, Alexander Hill Everett, Sir David Wilkie (2)
1829	22	T. Aspinwall (6), I. M. Brachenburg, Byng, Allan Cunningham, A. H. Everett (2), Bernardy Henor (Henry?), Christopher Hughes (2), T. Moore, J. H. Payne (2), Henry Van Wart, Dr Wetherell, D. Wilkie
1830	23	T. Aspinwall (6), James Bandinal (?), I. M. Hopkins Brackenburg, C. C. Camberling, Mrs [Maria] Hopkins, Andrew Jackson, John Murray (2), John Howard Payne (2), Joseph Payne, William Sotheby, J. K. Teffts, J. Wetherell.
1831	25	T. Aspinwall (8), C. C. Camberling, Daniel Egerton, Theodore Lyman, Edward Livingston, Moore, J. Murray, Niles, C. Rich, Mrs Stalker, Charles S. Storrow, Robert Sulivan, transcript of official correspondence while Charge d'Affaires, John F. Watson, James Watson Webb, J. Wetherell, Henry Wheaton
1832	7	T. Aspinwall, Carey & Lea, William Jordon, Charles Latrobe, Frank Mills, R. Montgomery, Catherine Irving Paris
1833	12	William M. Blackford, C. C. Felton, (G?) Kemble (2), B. F. Minor, Catherine Irving Paris, Josiah F. Polk, Richard Rush, James M. Wayne, J. W. Webb
1834	4	William Irving (nephew), Lewis Cass, Mrs Anne L. Clarke, J. W. Webb
1835	21	T. Aspinwall (6), Henry Carey (2), Thomas Cole, Matthew Davis, Jonathan Goodhue, John Pendleton Kennedy (4), E. Livingston, George Ticknor, Aaron Vail (2), J. W. Webb
1836	11	T. Aspinwall, E. R. Billings, Benjamin F. Butler, Carey & Lea, Christomathian Society of Cincinnati, Virgil David, George Harvey, (G?) Kemble, Thomas Spring Rice, Sir D. Wilkie (2)

Year	Total	Addressees
1837	10	T. Aspinwall, Bishop, W. Clancy, Samuel G. Drake, Edward Everett, Gouverneur Kemble (2), George Naylor, S. Ward, Jr, Elkanah Watson
1838	9	Carey & Lea, G. F. Houghton, (G?) Kemble (5), Catherine Irving Paris, William H. Seward
1839	16	Joseph L. Chester, J. Goodhue, David Hoffman, (G?) Kemble, Lea & Blanchard, Elizabeth Leslie, John S. Littell, Russell H. Nevins, James Nock, William H. Prescott, W. H. Seward (3), I. K. Tefft, Samuel Ward, Stephen Whitney or John Austin Stevens
1840	14	Charles Bristed, Bennington Gill (2), (G?) Kemble (5), W. H. Prescott, W. H. Seward, Jared Sparks, C. S. Storrow
1841	9	Charles Dickens, Lea & Blanchard (3), John Shelling Popkin, George Roberts, A. Vail, Mrs Henry Van Wart, Mrs Sarah Van Wart
1842	31	Lucius D. Baldwin, Richard Bentley, Alexander Burton, John Gadsby Chapman, Louis Gaylord Clark, Joseph Green Cogswell, E. Everett, William H. Freeman, George Gibson, Julia Irving Grinnell, Miss Hamilton, (G?) Kemble, Lea & Blanchard, F. Markoe, Jr, T. L. Ogden, Catherine Irving Paris (copies of parts of letters), Sarah Paris Storrow, William C. Preston, Eliza Romeyn, W. H. Seward, J. Bayard Taylor, George Ticknor (3), Abel P. Upshur, A. Vail, Henry Van Wart, Daniel Webster (3)
1843	14	E. Everett (3), T. C. Moore, Catherine Irving Paris (4), Irving Paris, George Read, Sarah Storrow, G. Ticknor, A. Vail
1844	10	William R. King, Catherine Irving Paris (2), W. H. Prescott, I. K. Tefft, Henry O'Shea (2), Mrs Henry O'Shea
1845	14	Mrs Georgiana Bennett, Irving Paris, B. P. Poore, George P. Putnam, Sarah Storrow (2), H. O'Shea, Mrs H. O'Shea (7)
1846	21	James Bendcriel (?), James Buchanan, Curtis Guild, Mrs [Flora?] Dawson, Don Xavier Isturiz, J. P. Kennedy, Mrs O'Shea (12), Catherine Irving Paris (2), H. O'Shea
1847	8	David Appleton, Rufus W. Griswold, Helen (Mrs Pierre) Irving, Charles Lanman, John G. Mason, Mrs O'Shea (2), Cathrine Irving Paris
1848	8	Charles A. Borched (?), John H. C. Campbell, Henry Carey, T. L. Dwinell, [C. R.] Leslie, Rev I. Prince, George Sumner, John F. Watson
1849	3	John Middleton Clayton, Thomas Picton, Charles Dexter
1850	7	Robert Balmanno, Mr Betts, James Fenimore Cooper, (G?) Kemble, G. Ticknor
1851	18	Robert F. Adair, Bloomfield, Charles Augustus Davis, Editor of *Literary World*, E. Everett, Edward B. Gurney, George Harvey, Sir Robert Harry Inglis, J. P. Kennedy, Jesse Marvin, J. Murray, G. P. Putnam, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (2), W. H. Seal, G. Ticknor, D. Webster
1852	19	George Bancroft, W. C. Bryant, Alfred Clarke, Jos. G. Cogswell, E. Everett, Nathaniel Hawthorne, [Gouverneur] Kemble, J. P. Kennedy, Benson J. Lossing, James Nach, Ogden, George P. Patterson, George Putnam, W. C. Preston, James S. Whitney
1853	29	Alexander R. Boteler, Fred S. Cozzens, [Danielord?] "Friend and Co-Executor," Industrial Assn, of New York, Catherine Paris, Helen (Mrs Pierre) Irving (6), Pierre M. Irving, J. P. Kennedy (5), Mrs J. P. Kennedy (4), Gen George P. Morris (2), Donald Grant Mitchell, Sarah Storrow, William W. Waldron, Robert C. Winthrop (2), "to his nieces"

Year	Total	Addressees
1854	28	G. Bancroft (2), Lyman C. Draper, E. A. Duyckinck (3), E. Everett (2), Anne Irving, Helen (Mrs Pierre) Irving, J. P. Kennedy (5), Mrs J. P. Kennedy (3), Mrs O'Shea (2), Printer's Banquet Committee, G. P. Putnam, H. R. Schoolcraft, Bayard Taylor, R. C. Winthrop (2)
1855	20	Alvah Beebe, William Duane, Robert Forsyth, Edward Gray, Charles Gould, Helen (Mrs Pierre) Irving, J. W. Lestel, J. P. Kennedy, Mrs J. P. Kennedy (2), Library Committee of New York Society Library, R. Shelton Mackenzie, Messrs Putnam & Co., H. Smythe, Dr Stephen J. W. Taber, Moses Thomas, Osmond Tiffany, R. C. Winthrop, Joseph E. Worcester
1856	12	G. Bancroft (2), E. Everett, Mrs [Emily] Fuller, J. P. Kennedy, Andrew Preston Peabody, B. Silliman, Washington Smith, William A. Thomas, Townsend Ward, Rev Jos. P. Tuttle
1857	17	G. Bancroft (2), Messrs Childs and Peterson, Major Charles A. Davis (2), William Fox, Irving Assn Committee, W. Alfred Jones, Charles Lanman, C. C. Lee (2), Francis Lieber, James A. Maitland, T. W. Olcott et al, W. F. Smith, George Washington Warren, George Wilkes
1858	9	D. Appleton Co, G. Bancroft (3), Mrs Harriet Backus, George D. Canale, Lyman C. Draper, The Rev McHarg, Osmond Tiffany, Samuel L. Waldo
1859	14	G. D. Canale, Richard H. Dana, Jr, Charles Augustus Davis (4), Joseph Harrison, J. P. Kennedy, T. W. C. Moore, R. S. Oakley, Geo Tucknor, Henry T. Tuckerman, Rev Francis Vinton
undated	37	Lady Ashburton, Col Aspinwall, Mrs Astor, H. Brevoort, Jr, Lady Brydges, Madame Forter, Pierre M. Irving, (G?) Kemble, Rev I. W. Matthews, D. J. K. Mitchell, Newton, Sir Gore Oursseley, Catherine Irving Paris, J. H. Payne (3), Geo. Putnam (2), Thomas Ramay, Monsieur Reid, Geo. Sumner, William E. Stone, Mrs Stuyvesant, Under-Secretary of French Embassy, M. V. Buren, Irving Vansart, Mrs Van Wart (2), John Wetherell (2), W. B. Whipple

Some Forgotten Anecdotes About Swift

By BARRY SLEPIAN

University of Pennsylvania

IN 1752 the Earl of Chesterfield wrote to his "old friend" George Faulkner, the most famous Irish printer of the day, urging him to leave the world some record of his acquaintance with the great men of the Irish Augustan age. Specifically, Chesterfield suggested "a volume or two of Swiftiana." [1] Faulkner never produced a compilation of such length, but ten years later he did include in the eleventh volume of his edition of Swift's *Works* a short collection of Swiftiana entitled "Some Further Account of Doctor SWIFT, in a LETTER to the Earl of C_____."

In 1779 John Nichols reprinted Faulkner's "Further Account" in its entirety in the first volume of the supplement to the London edition of Swift's *Works*.[2] A few of Swift's eighteenth and nineteenth century biographers knew the "Further Account" and made use of it: C. H. Wilson took eight items for his *Swiftiana*; Sheridan took three for his *Life*; and Nichols added another to a later edition of Sheridan. One of Sheridan's items was subsequently used by Scott, Forster, and Craik. But in all the standard modern editions and accounts of Swift, there seems to be but a single reference to the "Further Account." [3] In the light of what is now known about the relationship between Faulkner and Swift, this neglect is not warranted.

Sir Harold Williams' *The Text of Gulliver's Travels* (Cambridge, England 1952) has convinced most scholars that Swift cooperated closely with Faulkner in the preparation of the early volumes of the Irish edition of the *Works*. Other evidence shows that theirs was more than a business relationship: Faulkner, for whom Swift wrote several highly complimentary letters of introduction, was a frequent visitor and at least occasional dinner guest at the Deanery.[4] The "Further Account" thus may have quite as much authority as the more well-known contemporary accounts by Orrery, Delany, Deane Swift, and Mrs Pilkington. Although many of the incidents that Faulkner

1 *The Letters of Lord Chesterfield,* ed Bonamy Dobrée (n p 1932) v 1971–72.

2 P lv–lxx.

3 See below, p 42, n 20. Sir Harold Williams does not list the "Further Account" in "Swift's Early Biographers," *Pope and His Contemporaries: Essays Presented to George Sherburn,* ed James L. Clifford and Louis A. Landa (Oxford 1949) 114–128.

4 See Charles O'Conor, "George Faulkner and Jonathan Swift," *Studies, an Irish Quarterly* xxiv (1935) 473–486; and my unpubl diss (Univ of Pa 1962), "Jonathan Swift and George Faulkner," Ch v.

relates antedate his friendship with Swift, the same objection can be raised against much of the material in the other early biographies.[5] The important point is that Faulkner knew Swift well enough to have obtained his material at first hand. And of course in his position as leading printer and prominent citizen, he knew a great many people who knew Swift well.

Nichols provided the following introductory note to his 1779 reprinting of the "Further Account":

> The character of Mr. *Faulkner*, the writer of this letter, is sufficiently known as a man of integrity, to preclude all doubts concerning the authenticity of the facts which are contained in it, as far as any of them fell under his own observation. It is not however so certain, but that his credulity might be imposed upon; and on that account some of the anecdotes mentioned in the former part of the letter must be relied upon with caution. Perhaps some of the circumstances may be thought too trifling and unimportant to deserve notice; but as, in the opinion of many readers, the most insignificant matters derive a degree of consequence from the character of the persons they are connected with, the Editor did not consider himself at liberty to abridge this epistle of the honest bookseller, which he seems to have been prompted to write by the recommendation of his friend the earl of *Chesterfield*, to whom it is addressed.[6]

Because Faulkner's material has not found its way into the modern studies of Swift, and because neither Faulkner's nor Nichols' editions are widely available, it would seem fitting to mark the two hundredth anniversary of the publication of the "Further Account" by reprinting it for our day. Some of the anecdotes are of considerable interest; they are all, as Nichols points out, about *Swift*.

The following text of the "Further Account" is from Faulkner's octavo edition of Vol XI of Swift's *Works*. My notes indicate the other biographers who either use Faulkner's material or provide some of their own on the same subject.[7]

[5] Faulkner's acquaintance with Swift probably dates from 1725, their business relationship from 1730, and their friendship from 1732, when Faulkner was censured and ordered arrested by the Irish House of Lords for printing in his newspaper, the *Dublin Journal*, an extract of Swift's *Considerations upon Two Bills*. See my diss, p 12–17, 42–44; and my note, "When Swift First Employed George Faulkner," *PBSA* LVI (1962) 354–356.

[6] P lv.

[7] I have examined the following biographies in the editions specified: Henry Craik, *The Life of Jonathan Swift*, 2 vols (London 1894); [Patrick Delany] *Observations upon Lord Orrery's Remarks* (London 1754); Irvin Ehrenpreis, *Swift* Vol I (Cambridge, Mass 1962); John Forster, *The Life of Jonathan Swift* (London 1875); Samuel Johnson, "Swift," *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets* (London 1781) III 379–451; John Boyle, 5th Earl of Orrery, *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift* (London 1752); Ricardo Quintana, *The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift* (New York 1953); Walter Scott, "Memoirs of Jonathan Swift," *The Works of Jonathan Swift* (Edinburgh 1814) vol I; Thomas Sheridan, "The Life of the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift," *The Works of the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift*, ed Thomas Sheridan (London

FAULKNER: "FURTHER ACCOUNT"

My Lord,

Having been often sollicited by you and many other Persons of Learning and Consequence, to write some Anecdotes of Dr. *Swift*, I always told you my Incapacity for such a Task, that I had not Leisure, from my own Business, and that, as there were many Authors who had already published his Life, I could say very little after them; however, in Compliance with your Commands, I send you some few Particulars of that great and good Man.

In his very early Days, he was fond of knowing Variety of Life, in all Shapes whatever, from the Beggar to the Prince. When he was a Child, he left his Mother to go stroling with some vagrant Gypsies, who treated him very ill, because he would not steal Poultry and Linen for them, on which he left them at the End of three Days, and made what Haste he could Home.

At other Times he was a Waggoner's Boy, a Boot Catcher, an Ostler, a Waiter at a Tavern; would sometimes dress himself like a Weaver, a Shoe-maker and other Journeymen in *London*, to get into the Knowledge of their Professions. But his greatest Desire was to be Footman to a Lady, for which Purpose he would hire Livery Cloaths, enquire for Service at their Houses or Lodgings, but, on Examination for his Character and Discharges, and Enquiry into his Behaviour, at the Places he said he had lived, he was always disappointed, which gave him great Concern.

He took a Frolick when he was a young Man to borrow a Beggar's Cloaths, in which Disguise he went to a neighbouring Farmer's in *Gloucestershire*, when all the Family were at Work in the Fields at Harvest Time, excepting the Wife, to whom he applied for Alms, pretending to be very lame and helpless; but, instead of meeting with Relief, she abused him, calling him Thief, Rogue, and Robber, and made a hideous Noise, which alarmed the Husband and the Servants so much, that they all ran to the House; but, before they got thither, *Swift* took to his Heels and escaped; after which he never again attempted to beg; and often said, that young Beggars got very little by their stroling Trade in *England*.

When Lord *Berkely*, one of the Lords Justices of *Ireland*, was in that Kingdom, to whom Dr. *Swift* was Chaplain, *Lady Betty Berkely* his Daughter, was very fond of reading the great Mr. *Boyle's* Meditations, and frequently desired Mr. *Swift* to read to her; but, being one Time interrupted by Company, he stopped, and my Lady desired him to fold down the Leaf where he left off: Next Day her Ladyship requested him to read to her again, when he began with the Meditation on a Broomstick, which pleased her so extremely well, that she ran on in the highest Raptures on Mr. *Boyle*, who could write so religiously on a Broomstick. But, Lady *Betty* opening the Book some Time after, found the Meditation on the Broomstick, in Mr. *Swift's* Hand Writing, and stuck in at the Place where he had

1784) vol I; another edition in *Works*, ed Thomas Sheridan and John Nichols (London 1808) vols I–II; Deane Swift, *An Essay upon the Life, Writings, and Character of Dr. Jonathan Swift* (London 1755); Jonathan Swift, "Fragment of Autobiography," *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed Temple Scott, XI (London 1907) 367–386; [Charles Henry Wilson] *Swiftiana*, 2 vols in 1 ([London] 1804). In the original edition, excerpts from Mrs. Pilkington's *Memoirs* and Hawkesworth's *Account of the Life of the Reverend Jonathan Swift* precede Faulkner's "Further Account," which provides further information not in these two sources.

been reading. This had the desired Effect, as Mr. *Swift* never was called upon again to read to her Ladyship.[8]

When the Dean was in *London*, he agreed with Mr. *Pope* and Mr. *Gay*, to take a Journey into the Country, for about a Fortnight, and ordered his Servants (who were on board Wages) to prepare themselves; but one of them, who was a Stranger in *England*, did not come to his Master's Lodgings until he had set out, which threw the poor Man into the greatest Agonies, being entirely destitute of Money and Friends; upon which, he hired himself to a Farmer at *Islington*, to make Hay, and when he expected the Dean in Town, he enquired for him at his Lodgings; when his Master asked him, how he dared to be absent, and not to attend him into the Country? The poor Fellow answered, he had overslept himself, and was distracted when he heard he was gone to the Country, as he had no Money or Friends in *London*; owed for the Rent of his Lodgings, which he could not pay, and was afraid of being taken up for an *Irish* Robber; which Story so pleased and moved the Dean, that he took him again into his Favour, gave him double Board Wages for the Time he was absent, and made him a Present of three Guineas for his great Industry.

Some Time after Dr. *Swift* came to the Deanry of St. *Patrick's*, taking his Rounds through the Liberty of his Precincts, he saw a Nayler and his Wife at work, very early in the Morning, and stopping to talk with them, asked, how much they earned in a Week, what Children they had, and, how much Money to carry on Trade? They answered, they had five Children, no Stock, nor any Money to carry on Business, nor could they ever have a Penny at the Week's End, being obliged to pay very dear for what Iron they had from the Monger, who employed them to make Nails, which he had very cheap from them, and made them pay the highest Price for the Rod-Iron, as he gave them Credit, and took it out in Work; and, what with the Expence of Rent, Coals, and Maintenance of their Children, they could never have one Halfpenny beforehand. The Dean then asked the Man, how much Money would be sufficient to buy him Rod-Iron and Coals, and to sell his Nails to another Iron-Monger, and to dispose of some in his own Shop? The Nailer answered, thirty Shillings, which would make him very happy. The Dean replied, suppose I should lend you that Money, how do you propose to pay it? The Nayler answered, by a Shilling a Week. Then said the Dean, I will advance you three Guineas, to be paid me by a Shilling every Week. I insist upon your being punctual in the Payment, very honest and very industrious, which is the surest Way to thrive. The Dean, although he often passed by the Shop, which was in *Newstreet*, near the Dean's Liberty, seeing the Nailer still continue his Industry, did not call to him in three Years; then asked him, how his Wife and Children were? What Stock in Trade he had by him? And, whether he could pay him the Money he lent him? The Nailer immediately shewed him his Wife and Children, who were very clean and decently dressed; told him how much his Trade and Stock were increased; that he had the Money ready to pay him; for which, he, his Wife and Children, were most thankful, as in Duty bound, for their

[8] Sheridan (42–45) gives a fuller account, which he says he got from Lady Lambert, who in turn got it from Lady Betty Germain, Lady Berkeley's daughter. Wilson (II 180) follows Faulkner. Forster (232–233) and Craik (I 173) both give brief accounts which could be derived from Faulkner, Wilson, or Sheridan. Herbert Davis, in the introduction to *A Tale of a Tub with Other Early Works* (Oxford 1957), quotes at length (p xxxiii–xxxiv) from Sheridan but fails to mention Faulkner's earlier account.

extreme Happiness from so generous and good a Benefactor; and that after paying the Dean, he had thirteen Guineas, and odd Money, and was out of Debt. This Debt the Dean refused, and made the Nailer a Present of five Guineas more, for his great Industry and Œconomy. This, it is reported, was the first Cause of the Dean's lending small Sums to poor industrious Tradesmen.

No Man was ever more liberal to his Friends, or to worthy People in Distress. When he came to the Deanry of St. *Patrick's*, it was then worth 700 *l.* a Year, and he had two other Livings in Commendam with that, which made his Income near 1000 *l.* per Annum,[9] which he endeavoured to divide into three Parts, for the following Purposes; first, to live upon one Third of it. Secondly, to give another Third in Pensions and Charities, according to the Manner in which the People who received them, had lived; and the other Third, he laid by to build St. *Patrick's* Hospital, for the Reception of Idiots and Lunaticks: [10] But, he did not strictly adhere to these Rules; for, being a most regular and temperate Man, and keeping no more than three Saddle Horses, two Servants in Livery, a Housekeeper, and Maid, who were all at Board Wages, he did not spend one Quarter of his Income upon Himself, Servants, and Horses; and therefore he must have given more than Half his Income in Pensions and charitable Uses during his Life; which is confirmed by the Fortune he left behind him, which did not amount to 11,000 *l.*[11] although he laid by Money every Year; which, at common Interest, and according to the above-mentioned Scheme of Œconomy, would have amounted to more than double that Sum; and what is remarkable in this generous Man, that when he lent Money, upon Bond or Mortgage, he would not take the legal Interest, but one *per Cent.* below it.

He could not be charged with Prodigality or Extravagance, but in one Instance; and that was, in having a compleat Service of Silver Plate, which might have cost 1000 Pounds, and made him often say, *I am the poorest Man in* Ireland, *that hath a Service of Plate; and the richest dignified Gentleman who doth not keep a Coach or a Chariot.*[12]

In the Year 1715, when *James Butler*, Duke of *Ormond*, who went from *England* to *France*, to avoid the Persecution of Party, was afterwards degraded from all his Honours and Titles, to the Degree of a Yeoman; his Pictures and Coat of Arms

[9] Johnson (440): "The revenue of his Deanery was not much more than seven hundred a year." Craik (II 176): "His income as Dean, and Vicar of Laracor and the conjoined cures, was £700 or £800 a year." Mr Landa, in "Swift's Deanery Income," *Pope and His Contemporaries*, says that Swift's deanery income, as of 1742, was £812 and that his income from his other parishes was probably less than £200. According to Mr Landa, some of Swift's enemies reported his deanery income to be £1000 (169–179). Mr Ehrenpreis (156) says that the Deanery "was valued at a thousand pounds a year." He gives no source.

[10] Sheridan's version (270) differs in only one particular and may have been derived from Faulkner. Sheridan says that one third of Swift's income was "laid up as a provision against the accidents of life, and ultimately with a view to a charitable foundation at his death."

[11] Orrery (188): "Unless I am misinformed, he died worth about twelve thousand pounds, inclusive of the specific legacies mentioned in his will, and which may be computed at the sum of twelve hundred pounds; so that the remainder, near eleven thousand pounds, is entirely applicable to the hospital for idiots and lunatics." Craik (II 176): "Before his death, he had saved more than eleven thousand pounds."

[12] This saying is given also by Johnson (411–412). Sheridan (in the Nichols edition, II 11–12), and Craik (II 177). Nichols evidently borrowed from Johnson, but the relationships between the other versions are not clear.

were taken down and cut in Pieces, in the most ignominious Manner, in all publick Places where he had Titles and Employments, and particularly in the Universities of *Oxford* and *Dublin*, of which Places he was Chancellor; and when Mr. *Hawkins*, Ulster King of Arms, in *Ireland*, came to the Cathedral Church of St. *Patrick's*, *Dublin*, attended by proper Officers, to take down the Arms of the *Ormond* Family, which were then in that Church, and where they still continue, the Dean would not permit him to touch them, or suffer so great an Indignity to be offered to that Family, or to Himself, or his Chapter; which was the only Instance of Opposition in the King's Dominions; in which he acted with unparalleled Friendship to that great, but unhappy Nobleman, as well as in preserving the Rights and Dignity of Himself, and the Independency of his Chapter.[13]

Dr. *Swift* always lived in the strictest Friendship with People of Genius and Learning, and seldom broke with them on Account of Party Principles. I have seen the most friendly and affectionate Letters between him and Mr. *Addison*, and shall give you the following:

To the Reverend Dr. *Swift*.

Dublin, June 3, 1710.

DEAR SIR,

I am just now come from *Finglas*, where I have been drinking your Health, and talking of you with one who loves and admires you better than any Man in the World, except your humble Servant. We both agree in a Request, that you will set out for *Dublin* as soon as possible. To tell you truly, I find the Place disagreeable, and cannot imagine, why it should appear so now, more than it did last Year. You know, I look upon every Thing that is like a Compliment as a Breach of Friendship; and therefore, shall only tell you, that I long to see you, without assuring you, that I love your Company and value your Conversation more than any Man's, or that I am, with the most inviolable Sincerity and Esteem,

Dear Sir,
Your most faithful,
Most humble, and
Most obedient Servant,
J. ADDISON.[14]

Mr. *Addison*, was one of the Few, who were sincere in their Friendship to Dr. *Swift*, of which he gave a noble Instance. Early in the Reign of King *George* I. His Majesty appointed the Earl of *Sunderland*, Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and recommended Mr. *Addison* to him for his Secretary; for which, Mr. *Addison* was very thankful. But then, said my Lord, there are some People in *Ireland*, who are not agreeable to me, with whom, I hope, you will not converse, when you go thither. Mr. *Addison* answered, he was much obliged to his Majesty for the Honour intended him; but, that he could not comply with his Excellency's Request; as he would not sacrifice his Friendship for Dr. *Swift* to be made Chief Governor of that Kingdom.[15]

13 Taken from here by Wilson (II 189–190).

14 First printed here and reprinted in *Works*, ed Sheridan and Nichols, X 106; *Works*, ed Walter Scott, XV 322–323; *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed F. Elrington Ball, I (London 1910) 181–182; and *The Letters of Joseph Addison*, ed Walter Graham (Oxford 1941) 220–221. Ball reprints from Faulkner, and Graham from Scott.

15 Taken from here by Wilson (II 177). The incident is not reported in Peter Smithers, *The Life of Joseph Addison* (Oxford 1954).

On the 5th of *November* 1709, Dr. *Sacheverel* preached a Sermon suited to the Day, at St. *Paul's* Cathedral, *London*, before the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen, which Sermon was printed and censured by the House of Commons for a malicious, scandalous and seditious Libel, highly reflecting on her Majesty Queen *Anne*, her Government, the late happy Revolution, and the Protestant Succession. On *December* 15, Dr. *Sacheverel* was impeached for high Crimes and Misdemeanors, taken in Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, and impeached at the Bar of the House of Lords, in the Name of the Commons of *Great-Britain*, for high Crimes and Misdemeanors, and delivered into Custody of the Deputy Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod; was tried before the Lords, and found guilty on the 20th of *March* following. The Doctor, by Order of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, was silenced for three Years from Preaching; and that Sermon and another, to be burned by the Hands of the common Hangman, before the Royal Exchange in *London*, which was accordingly executed. When this Affair was over, the Ministry took very little Notice of him, and treated him with great Indifference: But, upon the Rectory of St. *Andrew's*, *Holborn*, being vacant, the Doctor applied to them for that Living, but they had no Regard to his Sollicitation; upon which he wrote to Doctor *Swift*, with whom he had but a slender Acquaintance, to request his Interest with the Government for that Parish; and set forth, how much he had suffered for them and their Cause. Dr. *Swift* immediately carried this Letter to Lord *Bolingbroke*, then Secretary of State, who railed much at *Sacheverel*, calling him a busy, intermeddling Fellow, a Prig and an Incendiary, who had set the Kingdom in a Flame, which could not be extinguished, and therefore deserved Censure instead of a Reward. To which *Swift* replied, true, my Lord, but let me tell you a short Story: "In a Sea Fight in the Reign of *Charles* II. there was a very bloody Engagement between the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets, in the Heat of which, a *Scotch* Seaman was very severely bit by a Louse on his Neck, which he caught, and stooping down to crack it between his Nails, many of the Sailors near him, had their Heads taken off by a Chain Shot from the Enemy, which dashed their Blood and Brains about him; on which, he had Compassion upon the poor Louse, returned him to his Place, and bid him live there at Discretion; for, as he had saved his Life, he was bound in Gratitude, to save his." The Recital of this, put my Lord *Bolingbroke* into a Fit of Laughter, who, when it was over said, "The Louse shall have the Living for your Story." And, soon after, *Sacheverel* was presented to it.[16]

A young Clergyman, the Son of a Bishop in *Ireland*, having married without the Knowledge of his Friends, it gave Umbrage to his Family, who, on that Account were very angry, and his Father would not see him. Dr. *Swift* being in Company with him some Time after, said, "That when he was a School Boy at *Kilkenny*, he longed very much to have a Horse of his own to ride on; that one Day he saw a poor Man leading a very mangy, lean Horse out of the Town to kill him for the Skin and the Shoes. *Swift* being much moved, asked the Man, if he would sell him? The Bargain was very soon made, and *Swift* gave him all the Money he had, which was about eighteen Pence: The Purchaser immediately got on him, to the

[16] Sheridan (133–134) and Wilson (II 180–182) take this from Faulkner. Scott (115 n) takes it from Sheridan. In the *Journal to Stella*, ed Harold Williams (Oxford 1948) II 469, 477, 515–516, Swift writes that at Sacheverell's request he used his influence with the government to get a place for one of Sacheverell's brothers.

very great Envy of some of his School-Fellows, and to the Ridicule of others, and rode him about the Town; but the Horse very soon tired, and lay down; *Swift* who had no Stable for him, nor any Money to pay for his Grazing, Hay, or Oats, began to cry, and wept for the Money: But, the Horse died immediately, which gave the Owner great Relief." To this the young Clergyman answered, "Sir, your Story is very good, and applicable to me. I own I deserve it," and then burst into a Flood of Tears. The Dean made no Reply, but went the next Day to the Lord-Lieutenant, prevailed on him to give the young Gentleman a small Parish which was then vacant, to support him and his Wife, and soon after made a Reconciliation between the Father and the Son.[17]

Being in Company one Day with Dr. *Bolton*, Archbishop of *Cashel*, and Doctor *Edward Synge*, Bishop of *Elphin*, and other Trustees of the Linen Manufacture; he asked them, why that Board did not elect him a Trustee, that he might have it in his Power to serve his Country? The Archbishop answered, *That he was too sharp a Razor and would cut them all.* To which the Dean made no Reply.[18]

He could never prevail on Lord *Carteret* to make him a Trustee of the Linen Board, or, to recommend him to be a Justice of the Peace, although he was in the greatest Intimacy and Friendship with his Excellency, who said, I am sure, Mr. Dean, you despise both these Feathers, and would not accept of them; the Dean reply'd, No, my Lord, I do not, as I might be serviceable to the Public in both Capacities; but, as I would not be governed by your Excellency, nor jobb at that Board, or suffer Abuses to pass there, or at Quarter Sessions or Assizes, I know, you will not indulge me for the Good of this unhappy Nation: But, if I were a worthless Member of Parliament, or a Bishop, would vote for the Court, and betray my Country, then you would readily grant my Request: To which his Excellency rejoined with great Freedom and Politeness; what you say is literally true, and therefore you must excuse me.

The Dean took much Pains to be well informed in all Affairs relating to *Wood's* Halfpence and the Constitutions and Laws of *England* and *Ireland*, relating to the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Liberties of the People; which made him take more Time in writing the Drapier's Letters, than any other Part of his Works; the shortest of which Letters, took up at least ten Days Time to finish and to write them according to Law, and to the Level and Understanding of the most illiterate of the common People.

He was held in such Veneration and Honour by all the Members of his Chapter, that they unanimously voted him 20 Pounds a Year out of their Œconomy to keep the Deanry House in Repair; and, as a further Mark of their Esteem, they had his Picture painted at full Length, by Mr. *Bindon*, the most eminent Painter of *Ireland*, who had several Poems wrote to him in *Latin* and *English*, upon his fine Performance; which Picture, is the Property of all succeeding Deans and Chapters, and placed in the large Parlour of the Deanry House, with a large fine carved *Irish* Oak Frame round it.

At a Commencement in *Trinity College, Dublin*, some Time about the Year 1734, Dr. *Swift* came into the Regent House, where the Vice Chancellor, Doctors,

[17] Sheridan (468) takes this from here. Scott (51 n) and Craik (I 14) take it from Sheridan. Forster (41) takes it from either Sheridan or Scott.

[18] This paragraph and the following one are given nearly word for word by Wilson (II 217–218).

and Masters were sitting: On his Entrance, the Masters, nearest the Door, rose up, and so on in Succession, until he advanced towards the Head of the Room, where the Vice Chancellor, Doctor *Sterne*, Bishop of *Clogher*, and Doctor *Baldwin*, Provost, sat as Presidents; and, notwithstanding all the Discouragements of the Vice Chancellor, and others, at that End of the Room, almost every one found themselves in a Disposition to rise up. The same happened to *Virgil* in the Senate of *Rome*.

Alderman *Barber*, who was Lord Mayor of *London* in the year of 1733, and had printed several political Pieces for Dr. *Swift*, made a Present of the Dean's Picture to the University of *Oxford*, with the following Inscription:

JONATH. SWIFT, S. T. P.

Decan. S. Patr. Dubl.

Effigiem Viri Musis amicissimi,

Ingenio prorsus Sibi proprio celeberrimi;

Ut Ipsum suis Oxoniensibus aliquatenus redonaret,

Parietem habere voluit Bodleianum

1739

JOHANNES BARBER, Armiger, Aldermanus

Nec ita pridem Praetor Londinensis.

The Rev. Mr. *Hart*, an eminent Poet, and Author of the Life of *Gustavus Adolphus*, hath informed some of his Friends, that he had read eleven Sermons of the Dean's, which he had lent to Mr. *Pope*, who assured Mr. *Hart*, they were the best he ever had read, and Mr. *Hart* hath said the same, who was very circumstantial in telling they were not only stitched together, but in a black Leather Case; that they were among Mr. *Pope*'s Papers, when he died, and that he believed, that Dr. *Warburton*, who had the Revisal and Publication of all *Pope*'s Writings, after his Death, might have seen them: if so, it is hoped that learned Gentleman will oblige the World with the Publication of so vast a Treasure.

Dr. *Swift* frequently cleaned his Library, to clear it of Rubbish, and often burned M.S. of his own, which did not please him. One Day in particular, he brought above thirty of his Sermons from the Study into his Bed-Chamber, where he was going to throw them into the Fire; and being asked, what Papers they were? He answered, Old Sermons, which I shall never preach again; upon which Dr. *Sheridan* begged them, saying, they would be very useful to him, who might preach very often, on which the Dean gave them; three of these Sermons, to wit, on the Trinity, on the Testimony of Conscience, and, on mutual Subjection, were published after Dr. *Sheridan*'s Death, by his eldest Son *Thomas*, who hath made a great Figure as an excellent Player, and also as an Author, by his Treatise on *British* Education. What became of the others we cannot tell: But five other Discourses, with great Difficulty, have been procured, and added to the foregoing.[19]

The Dean in his Tour through *Ireland*, visiting *Waterford*, enquired who were the Clergy resident there? Amongst them *Robinson* was his Acquaintance, and

[19] There is no reason to believe that Faulkner took his account from Orrery's (204), which differs in language and in some details.

accepted the Dean's Invitation to shew him the City. Passing near the Remains of an old publick Building, the Dean observed a carved Stone; it was at some small Distance, but the Way to it so covered with the most nauseous Filth, that he prevailed on *Robinson* to carry him thither on his Back. When he had satisfied his Curiosity, by viewing the Arms of the City, with this Motto,

Urbs intacta manet.

He returned to his Inn, and wrote the following Stanza.

URBS INTACTA MANET — *semperque intacta manebit:*
Tangere Crabrones quis bene sanus amat?

Robinson enquired the Meaning of *Crabrones;* the Dean asked him if he had ever, until that Day, travelled through a Country of Hornets? But, said the Dean, for the benefit of our Female Friends, I will translate the Epigram. After a very short Pause, he did it thus:

A Thistle is the Scottish *Arms,*
Which to the Toucher threatens Harms:
What are the Arms of Waterford?
That no Man touches — but a T____d.[20]

When he travelled in the Country, he would often buy Halfpennies worth of Tobacco, which is usually sold by Measure, when retailed, to give to poor *Irish* People, who are very fond of this disagreeable Weed. At one Place, where he thought the Measure too large, he bought thirty-two Halfpenny Worths, and desired the Person who sold it, to weigh them altogether, which was done, and the Tobacco came to three Shillings and Sixpence, on which, he blamed the Man for his Folly, and made a Measure for him, by which he got a reasonable Profit, instead of being ruined.

He went to Church three Times on *Sundays*: In the Morning, to his own Cathedral; in the Afternoon to the *French* Church, (under the Roof with St. *Patrick's* Cathedral;) and, in the Evening, to the Cathedral again, where Divine Service was performed in the most grand and solemn Manner, and much resorted to by Persons of the greatest Quality and Distinction.

Fires have sometimes happened in *Dublin,* by which People of all Denominations have been Sufferers; upon which melancholy Occasions, the Dean always exerted himself, not only in Person, by going from House to House, to make Collections for them; but would write and recommend their melancholy Cases to the Publick; would go to the afflicted Sufferers, offer them his Service, and would be the first to subscribe in a most princely and generous Manner to their Relief; which worthy Example of his, the benevolent Citizens of *Dublin* would imitate.

He once had a Design of leaving 300 *l.* a Year for ever, to be lent out at Interest, in small Sums, not exceeding twenty Pounds, which every Year would increase

[20] These paragraphs on Swift's visit to Waterford are given almost word for word by Wilson (II 192–193). They are also reprinted from Faulkner by Sir Harold Williams in his section on poems attributed to Swift (*The Poems of Jonathan Swift* (Oxford 1937) III 1146–47). This is the only reference to the "Further Account" by a modern Swift scholar that I have been able to find.

three hundred Pounds, out of which, only thirty Pounds a Year, was to be paid to a Clark: But, some great Men of the Law, advised him to the contrary, and said, that instead of being a publick Good, it would become a Monopoly, great Men would endeavour to be Trustees, and instead of serving the Poor, would apply this Money to their own Uses, upon which, the Dean laid his Design aside.

His Acquaintance consisted of the best and greatest Men of *Ireland*, Archbishop *King*, Dr. *Helsham*, Dr. *Delany*, Dr. *Bolton*, *&c.* When these Persons died, he sought for no Acquaintance but with those of middling Understandings and small Fortunes, which gave him an Opportunity of improving their Minds, and shewing his Liberality and Generosity to them, whose Chair and Coach-Hire he would pay in a most bountiful Manner, whenever they waited on him; and, it was a constant practice with him, when he dined with Persons of inferior Fortune to himself, to carry a small Joynt of Meat, a Fowl, or Fish, with Bread, Wine, Salt, Pepper, and Vinegar, Table Cloth, and Napkins, which no one took amiss, but gave him his Way, as it was always thought an Honour to have his Company. This Custom he practised in the Country ten Miles about the City. He was always attended by two Servants when he went out of Town, each of whom, he made to carry a single Boot, to prevent any Pride, Jealousy, or Strife between them.[21]

It was sometimes a Custom with him, to allow a Saturnalia to his Servants, (according to the old *Roman* Custom) at which Time he would attend them with Gentlemen of his Acquaintance, and allow them a genteel Entertainment, with all the Freedom and Talk they could use.[22]

He was very indulgent to young Authors, by giving them good Advice, correcting their Works, and telling them where they were mistaken.[23]

Sometimes before the Dean's Memory failed him, Dr. *Delany* went to visit him one Morning, and asked, Mr. Dean, how do you? He answered, 'I am not the Dean, I am not what I was; pity me, and pray for me.'[24]

For many Years before he died, he was afraid of losing his Memory, which made him dread a long Life; this Misfortune, he was so very sensible of, that he drew the strongest Picture of it imaginable in the Character of the *Strulbrugs* in *Gulliver's* Travels.

One Time in a Journey from *Drogheda* to *Navan*, he rode before his Company, made a sudden Stop, dismounted his Horse, fell on his Knees, lifted up his Hands and prayed in the most devout Manner. When his Friends came up, he desired, and insisted on their alighting, which they did, and asked him the Meaning? 'Gentlemen,' said he, 'pray join your Hearts in fervent Prayers with mine, that I may never be like this Oak Tree, which is decayed and withered at the Top, whilst all the other Parts are sound.'

21 Sheridan (441), followed by Wilson (II 193–194), gives a longer and different story about a dispute between two of Swift's servants over who should carry the Dean's spatterdashes and spurs.

22 Scott (438) gives an account of a particular saturnalia, with the note: "This anecdote is given by Theophilus Swift, on the authority of Mrs. Whiteway. It appears in an exaggerated and distorted form in the Swiftiana, Vol. II, p. 54, where it is said there was a purpose to make the Saturnalia annual, but that the Dean, unable to endure the raillery of the butler, gave a loose to passion, beat his representative, and drove the servants out of the room. For these additions, I am informed by Mr. Swift, there is no foundation."

23 Scott (485): "The same criticism to which he himself so readily deferred, he was willing to extend for the benefit of his friends, or of any young man of promising talent."

24 Given by Wilson (lxxvi–lxxvii).

'Another Time, walking with Dr. *Young*, the celebrated Poet, and some others, about a Mile from *Dublin*, the Dean stopped short, the Company passed on, but not seeing him follow, Dr. *Young* went back, and found the Dean fixed as a Statue, earnestly gazing at a lofty Elm, which, in its uppermost Branches was much withered and decayed. Pointing to it, he said, 'I shall be like that Tree, I shall dye at the Top.'[25]

Swift never was very outrageous, but his Memory failed him by Degrees, for many Years together; insomuch, that he forgot all his Friends and Domesticks, could not call any of them by their Names, nor for Cloaths, Food, or any Necessaries that he wanted; in short, his Forgetfulness grew so much upon him, he could not remember any one Passage of his Life, nor read, nor even tell his Letters, for near two Years before his Death. He likewise lost the Use of his Speech, excepting now and then uttering some incoherent rambling Words, being incapable of asking any Questions, or of returning Answers, nor could he ask even for one Necessary of Life. During this melancholy Situation, great Care was taken of his Person and Food, as he was incapable of dressing, undressing, or of helping himself to his Cloaths or Victuals; and so totally was he deprived of all rational Faculties, that he was treated like a new born Infant, being taken out of Bed, dressed, led about the Room by the Servants and Nurse-keepers, fed, undressed, and put into Bed like the youngest Child, and had the Actions of one, being fond of Gold or Silver Toys, which he would play with, or put into his Mouth.

The Dean was of middle Stature, well made, and comely, with very good regular Features, an high Forehead, handsome Nose, large sparkling blue Eyes very piercing, (which had their Lustre to the last, although he read very much, but never made Use of Spectacles or Glasses;) an exceeding agreeable Mouth, a fine regular Set of Teeth, and round double Chin, with a small Dimple. His Complexion, a light Olive, or pale Brown.[26]

I am,

Your Lordship's most dutiful, *&c.*

[25] Taken from Young's "Conjectures on Original Composition." This familiar anecdote appears also in Wilson (II 51) and Scott (443).

[26] This description of Swift is given by Wilson (lxxxviii), who changes "sparkling blue eyes" to "staring blue eyes." Scott (463) says Swift had "blue eyes."

Travellers and Travel Books*

By WARNER G. RICE
University of Michigan

FOUR OF THE FIVE essays reprinted here were originally prepared for sessions of the English Institute held at Columbia University in 1961 and 1962. The fifth, Professor Paul Fussell's account of Patrick Brydone, was, like the rest, first published in the *Bulletin of The New York Public Library*. The series was designed to illustrate ways in which travellers and travel books have extended knowledge, enlarged ideas, served as an index to culture, and contributed to imaginative literature. It is varied enough to suggest that many opportunities lie open for research in this field — a field which is very spacious indeed.

Several travellers' accounts survive from antiquity and the middle ages — e g in histories, as well as in such writings as those of Strabo, Pausanias, or Marco Polo. It was the printing press, however, that made possible the wide dissemination of reports of those voyages which the first great modern age of discoveries produced, and it was the spirit of curiosity engendered by that age which motivated the first professional travellers. From the time of the irrepressible Tom Coryate and the indomitable William Lithgow men (and women) have ventured into far places, "inquisitive after foreign news," and have returned to shape their journals into books which delight and instruct. That these have been well received by readers is attested by the large bibliographies devoted to the subject. The statistics of book production justify the estimate that in the category of Geography and Travel new titles published in English now annually total about one-third the number representing history, and one-fifth the number representing fiction. Certainly the materials which travellers might exploit have proved inexhaustible. In modern times the rapid expansion of communications has encouraged the exploration of every quarter of the globe. A second age of discovery succeeded the first; so, in our own day we have witnessed a third, as explorers have forced the arctic regions to yield up their secrets; and we now can predict a fourth, as men penetrate farther and farther into space. Meanwhile the romantic appeal of the remote and strange has not diminished — indeed it has been stimulated by mass media. Burton Holmes lectures still draw audiences. Movie shorts and television bring to the screen

* This essay is the Introduction to our new volume of travel articles reprinted from recent issues of the *Bulletin*. See notice above, page 5.

vivid pictures of life in remote lands. Magazines and Sunday supplements (not to mention the travel sections of our newspapers) print thousands of articles each year designed to interest the public in travel abroad; and periodicals like *Holiday* and *The National Geographic Magazine* flourish.

Whether or not travel literature constitutes a *genre* is a question of real, though perhaps only minor, importance. The guide book, factual, objective, impersonal, scarcely qualifies as typical; the purest examples of the travel book are reports of what a traveller has actually experienced and seen, his description of routes traversed, of the cities in which he has lodged, of the antiquities, monuments, customs, commodities, and character of the peoples among whom he has moved. It is a fascinating scholarly exercise, as Mr Philip M. Barbour has shown in his study of Captain John Smith's *True Travels* (see Appendix), to trace out routes, identify places, and fit into an authentic historical context the "tall tales" of an adventurer. True travel books are of course largely autobiographical, and are enriched with opinions and reflections of the sort which appear in Patrick Brydone's *Tour Through Sicily and Malta.* Thus, like other forms, travel literature may be, and often is, modal rather than generic — e g, the traveller's interest may be concentrated chiefly on commerce, or geography, or archaeology, or natural history, or sociology, or anthropology, or linguistics. He may be primarily concerned with the production of propaganda for colonization or conquest; he may be at heart a historian, by profession a diplomat or political observer. Professor James Osborn's illuminating essay not only reminds us how much visitors to Greece contributed to the "classical" element in English (and American) culture of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but also traces the stages through which their writings helped to develop the powerful movements of Hellenism and neo-Hellenism.

It is clear that travellers may create images and establish attitudes, and the studies of Professor Herbert Barrows, who has interested himself in what nineteenth-century men of letters got from books about Italy, as well as from their own travels, are concerned with this topic. The voyager's account often suggests to the creative writer a plot for a play, or an episode for an epic; such borrowings appear, of course, in the works of Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton. Professor William Jewkes has propounded the thesis that influences may also flow the other way, presenting evidence to show how Elizabethan voyagers incorporated motifs from heroic and romantic literature in their narratives. Most frequently, however, it is the creative writer who assimilates the traveller's themes — as Byron did in *Childe Harold.*

Many prose fictions, of course, are built upon the plan of a journey, domestic or foreign, and here again the influence of travel literature is apparent, sometimes faintly, sometimes strongly. The novel, especially the kind developed on the model of the picaresque from Defoe to Smollett (and beyond), provides many examples. In such books the fictional traveller can easily move from the observation of manners to social criticism — and may find an unfamiliar culture inferior or superior to his own. The Oriental traveller in England, as well as the English visitor to the continent of the United States, may be used to make telling points about the defects of society, and the essayist as well as the novelist has taken full advantage of the opportunities thus offered for irony and satire. The burlesque travel book likewise affords large possibilities for satiric humor — not least at the expense of the traveller. Professor Franklin Rogers has touched upon this subject, and has shown how a minor branch of literature may be connected with a much more complex and significant kind, the international novel.

No doubt the freest form which parallels true travel literature is the imaginary voyage, traditionally contrived so that it not only directs attention to the defects of human nature and human institutions but also suggests remedies. The philosophical fable, the vision of an unspoiled land peopled by noble savages, the projection of a state founded and conducted on truly rational principles — all have a respectable lineage. In our own age what is called science fiction has turned from its early preoccupation with imagined wonders and the fantastic application of newly discovered scientific principles to a concern with political and social organization, and to the problems which result from an increasing potential for the control both of men and of their environment. As the range of our discoveries extends, if it proves that we can indeed visit the corners of the moon, the lunar traveller's report will provide more than the romantic appeal of the not here and the not now; going beyond the imagined to the real, it may not be limited to the extension of current knowledge, but may enable us to explore a whole range of experiences not yet foreseen. As long as human curiosity remains unsatisfied, the traveller's tale will find an audience.

Reading Vogues at English Cathedral Libraries of the Eighteenth Century

By PAUL KAUFMAN
University of Washington Library

PART II

BIBLE

1 *Versions and Translations*

	TOTAL	C	CR	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Agellius, Anthony. Probably versions.	1								1
"English Bible" or "Holy Bible." Known as the Bishops' Bible, published under supervision of Archbishop Matthew Parker. 1568, etc.	18		2	10		4	1		1
"Bible." Ed. Field, i.e., published by.	1						1		
Foxe, John. Saxon gospels. 1571	2	2							
Coverdale, Miles. Translation: first in English of the entire Bible. 1535	1					1			
"The Great English Bible," called Henry VIII's. 1540	11				11				
"Biblia Heb."	1						1		
Biblia Hebraica. Antwerp. 1569–72	2						2		
Hebrew Bible. Ed. Kennicott.	15		3	2	8	2			
Hebrew Bible. Published Robert Stephanus.	7			4		3			
Biblia Heb. Chald. Ed. Buxtorf. 4v. 1618–20	7			5		2			
Biblia sacra Hebraeorum.	1			1					
Bible. Ed. Baskett. Ox. 1717	2	2							
"Bible 3 vols."	1			1					
Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria. 6v. Paris. 1590	2	2							
Biblia maxima. 19v. Paris. 1660	2	1			1				
Biblia polyglotta. Ed. Brian Walton. 6v. 1660	50	13	9	9	14	3	1		1
"Test. Vet." Ed. Morin.	1			1					
"Bibliorum Ox vol 2."	1			1					
"Biblia vaticana Sixti Quinti."	4			4					
Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Rome. 1587	1	1							
Septuagint. Printed by Field. 2v. Camb. 1665	1				1				
Biblia sacra [Latin] cum H. Bullingeri expositione. Zurich. 1550	1						1		
Versio septuaginta	4						4		
Septuagint. Ed. Holmes. Ox. 1795	1	1							
"Septuaginta vetus testamentum Graecum."	1	1							
Septuagint. Ed. James Breitenger. 4v. 1730	5			5					
Septuagint. Ed. Grabe.	8			5	3				
Septuagint. Ed. Lambert Bos. 1709	7	1		5			1		
Septuagint. "octavo." 1665	1			1					
Fabricius, John Albert. Codex pseudepigraphus veteris testamenti. 2v. Hamburg. 1722–3	2			2					
"Graec. Bibliorum Interpretes Tom. 1."	1			1					
"graeca bibliorum." Ed. Isaac Vossius(?).	1			1					
Biblia graeca. Ed. Grabe.	2			2					
Biblia graeca.	2			2					
Biblia graeca. Ed. John Morin.	8			8					
Biblia vulgata.	3			1		2			
Biblia Latina Junii et Tremelli. Hanover. 1603	1	1							

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Biblia vulgatae editionis. Basle. 1591	1	1							
Biblia Latina. Ed. Sanctus Pagninus. Leyden. 1528	1	1							
Biblia vulgatae editionis. 5v. Antwerp. 1629	3	3							
Biblia vulgata. Ed. Benedict Arias Montanus. 8v. Antwerp. 1569	1	1							
Biblia Latina.	1			1					
Novum testamentum Graece. Ed. Griesbach. 2v. Berlin. 1806–27	4	4							
Novum testamentum. Ed. Wetstenius. 2v. Amst. 1752	2							[illegible]	
Novum testamentum graecum. Ed. John Mill. Ox. 1707	38	1	1	20	5	5	3	[illegible]	
Novum testamentum. Ed. Robert Stephanus.	5					2		[illegible]	
Novum testamentum graecum. Ed. Theodore Beza. Paris. 1582. Geneva. 1598	11	1	1	4		1	4		
Novum Testamentum. Ed. Gregory Nazianzen.	3	1		2					
Novum testamentum graecum. Ed. John Leusden. Amst. 1698	1	1							
Testamentum Graecum. Ed. John George Graevius.	1			1					
Novum testamentum Graecum. Ed. J. J. Westen. 2v. Amst. 1751	1	1							
Episcopius, Simon. New Testament. 2v. 1730	1	1							
"New Testament." Ed. Simon. 2v. Ox. 1730	1	1							
Newcome, William. New Testament translation. 2v.	1	1							
"Evangelia Graeca."	1			1					
"Evangelia Gallica."	1					1			
Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew.	1						1		
La Bibbia traslatata in lingua Italiana da Giov. Diodati. 1607	5	3			2				
Biblia Española. Amst. 1661	2	2							
Spanish Bible or "Biblia hispanica."	4			2		2			
Le nouveau Testament "à Bordeaux."	1			1					
"Testament anglo Roman."	1		1						
"testament."	1			1					
Evangelia Gothica et Saxonica.	2					2			
Codex Apocryphus. Ed. Fabricius. 2v. Hamburg. 1703	1			1					
Biblia Belgice. Leyden. 1596	2	2							
The Doway Bible. 3v. Doway. 1609	2	2							
Blayney, Benjamin. Zachariah, a new translation with notes.	1			1					
—— [New translation of] Jeremiah and Lamentations. Ox. 1784	5	4			1				
Geddes, Alexander. Prospectus of a new translation of the Bible. Glasgow. 1786	1					1			
—— Translation of the Bible. Vol. 1. 1792	10		6	3		1			
2 *Commentary, Exposition, etc*									
Ainsworth, Henry. Annotations on the Pentateuch. 1622	5	1	1	1		2			
Aretius, Benedictus. In 4 evangelia.	2		1	1					
Arnald, Richard. On the Apocrypha. See Patrick.	4		4						
The Assembly's annotations of the Bible. 2v. 1651	2				2				
Benson, George. Paraphrase on the seven catholic epistles. 2v. 1752	2	2							
Bonfrerius, James. Comment. in Pentateuchum. Amst. 1625	1	1							
Bowyer, William. Conjectures on the new testament. 1772	2	2							
Calmet, Augustine. Dictionary of the Bible. 3v. 1732. (Some entries in original French title.)	24	5		9	8	2			

Bible, Commentary, Exposition, etc, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Calmet, Augustine. Commentaire littéral sur l'ancien et nouveau testament. 23v. Paris. 1707–16; 9v. 1724–6	22			19			3		
Calvin, John. In epistolas.	3		2		1				
Cambridge concordance.	21				21				
Campbell, George. On the gospels. 2v. 1789	21	7	10		2	2			
Cartwright, Thomas. Harmonia evangelica. Amst. 1647	2		2						
—— Confutation of the Rhemish translation of the New Testament. 1618	1			1					
Chappelow, Leonard. Commentary on the book of Job. 2v. Camb. 1752	4	1		2		1			
Chemnitz, Martin. Harmonia evangelica. Frankfort. 1616	1		1						
Clerc, John le. Harmonia evangelica. Amst. 1699	1			1					
—— Veteris testamenti libri hagiographi. Amst. 1731	2			2					
—— Supplement to Dr. Hammond's paraphrase on the new testament. 1699	1			1					
Clayton, ————. "pentateuch."	1				1				
Cornelius a Lapide. On all St. Paul's epistles.	5			5					
Dimock, Henry. On the Psalms and Proverbs. Gloucester. 1791	2	2							
Diodati, John. Annotations on the Bible. 1643	2		1			1			
Clerk, ————. On the New Testament.	1		1						
Concordantia bibliorum.	3		1	1	1				
Concordantia novi testamenti.	2			2					
Concordantia Graeca.	1			1					
Concordantia Hebraeica. Ed. Romaine.	3	1			2				
Cotton, Clement(?). English concordance. 1631	1			1					
Cruden, Alexander. Complete concordance to the scriptures. L. & Edin. 1736	28	14		7			7		
Dupin, Lewis Ellies. "His of ye old Testament."	1			1					
—— "History of the canon of Scripture." 2v.	1			1					
Duport, James. Threnothriambos [in Greek] sive liber Job Graeco carmine redditus. 1637	1					1			
—— Metaphrasis libri Psalmorum. Camb. 1666	1					1			
Durell, David. Critical remarks on the book of Job, Proverbs, Psalms, etc. 1772	7	2			7				
Durham, James. On revelations. 1682	1		1						
Erasmus. Paraphrasis in epistolas Pauli.	1		1						
—— Paraphrase on the New Testament. [Perhaps: "In evangelia, etc."]. 4v. Basle. 1557	2		2						
Ericus. De bibliorum textibus originalibus.	1			1					
Estius, William. Commentaria in . . . epistolas. 2v. Douay. 1614	4			2		2			
Fulke, William. Against the Rhemish New Testament. 1589	1	1							
Gilpin, William. Exposition of the New Testament. 1790	2			2					
Gorranus, Nicholas. In Acta Apostol. Epistolas Canon. et Apocalypsin. Cologne. 1599	3	3							
—— Commentarius in IV evangelia. 1537	1		1						
Grabe, John Ernest. Septuaginta interpretum. Ox. 1707	1			1					
Gray, Robert. Key to the Old Testament. 1790	1			1					
Gregory, the Great(?) "Testament." [Perhaps: Homilia in evangelia.]	3			3					
Grotius, Hugo. Annotationes in evangelia. Amst. 1641	3		1	1				1	

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Hammond, Henry. Paraphrase on the New Testament. 1653, 1659	37	3	5	7	4	11	5		2
—— Review of paraphrase on the New Testament. 1656	1				1				
—— On the Psalms. 1659	7		3	1	1	1			1
Hickes, George(?). History of the Old and New Testaments.	1						1		
Hody, Humphrey. De bibliorum textibus originalibus. Ox. 1705	3			1	2				
Holden, Lawrence. Paraphrase of Job, Psalms, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. 4v. 1764	2	1		1					
Holmes, Robert. The books of Genesis, etc. 1798–1804	1					1			
Horne, George. Commentary on the Psalms. 2v. Ox. 1776	22	9		4			9		
Hutcheson, George. Exposition of the minor prophets. 1655	1		1						
Icones Biblicae. Amst. 1648	1	1							
Illyricus, Matthias. Clavis scripturae. Basle. 1567	1						1		
Jones, ————. Canon of the New Testament.	1				1				
Joy, or Gee, George. Exposicion of Daniel . . . gathered out of Philip Melancthon, etc. Geneva. 1546; L. 1550	1								1
Kennicott, Benjamin. Remarks on the Old Testament . . . and sermons. 1787	1			1					
Lami, Bernard. Apparatus biblicus. Paris. 1696	6					6			
—— Harmonia sive concordia Evangelii. 2v. Lyons. 1699	5			5					
—— Commentaries.	1			1					
Lorin, John. "In Psalmos." 3v. 1619	3				3				
Lowth, Robert. De sacra poesi Hebraeorum praelectiones academicae. 1753	8	2		3		1	2		
—— Translation of Isaiah, with preliminary dissertation and notes. . . . 1778	33	1	5	10	3	4	10		
Lowth, William. Commentary on Daniel and the minor prophets. 2v. 1726	1			1					
—— Patrick, Lowth, Whitby and Arnald' Commentaries on the Old and New Testament and the Apocrypha. 7v. 1738, etc.	3			1	2				
Lucas, ————. "In evangelia."	1			1					
Macknight, James. Translation and commentary on the epistles. 4v. Edin. 1795	27	24				2	1		
—— On Thessalonians.	1						1		
Maldonati, John. Commentarius in Quatuor Evangelistas. Mainz. 1596	7	1	2	2					2
Marcello, ————. "Psalms."	4				4				
Marlorat, Augustina. Thesaurus S. Scripturae prophetieae. Geneva. 1613	2					2			
Marshall, Thomas. Observationes in Evangeliorum versiones . . . Gothicas et Anglo-Saxonicas. Dordrecht. 1665	1					1			
Masius, Andrew. In Josuam. Antwerp. 1574	4			4					
Merrick, James. The Psalms translated or paraphrased in English verse. Reading. 1765	5			5					
Michaelis, John David. Introduction to . . . the New Testament. Tr. from German Herbert Marsh. 4v. 1792–1801	16	11	5						
Mudge, Zachariah. Essay toward a new English version of the Psalms from the Hebrew. 1744	4				4				
Newcome, William. An improved version of the prophet Ezekiel. Dublin. 1788	3	2	1						

Bible, Commentary, Exposition, etc, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
—— Historical view of English biblical translations. Dublin. 1792	4	4							
—— An harmony of the gospels. Dublin. 1778	1	1							
—— . . . Explanation of the twelve minor prophets. 1785	5		2	3					
Newman, Samuel. Concordance to the Bible. 1643, 1658(Y)	14			3			8	3	
Newton, Thomas. Dissertations on the prophecies. 3v. 1754–8	30			12			18		
Pagninus, Sanctus. Thesaurus linguae sanctae. Geneva. 1614	4	1		1	2				
Parker, Matthew. Psalms in English meter. c. 1560	3	3							
Patrick, Simon. On the two books of kings. 1705	1							1	
—— Commentaries, as entered under William Lowth.	16	16							
—— On the Proverbs.	1		1						
—— Commentary on the Old Testament. 11v. 1695–1710	24			7	9		8		
—— and William Lowth. Commentary on the historical books of the Old Testament. 4v. 1727	10						10		
—— Books of Job, Psalms, etc. paraphrased. 1710	2			1	1				
"Patrick on Lowth."	1			1					
"Patrick."	1							1	
Pearce, Zachary. Commentary on the four Evangelists. 2v. 1777	11			3		6		2	
Peters, Charles. Critical dissertation on the book of job. 1751	1			1					
Pfaff, Christopher. Dissertatio critica de novi testamenti lectionibus. Amst. 1709	1								1
Pierce, William. On the gospels.	2							2	
Pocock, Edward. Commentary on Hosea.	1					1			
—— Commentary on Micah.	4		2	1		1			
Pole, Matthew. Synopsis criticorum S. Scripturae. 5v. 1669–76	21		12	5	3	1			
Porteus, Beilby. Lectures on the gospel of St. Matthew. 2v. 1802	1	1							
Pradus, Jerome, and John Baptist Villalpandi. In Ezekielem. 3v. Rome. 1596–1604	1			1					
"Praefatio ad Penteteuch."	1					1			
"Prayer Book & Bible in 3 vols."	1			1					
Prideaux, Humphrey. Connection of the Old and New Testament. 2v. 1720	21			7	3	7	4		
Procopius, Gazeus. Commentaries [on various books of the O.T.] 1580, 1620	3					2		1	
"Psalms in German meter."	1	1							
"On the Psalms."	1			1					
Psalter. Ed. Bishop Hare. 2v.	10				10				
Purver, Antony. A new literal translation of all of the books of the Old and New Testament, with notes critical and explanatory. 2v. 1764	2			2					
Pyle, Thomas. A paraphrase . . . on the Revelation. 1735. [Possibly: A paraphrase on the Old Testament, 1717]	1				1				
Randolph, Thomas. The prophecies and other texts cited in the New Testament. Ox. 1782	2		2						
Remarks on the Penteteuch.	1		1						
Rosenmueller, Ernest. Scholia in New Testament.	2				2				
Saurin, James. Dissertations on the Old Testamentum. 1723	1			1					

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Schmidius, ———. Annotations on [certain] epistles.	1					1			
[Septuagint]. Letters to a friend concerning the Septuagint translation and the heathen mythology. 1760	1			1					
Serarius, Nicholas. Comm. in Tobiam, Judith, Esther et Machabaeos. Mainz. 1617	4	4							
Simon, Richard. Histoire critique des versions du nouveau testament. Rotterdam. 1690	1								1
—— Histoire critique de vieux testament. Paris. 1678	2			2					
—— Letre a un amy . . . sur histoire critique du vieux testament. Amst. 1679	1								1
—— Critical history of the Old Testament. Tr. from French. 1682	4			4					
—— History of the New Testament. 1685	2		1	1					
Smith, ———. Paraphrase on the Psalms.	1		1						
Spangenburg, John. Tabulae in evangelia. Louvain. 1563	1						1		
Spanheim, Frederic. Dubia evangelica discussa. Geneva. 1634	2			1		1			
Stackhouse, Thomas. New history of the Bible. 2v. 1732	3			2			1		
Stanhope, George. Paraphrase on the epistles and gospels. 4v. 1708–16	6			2			4		
Stock, Christian. Clavis veteris testamenti linguae sanctae. Leipzig. 1732	5			2	3				
Sykes, Arthur Ashley. Paraphrase . . . on epistle to the Hebrews. 1755	3					3			
Tattersall, William de Chair. Improved Psalmody. 1794	5	5							
Taylor, John. Hebrew concordance adapted to the English Bible. 2v. 1754	5			1	4				
Theophylact. Commentaria in evangelia. Rome(?). 1542(?)	17		2	12	3				
Townson, Thomas. Discourses on the four gospels. Ox. 1778	7			7					
Trommius, Abraham. Concordantiae graecae versionis LXX. 2v. Amst. 1718	11			9	1		1		
Wall, William. Critical notes on the old testament. 2v. 1733–4	1			1					
Watson, Richard. Apology for the Bible.	1						1		
Whiston, William. Chronology of the Old Testament and harmony of the four evangelists. 1702	5			3	2				
Whitby, Daniel. Paraphrase and commentary on the New Testament. 2v. 1703–9	29	5		3	15		5	1	
—— On Dr. Mill's New Testament. 1705	2			2					
—— Commentary on the epistles.	7			7					
White, ———. On Isaiah.	1							1	
Whiting(?), ———. On the epistles.	1			1					
Wilson, ———. Scripture's genuine interpreter.	1			1					
Wilson, Thomas. Notes on the edition of the Bible by Clement Cruttwell. 8v. 1785	8						8		
Wintle, Thomas. Daniel, an improved version.	1			1					
Wolf, John Christopher. Curae philologicae in Novo Testamento. 5v. Hamburg. 1733	2			2					
Wolff, ———. "Critica in Novum Testamentum."	1			1					

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

Abrégé chronologique	1					1			
Abulfaragus, Gregor. Specimen historiae Arabum. Ed. Edward Pocock. Ox. 1650	1	1							

History and Antiquities, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
—— Idem. 2v. Ox. 1663	1						1		
Acts of Parliament, first year of Queen Elizabeth. 1559	1	1							
"An account of Poland"	1		1						
"Account of the ——— in King Charles ye 2d reign"	1			1					
Acts of George II an, 19, 20.	1			1					
Ammianus Marcellinus.	4			1		3			
Anderson, James. Collections relating to Mary Queen of Scotland. 4v. 1727–8	3			3					
—— On the independency of Scotland. 1705	1			1					
—— Selectus diplomatum et numismatum Scotiae. Edin. 1739	1		1						
"Annals of University College"	2			2					
Antichità di Ercolano. 6v.	9			9					
"Antichità di Tivoli &c."	1			1					
"Antiq. of Durham"	1						1		
"Antiq. ——— Oxon"	1			1					
Antiqui scriptores historiae anglicanae.	1			1					
Antiquitates ecclesiae Britannicae. Hanover. 1605	1						1		
L'antiquité des tems. Paris 1687	1						1		
Antiquities of Southwark Cathedral.	1				1				
"Antiquity of the English constitution"	1			1					
Appian. Roman history	3			2		1			
Apthorp, East. On Gibbon's Roman history. 1778	1	1							
Archaeologia. [Total of 8 dated vols.]	34	1					28	5	
Arrian. Periplus Ponti Euxini et Maris Erythraei. Geneva. 1577	1	1							
—— De expeditione Alexandri Magni. Ed. H. Stephanus. Gr. Lat. Paris. 1575	2	2							
Atkyns, Sir Robert. History of Gloucestershire. 1712.	53	2		6	43		2		
Aubigné, Theodore Ad' Histoire universelle. 1616	16			1		15			
Aubrey, John. Perambulation of the county of Surrey. 5v. 1719–25	1			1					
Ayloffe, Sir Joseph. Calendar of the ancient charters in the tower of London. 1780	1			1					
Bacon, Francis. History of Henry VII	4		1	2		1			
Baker, Sir Richard. Chronicle of the kings of England. 1674	7	3			3	1			
Barnes, Joshua. History of Edward III. Camb. 1686	1					1			
Barrett, William. History of Bristol. 1790	2			2					
Basnage?. History of America.	1				1				
Batteley, John. Antiquitates Rutupinae. Ox. 1711	1			1					
Bec, John du. History of the great emperor Tamerlan [sic]. 1597	1	1							
Bellenden, William. De tribus luminibus Romanorum. 1787	3			3					
Ben Gorion, Joseph. The history of the Jews. 1653?	2		2						
Bentham, James. Cathedral church at Ely. Camb. 1771	21	9		8	2			2	
Bentivoglio, Guido. Relazioni . . . di' Fiandra. Antwerp. 1629	7					7			
—— Wars in Flanders.	1		1						
Berington, Joseph. History of Henry II. Birmingham. 1790	2			2					
Beveridge, William. Institutiones chronologicae. 1705	3	1		2					
—— Idem. 1669	2			2					
—— Works. 2v. 1720	1						1		

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Birch, Thomas. Memoirs of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. 2v. 1754	6			6					
Blair, John. Chronology and history of the world. 1753	12			10			2		
Borlase, William. Observations on the antiquities of Cornwall. 1769	4			3				1	
Boscobel; or the compleat history of his sacred majesties most miraculous preservation. 1680	1		1						
Bossuet, James Benigne. Discours de l'histoire universelle.	8		5			3			
Boswell, James. History of Corsica. Glasgow. 1768	3	3							
Bourne, Henry. History of Newcastle upon Tyne. Newcastle. 1736	1			1					
"Bow ——— [John Bowes?] Irish rebellion."	1			1					
Boys, John. History of Sandwich. Canterbury. 1792	2	2							
Brady, Robert. The complete history of England. 1685	1			1					
Brand, John. Observations on popular antiquities. Newcastle. 1777	4	4							
—— History and antiquities of Newcastle. 2v. 1789	3			3					
Brandt, Gerard. History of the Reformation in the Low Countries. 4v. 1720	1						1		
Bridges, John, and Peter Whalley. History and antiquities of Northamptonshire. 2v. 1791	1			1					
Britannicarum rerum scriptores septem. Ed. Jerome Commelinus. Heidelberg. 1587	1						1		
Bryant, Jacob. Observations on ancient history . . . with an account of Egypt. Camb. 1767	14	2		9			3		
Buchanan, George. Rerum Scoticarum historia. Edin. 1583	1						1		
—— Opera. Edin. 1715	1	1							
—— History of Scotland. 1690?	5		1	1		3			
Buck, Samuel. Views of ruins of the castles and abbeys of England. 3v. 1721	1			1					
Burn, Richard, and Joseph Nicolson. History and antiquities of the counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland.	36		25	11					
Burnet, Gilbert. History of his own time. 2v. 1724–34	24	3		16			5		
—— History of the Reformation. 2v. 1679–81	66	4	19	18	15	7	3		
Busbequius, Auger Ghislen. Legationis Turciae epistolae IV. Paris. 1595	1						1		
—— Opera. Amst. 1660	3	3							
Buxtorf, John. Exercitationes historicae. Basle. 1659	1	1							
Caesar. Variorum. Frankfort. 1575	2	2							
—— Commemtarii. 2v. Leyden. 1713	6	6							
—— Commentaries. Ed. Samuel Clarke. 1712	3	3							
"Caesar Commentaries"	6			1	2	3			
Caius, John. De antiquitate Cantabrigensis academiae. 1568	1						1		
Calvisius, Seth. Opus chronologicum. Frankfort. 1650	1				1				
Camden, William. Britannia, Anglice. 1610	2	2							
—— Britannia. 1586	1	1							
—— "Britannia."	4						3	1	
—— Remains concerning Britain. 1689	3	1	1					1	

History and Antiquities, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
—— Britannia, with maps engraved by Speed (in French). Amst. 1662	1			1					
—— Annales rerum anglicanum . . . regnante Elizabetha. 1615	2		1						1
—— Britannia. Tr. Gibson. 2v.	53		4	22	14	12	1		
—— Anglica, Hiberica, etc. a veteribus scripta. Frankfort. 1602	1						1		
Campbell, John. Political survey of Great Britain. 2v. 1774	12			11	1				
Cantemir, Demetrius. History of the growth and decay of the Ottoman empire. Tr. from Latin Nicholas Tindal 1734	1			1					
"History of ye Caribe islands"	1							1	
Carion, John. Chronicon. Wittenberg. 1580	1						1		
Carte, Thomas. History of England. 4v. 1747–55	15			12				3	
Carter, John. Ancient architecture in England. 1796?	2						2		
Casaubon, Isaac. Historiae Augustae scriptores. Paris. 1603	1								1
—— Epistola ad Fr. Ducaeum. 1611	1		1						
Castell, Robert. Villas of the ancients. 1728	1			1					
Catron, Francis and Rouillé. Roman history englished. 6v. 1728	1	1							
Chapman, Thomas. Essay on the Roman senate. Camb. 1750	2			2					
Chauncy, Sir Henry. Historical antiquities of Hertfordshire. 1700	3			3					
Chesne, Andrew du. Normanorum historiae scriptores antiqui. Paris. 1619	1	1							
Cinnamus, John. De rebus gestis imperatorum Constantinopolis. 1652	1					1			
"The Codex Theodosianus"	2			2					
Coker, John. [Actually by Thomas Gerard.] Survey of Dorsetshire. 1732	1			1					
"Collection of English historians" 3v.	1			1					
Collins, Arthur. Peerage of England. 7v. 1735	8			5			3		
—— Baronetage of England. 2v. 1720	7			7					
Collinson, John. History of Somerset. 3v. Bath. 1791	2			2					
Cox, Sir Richard. Hibernia anglicana, or the history of Ireland. 2v. 1689	1			1					
Cumberland, Richard. Sanchoniatho's history of the Phoenicians. 1720	1			1					
Dalrymple, Sir David. Annals of Scotland. 2v. 1776–9	3			3					
—— Memorials of the reign of Charles II. Glasgow. 1766	2			2					
Dalrymple, Sir John. Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland. 2v. 1771–3	7			7					
Davila, Henry Catherine. History of the civil wars in France.	5			3	2				
Moreri, Louys. Le grand dictionaire historique. 2v. Lyon. 1683	3	3							
Diodorus Siculus. Lauri Rhomani. Gr. Lat. Hanover. 1604	10			5	2	3			
Dion Cassius. Romanarum historiarum libri XXIII. Ed. R. Stephanus. Paris. 1548	4			4					
Domesday Book. Ed. Robert Kelham. 1788	14			1		2	11		

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Drake, Francis. Eboracum; or history and antiquities of York. 1736	86			10			76		
Drinkwater, John. The late siege of Gibraltar. 1785	11			11					
Ducarel, Andrew C. Anglo-Norman antiquities. 1767	5			5					
Dugdale, William. Antiquities of Warwickshire. 2v. 1730	9	1	1	7					
—— History of St Paul's. 1658	22	1	5	10		6			
—— Baronage of England. 2v. 1675–6	17		7	3		3		4	
—— A short history of the late troubles in England. Ox. 1681	4		1		2	1			
Eadmer. Historia novorum. Paris. 1721	5			1			3	1	
Eachard, Laurence. History of England. 3v. 1707–13.	26	1		24		1			
—— Roman history. 5v. 1707	1								1
Edwards, Bryan. History of the West Indies, 2v. 1793	4	4							
Eikon Basilike [in Greek]	1		1						
Eutropius, Flavius.	1					1			
Fabretti, Raphael.	1			1					
Fabyan, Robert. Chronicle	1						1		
"[Sir John] Fenwick's tryal"	1			1					
Ferguson, Adam. History of civil society. 1767	5			5					
—— History of the Roman republic. 3v. 1783	7			7					
Florus, Lucius Annaeus. Ed. John Stadius. Ox. 1631	1		1						
Foulis, Henry. History of plots and conspiracies. 1662	1				1				
—— History of Roman treasons. 1678	1			1					
Frankland, Thomas. Annals of King James I and King Charles I. 1681	1	1							
Gale, Thomas, editor. Historiae Anglicanae scriptores quinque. 2v. Ox. 1691	6	2		3			1		
—— Historiae Britannicae, Saxonicae, Anglo-Danicae quindecim. 2v. Ox. 1687, 1691	3							3	
Gallaeus, Servatus. De sybillis. Amst. 1688	1			1					
Gast, John. History of Greece. 1782	9			9					
Gent, Thomas. History of York. 1730	3						3		
—— Compendious history of England. York. 1741	1						1		
—— Annales Rigioduni Hullini or the history of Kingston on Hull. 1735	3						3		
Gibbon, Edward. History of the decline and fall of the Roman empire. 6v. 1776–88	97	38		42			7		
—— Miscellaneous works. 2v. 1796	10	6		4					
Gibson, Edmund. Chronicon Saxonicum. Ox. 1692	1			1					
Gillies, John. History of ancient Greece. 2v. 1786	14			14					
Glaber, Rodulph. Historiae Francorum. 1596	1								1
Godwin, Francis. Annales rerum anglicarum Henrico VIII, etc. 1616	2			2					
Goldsmith, Oliver. History of England. 4v. 1771–4	16			16					
—— Grecian history. 2v. 1774	6	1		5					
—— Roman history. 2v. 1769	24	5		19					
Goltzius, Hubert. Thesaurus	2				2				
Goodal, Walter. History and antiquities of Scotland. 1769	1			1					
Gothic ornaments of Lavenham church, Suffolk.	1						1		
Gough, Richard. Sepulchral monuments of Great Britain. 2v. 1786, 1796	8	8							
Graevius, John George. Thesaurus antiquitatum Romanorum. 12v. 1694–99	2			2					
Grafton, Richard, publisher. Chronicle of John Hardinge in meter. 1543	1						1		

History and Antiquities, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Grant from Edward VI of Llanyherne.	1					1			
Great historical dictionary. 1694	1						1		
Grimston, Edward. History of France.	1				1				
—— History of the Netherlands. 1627	1	1							
Gronavius, James. Thesaurus graecarum antiquitatum. 13v. Leyden. 1697–1702	10			10					
Grose, Francis. Antiquities of England and Wales. 6v. 1773, etc.	51			24			27		
—— Antiquities of Ireland. 2v. 1791–6	6			5			1		
—— Antiquities of Scotland. 2v. 1789–91	11			8			3		
Grotius, Hugo. Annales et historia de rebus Belgicis. Amst. 1657	1			1					
Guicciardini, Francesco. Historia d' Italia. 1580	3			1		1	1		
"Gunpowder Treason"	2			2					
Gutch, John. Collectanea curiosa or miscellaneous tracts relating to the antiquities of England . . . and Oxford and Cambridge. 2v. Ox. 1781	4	2		2					
—— History and antiquities of the university of Oxford . . . Wood's MSS, with continuation. 5v. 1786	4	4							
Hale, William. New analysis of chronology.	5	5							
Halfpenny, Joseph. Fragmenta vetusta; or remains of ancient buildings in York. 1807	1						1		
—— Gothic ornaments in the cathedral of York. 1796	7	1		1			5		
Hamilton, Sir William. Antiquités Etrusques, Grecques, et Romaines. 2v. Naples. 1765	16			16					
—— Campi Phlegraei. 2v. 1776–7	15			15					
Yorke, Philip, Earl of Hardwicke. State papers 1501–1726. 1778	9			9					
Harris, John. History of Kent. 2v. 1719	8	4		4					
Hasted, Edward. History of Kent. 4v. Canterbury. 1778–99	21	18		3					
"Hasting's [sic] Trial"	1						1		
Heiniccius, John Gotlieb. Antiquitatum romanorum. 2v. Strasburg. 1730	1			1					
Helvicus, Christopher. Theatrum historicum. Ox. 1662	5	5							
Henry, Robert. History of Great Britain. 6v. 1771	47			17	8	22			
Herbert, Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury. History of Henry VIII. 1649	2					1			1
——? "Description of the basic monarchy"	1					1			
Herodian. Historia.	2					2			
Heylin, Peter. A help to English history. 1641	2					2			
—— History of the Reformation. 1661	14	1	1	6		5			1
Higden, Ralph. Polychronicon.	1						1		
"Histoire de France"	1						1		
"Histoire du gouvernment de Venise 2 vols"	1			1					
"Histoire du temps"	1		1						
"Historia Augusta"	1			1					
"Historical collections"	1			1					
History of the Bench of Great Britain.	1		1						
"History of China"	1					1			
"History of England"	3		1	2					
"History of Norway"	1			1					
Hobbes, Thomas. Behemoth, or history of the civil wars of England. 1679	1			1					

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Holinshed, Raphael. Chronicles of England, etc. 2v. 1577	13			2			11		
Hooke, Nathaniel. Roman history. 1738	17	6			11				
Horsley, John. Britannia romana. 1732	10	3		5			2		
Houssaie, Amelot de la. History of the government of Venice. 1677	1					1			
Howell, William. An institution of general history. 3v. 1680–5	13			5	2	3	3		
Hume, David. History of Great Britain. 6v. 1767	54	30		24					
Hunter, Christopher. Ancient rites and monuments of the church of Durham. 1733	2						1		1
Hutchins, John. History and antiquities of Dorset. 2v. 1774	5	2		3					
Hutchinson, William. The history of Cumberland. 2v. Carlisle. 1794–8	1			1					
—— History of Durham. 2v. Newcastle. 1785–7	18			18					
Hyde, Edward, Earl of Clarendon. State papers . . . 1621–1674. Ox. 1767–86.	14			13			1		
—— History of the Rebellion. 3v. 1707.	25	5		9			8	1	2
Hyde, Thomas. Veterum Persorum . . . historia. 1700	1			1					
"Inquisit. post mortem"	1	1							
Isaacson, Henry. Tabula historico-chronologica. 1633	2		1			1			
"Istoria di Portogalle di Con——taggio"	1						1		
Jackson, John. Chronological antiquities of the most ancient kingdoms. 3v. 1752	1			1					
Jacob, Edward. History of Faversham. 1774	1	1							
Joannes, Antiochenus, or Malala. Historia chronica. Ox. 1691	1			1					
Jones, ———. Antiquities. 2v.	3			3					
"Jonian antiquities" 1769	1	1							
Josephus. Ed. Sebast. Munster. Basle. 1541	5	5							
—— Opera, Graece.	1						1		
—— [Several editors: Bernard, L'Estrange, Havercamp]	26		3	12	8			3	
—— Ed. Hudson.	6			2		3	1		
—— Opera. Gr. Lat. Ed. Bernard. Ox. 1691	1			1					
—— Works. Tr. Sir Roger L'Estrange. 1702	3			3					
Jovius, Paul. Historiarum sui temporis. 2v. Florence. 1550–52	3			2		1			
Kaempfer, Engelbert. History of Japan. Tr. from High Dutch J. G. Scheuchzer. 2v. 1728.	2			2					
Home, Henry, Lord Kames. Sketches of the history of man. 2v. Edin. 1774	8			8					
Keating, Geoffrey. General history of Ireland. 1723	1			1					
Keith, Robert. History of Scotland. Edin. 1734	3			3					
Kennet, White. Chronicle for history of England. 1728	11			11					
—— Parochial antiquities. Ox. 1695	6			3			2	1	
"King ——— State of England"	1			1					
King, ———. Presence of errors in Burnet's history of the Reformation.	1			1					
Kippingus, Henricus. Antiquitatum Romanorum. Bremen. 1664	1			1					
Knowlles, Richard. General history of the Turks. 1687	4			1			3		
Knott, Edward. History of the Turks.	4			4					
Lediard, Thomas. Naval history. 1735	2	2							
Leland, John. Collectanea. 6v. 1715	7			5			2		
Leland, Thomas. History of Ireland. 3v. 1773	9	2		7					

History and Antiquities, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Lewis, John. History of Faversham Abbey. 1727	2	2							
—— History of the isle of Thanet. 1723	3	3							
—— History of Great Britain. 1729	1			1					
Liber foedorum. Rymer's Foedera?	1						1		
Lipsius, Justus. "de magnitud. Rom"	2					2			
Lodge, Edmund. Illustrations of British history. 3v. 1791	4			4					
Lodge, John. Peerage of Ireland. 4v. 1754	3			3					
Lothian, William. History of the United Provinces. 1780	9			9					
Ludolph, Job. Historia Ethiopica. Frankfort. 1681	2			1			1		
Lyon, John. History of Dover.	3	3							
Mabillon, John. Museum Italicum. 2v. Paris. 1724	1							1	
—— Vetera analecta. Paris. 1723	2			2					
Machievelli, Niccolò. History of Florence. 1595	2			1			1		
Macpherson, James. History of Great Britain. 2v. 1775	8			8					
—— Original papers . . . secret history of Great Britain. 1775	4			4					
Macpherson, John. Dissertations on the origin, antiquities, etc. of the ancient Caledonians. 1768	6			6					
Madox, Thomas. History . . . of the exchequer of the kings of England. 1711	2			2					
—— Baronia anglica. 4v. 1736	1		1						
Maitland, William. History of London. 2v. 1772	4	4							
—— History and antiquities of Scotland. 2v. 1757	1			1					
Mariana, John. General history of Spain. 1699	4			3		1			
Marsham, Sir John. Chronicus canonicus. 1672	5					5			
Martinelli, Fioravante? Roma sacra.	1			1					
Matthew of Westminster. Flores historiarum. 1570	3			2			1		
Maurice, Thomas. Indian antiquities. 7v. 1792–7	13	7		6					
—— The ancient history of Hindostan. 2v. 1795–8	1						1		
"Miller's historical works"	1			1					
Millers, George. A description of the church at Ely. 1807	2	2							
Milner, John. The history, civil and ecclesiastical, and survey of the antiquities of Winchester. 2v. Winchester. 1798–9	5					5			
Mitford, William. History of Greece. 3v. 1784–96	14			12		2			
Modern universal history. 16v. 1759	2	1					1		
Moleville, Bertrand, de. Annals of the French revolution. 4v. 1800	8	8							
Montfaucon, Bernard de. Antiquité expliquée. 10v. 1719	36	2		6	8	18		2	
Muratori, Lewis Anthony. "Antiquities"	3			3					
Murphy, James. Plans, etc. of church and royal monastery of Batalha. 1792–6	4						4		
Nalson, John. Collections of affairs of state. 2v. 1682	1	1							
Nash, Treadway. Collections for the history of Worcestershire. 2v. 1781–2	8			8					
Nennius.	2			2					
Nickols, John. "Queen Elizabeth's Processions" [or "Progresses"]. 2v. 1788	11			4			7		
—— Papers addressed to Cromwell. 1743	1	1							
Nicolson, William. Scottish historical library. 1702	5		3	2					
—— English historical library. 3v. 1696–9	10		7	2			1		

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
North, Roger. Examen or an inquiry into a pretended complete history, viz. Dr White Kennet's History of England. 1740	8	3		5					
Ogilby, John. Relation of . . . the coronation of King Charles. 1661	1			1					
Olaus Magnus. Compendious history of Goths, Swedes and Vandals. 1658	1						1		
Orme, Robert. History . . . of the British in Hindostan. 3v. 1763–78	13			13					
Pagi, Anthony. Critica in annales Baronii. 4v. 1705	1			1					
Paris, Matthew. Historia major Angliae. 1570	3						3		
Parliamentary or constitutional history of England. 8v. 1751–61	8			4			4		
Peck, Francis. Annals of Stamford. 1727	1	1							
Petavius, Dionysius. De doctrina temporum. 2v. Paris. 1627	2					1			1
Picart, Bernard. Religious ceremonies. 9v. Amst. 1725–43	38	8		25			5		
Pinkerton, John. History of Scotland. 2v. 1789	4			4					
—— Medallic history of England. 1780	1			1					
Pitiscus, Samuel. Lexicon antiquitatis	5			2		3			
Pocock, Edward. Historia dynastiarum. 2v. Ox. 1663	1		1						
Polwhele, Richard. Historical views of Devonshire. 5v. 1793, etc.	2							2	
Polyaenus. Strategematum lib. Leyden. 1691	1	1							
Porrée, Jonas. Traité des anciennes cérémonies. Rouen. 1673	1						1		
Porter, ———. Regni Hibernici historia antiquitatum. Rome. 1690	1			1					
Potter, John. Antiquities of Greece. 2v. Ox. 1697–9	1			1					
Prideaux, Humphrey. Marmora oxoniensia. Ox. 1676	4		3				1		
Puffendorf, Samuel. Introduction to the history of Europe. 1719	2		2						
Radulphus. Chronicon Anglicanum. 1738	1						1		
Raleigh, Sir Walter. History of the world. 1614	9	2	1	5		1			
Rapin, Paul de Thoyras. Histoire d'angleterre. 13v. 1727. Also: uncertain if translation is meant — Tr. Nicholas Tindal.	46			7	29		10		
"Rapini 2 last vols."	12	11		1					
Reland, Hadrian. Palaestina. 2v. Utrecht?. 1714	5			4					1
—— Antiquitates sacrae Hebraeorum. Trag. Bat. 1712	2	2							
"Rerum Britanniae scriptores vetustiores"	1			1					
"Rerum Britanniae ——— scriptores"	2						2		
Reusner, Nicholaus. Icones . . . regum Saxonis. 1597	2						2		
"Revolution & Constitution Francaises deux Tomes"	1			1					
Ridpath, George. Border history of England and Scotland. 1776	9		6	3					
Robertson, William. History of America. 2v. 1777	49	6		27	16				
—— History of Scotland. 2v. 1762	26	2		11	13				
—— The ancients' knowledge of India. 1791	4			4					
Roe, Sir Thomas. Negotiations . . . in his embassy to Ottoman Porte. 1740	3						2		1
Rollin, Charles. Ancient history. Tr. from French. 12v. 1737	19			19					

History and Antiquities, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Varii historiae romanae scriptores. Paris. 1568	2					1	1		
Roscoe, William. Life of Lorenzo di Medici. 2v. 1795–6	4			4					
Rosin, John. Antiquitatum Romanorum. Basle. 1585	2			2					
Rubeis, John James de. [Some work on ancient monuments in the broad sense.]	1	1							
Rudder, Samuel. History and antiquities of Gloucestershire. Cirencester. 1779	8				8				
Rushworth, John. Historical collections. 8v. 1682	11	1	2	2	6				
—— Trial of the Earl of Strafford.	3			1	1	1			
Rycaut, Sir Paul. History of the Turks. 1668	8		3	3		2			
—— History of the ———?	1		1						
—— Present state of Greek and Armenian churches. 1678	1					1			
Rycquius, Justus. Primitiae epistolicae. Cologne. 1610	1								1
"Salernitana schola"	2						2		
Sallengre, Albert. Novus thesaurus antiquitatum romanorum. 3v. Hague. 1716–9	1			1					
Sammes, Aylett. Britannia antiqua illustrata. 1676	1					1			
Sanderus, Anthony.	1					1			
Sandford, Francis. History of the coronation of King James II and Queen Mary. 1687	1			1					
Scaliger, Joseph Justus. De emendatione temporum. 1583	2					2			
Schedius, Elias. De diis Germaniae. Amst. 1648	1			1					
Scheffer, John. History of Lapland. 1751	1			1					
Selden, John. History of tithes. 1618	2					1			1
Seller?, Abraham. Antiquities of Palmyra. 1696	1							1	
Serlio, Sebastiano. L'Antiquità di Roma. Venice. 1644	1	1							
Sewell, William. History of the rise . . . of the Quakers. 1722	2			2					
Shuckford, Samuel. Connection of the sacred and profane history of the world. 2v. 1728	7	2		5					
Silius Italicus. History of the second Punic war.	1					1			
Sleidane, John. History of the Reformation. Tr. from Latin Edmund Bohun. 3v. 1689	5			2	3				
Smith, Thomas. Remarks on the manners . . . of the Turks. 1678	2		1			1			
Somner, William, and Nicholas Battely. Antiquites of Canterbury. 1703	27	22	1	3			1		
Southouse, Thomas. Monasticon Favershamiense in agro Cantiano. 1671	1								1
Spanheim, Frederic. Introductio ad historiam et antiquitates sacras. Leyden. 1675	1	1							
Sparrow, Anthony. Collection of public records of the church of England. 1661	3	2		1					
"Speculum Saxonum per Jasherum"	1							1	
Speed, John. History of Great Britain. 1632	8	5			1		2		
Spelman, Sir Henry. Concilia, etc. 2v. 1664	7	1	1	3	1		1		
—— Reliquiae Spelmanniae; or his posthumous works. 1698	1			1					
Spon, James. History of Geneva. 1684	1			1					
—— Miscellanea eruditae antiquitatis. 1679	1			1					

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Spotiswood, John. History of the church and state of Scotland. 1655	4		1			2	1		
Sprat, Thomas. A true account of the horrid conspiracy against the late king. 1685	1		1						
Stafford, Thomas. Pacata Hibernia. 1623	1					1			
"The state of the Protestant in Ireland"	1			1					
Stow, John. Annales; or general chronicle of England. 1593	4				2		2		
Stritter, John. Memoriae populorum olim ad Danubium . . . incolentium. St. Petersburg. 1771–9	1						1		
Strutt, Joseph. The regal and ecclesiastical antiquities of England. 1773	10			10					
—— Horda Angel-Cynnan; or a complete view of England. 2v. 1774–6	10			10					
—— Not identified.	1			1					
Strype, John. Annals of the Reformation. 4v. 1709–31	16	2		12			2		
Stuart, Gilbert. History of the Reformation in Scotland. 1780	5			5					
—— History of Scotland. 2v. 1782	11			11					
Stuart, James. Antiquities of Athens. 4v. 1762	9	2		7					
Tallent, Francis. Chronological tables. n. d.	1			1					
Tanner, Thomas. Biblioteca Britanno-Hibernica. 1748	2			2					
Temple, Sir William. Observations on the United Provinces of the Netherlands. 1673	1					1			
Tooke, William. View of the Russian empire. 3v. 1799	4	4							
Thou, James Augustus. Historia sui temporis. 4v. 1626; 7v. 1733.	17			8	3	4	1		1
Thorne, William. Chronica.	2	2							
Thoroton, Robert. Antiquities of Nottinghamshire. 1677	2			2					
Thorpe, John. Registrum Rossense. 1769	2	2							
Thurloe, John. Collection of state papers. 7v. 1742	6			1			5		
Tillemont, Lewis. "Histoire." Brussels. 1799	1								1
—— Histoire des empereurs. 8v. Brussels. 1690–1701	3			3					
Townsend, Thomas. History of the conquest of Mexico. 1724. Probably tr. of Antonio de Solis.	1	1							
"Tracts relating to antiquity"	2							2	
Turner, Sharon. History of England from the earliest period to the Norman conquest. 1799–1805	1	1							
Turselin, Horace. Lauretanae historiae libri V. Mainz. 1600	1			1					
Twyne, Brian. Antiquitatis acad. Oxoniensis apologia. Ox. 1608	1						1		
Twysden, Sir Roger. Historiae Anglicanae scriptores decem. 1652	26	15		5	1	1	4		
Universal history. Several editions distinguishable: 64v. 1780 and 7v. 1736. After 1770 probably called *Modern universal history*	120	2		14	36	40	20		8
"Usage of the English at Amboyna"	1		1						
Vaillant, John. Historia Ptolemaeorum. Amst. 1701	2			2					
Verstegen, Richard. Restitution of decayed intelligence in antiquities. Antwerp. 1605	1	1							
Walker, Clement. History of independency. 1648	1	1							
Wallis, John. History of Northumberland. 2v. 1769	1	1							

History and Antiquities, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Walsh, Peter. History, etc. of the Irish remonstrance in 1661. 1674	2					2			
—— A prospect of the state of Ireland. 1682	2					2			
Wanley, Nathaniel. The wonders of the little world or a general history of man. 1678	5			5					
Weever, John. Ancient funeral monuments. 1631	2	1	1						
West. Thomas. Antiquities of Furness. 1774	2			2					
Wharton, Henry. A specimen of error in Burnet's history of the reformation. 1693	1			1					
Whatley, Robert. A short history . . . [against Walpole]. 1738–42	3						3		
Whitaker, Thomas D. History of deanery of Craven. 1805	2						2		
Whitelock, Bulstrode. Memorials of English affairs. 1707	2					2			
Wilkins, William. Antiquities of magna Graecia. 1807	1						1		
William of Malmesbury. Rerum anglicanarum scriptores. 1596	3	1				2			
William of Newborough. Historia rerum Anglicarum. Ed. Thomas Hearne. Ox. 1719	1			1					
Willis, Browne. History of the Welsh cathedrals.	2				2				
—— Survey of cathedrals. 3v. 1719–21	74		5	39	23		7		
—— Survey of Llandaff cathedral. 1715	4				3		1		
—— Survey of St. Asaph's. 1720	1						1		
—— Survey of Bangor cathedral. 1721	2				1		1		
—— Survey of ———?	1			1					
—— Notitia parliamentaria. 2v. 1715	2						2		
Wilson, Arthur. History of Great Britain. 1653	1					1			
Winckelmann, John James. Histoire de l'art de antiquité. Tr. M. Huber. 3v. Leipzig. 1781	1			1					
Witsius, Herman. Aegyptiaca. Amst. 1683	4						2	1	1
Wood, Anthony. Historia et antiquitates universitatis Oxoniensis. 2v. 1674	1			1					
—— History of the city of Oxford. 1773	1	1							
—— History of the university of Oxford. Ox. 1773	1	1							
Wood, Robert. Ruins of Balbec. 1657	1			1					
—— Ruins of Palmyra.	10	2		7	1				
Worsley, Sir Richard. History of the isle of Wight. 1781	10			4		6			
Xiphilin. "Epit Dionis"	2					2			
—— "Historiae"	1					1			
Zonaras, John.	4			4					

(To be continued)

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

President, GILBERT W. CHAPMAN
First Vice-President, ROY E. LARSEN
Second Vice-President, JOHN M. SCHIFF
Secretary, BETHUEL M. WEBSTER
Treasurer, GRANT KEEHN
Assistant Treasurer, UNITED STATES TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK
Director, EDWARD G. FREEHAFER
MRS VINCENT ASTOR
C. WALLER BARRETT
MORRIS HADLEY
ARTHUR A. HOUGHTON, JR
DONALD F. HYDE
DEVEREUX C. JOSEPHS
MRS MILLICENT C. McINTOSH
NEWBOLD MORRIS
THOMAS L. PERKINS
ROLAND L. REDMOND
DAVID A. SHEPARD
FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN
NORMAN H. STROUSE
WALTER N. THAYER
MRS ARNOLD WHITRIDGE

THE MAYOR, THE COMPTROLLER, AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, *ex officio*

HONORARY TRUSTEE
ELIHU ROOT, JR

STAFF OFFICERS

DIRECTOR, Edward G. Freehafer
DEPUTY DIRECTOR, John Mackenzie Cory
ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR, James Wood Henderson (Acting)
CHIEF OF ACCOUNTING OFFICE, Mrs Angela M. Lyons
EXECUTIVE OFFICER, Bayard Schiefelin
CHIEF OF THE PERSONNEL OFFICE, Alan L. Heyneman
CHIEF OF THE PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICE, Miss Marion L. Simmons

REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

Central Building, Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street. Annex, 521 West 43rd Street
JAMES WOOD HENDERSON, Chief

EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT, Gilbert A. Cam
AMERICAN HISTORY AND GENEALOGY DIVISION, Gerald D. McDonald, Chief
ANNEX REFERENCE SERVICES, 521 West 43rd Street, Saro John Riccardi, Chief
ARENTS COLLECTIONS, John D. Gordan, Acting Chief
ART AND ARCHITECTURE DIVISION, Karl Kup, Chief
BERG COLLECTION, John D. Gordan, Chief
BOOK DELIVERY DIVISION, David C. Maclay, Chief
DANCE COLLECTION, Miss Genevieve Oswald, Curator
ECONOMICS DIVISION, John Fall, Chief
INFORMATION DIVISION, Archibald P. DeWeese, Chief
JEWISH DIVISION, Abraham Berger, Chief
MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, Robert W. Hill, Keeper of Manuscripts
MAP DIVISION, Gerard L. Alexander, Chief
MUSIC DIVISION, Philip L. Miller, Chief
ORIENTAL DIVISON, John L. Mish, Chief
PERIODICALS DIVISION, Barron M. Franz, Chief
PREPARATION DIVISION, Robert E. Emgery, Chief
PRINTS DIVISION, Karl Kup, Chief
RARE BOOK DIVISION, Lewis M. Stark, Chief
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY DIVISION, George S. Bonn, Chief
SLAVONIC DIVISION, John L. Mish, Chief
SPENCER COLLECTION, Karl Kup, Adviser
THEATRE COLLECTION, George Freedley, Curator

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

Headquarters: Donnell Library Center, 20 West 53rd Street, New York, N. Y. 10019
MRS JEAN ORTH GODFREY, Chief

ASSISTANT CHIEF, Miss Mary Dana
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES, Mrs Julia Brody, Coordinator
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT, Mrs Dorothy Homer
BOOK ORDERING AND PROCESSING,
CATALOGING, Mrs Sydney G. Marcu, Coordinator
ADULT SERVICES, Miss Katherine L. O'Brien, Coordinator
CHILDREN'S SERVICES, Mrs Augusta Baker, Coordinator
YOUNG ADULT SERVICES, Miss Margaret Scoggin, Coordinator
MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES & RECORDS CENTER, James Katsaros, Administrator

LIST OF BRANCHES AND LIBRARIANS

MANHATTAN

COORDINATOR, Miss Casindania Eaton

ASSISTANT COORDINATOR, Walter Roziewski

AGUILAR. 174 East 110th Street.
Miss Marie Ferrigno

BLOOMINGDALE REGIONAL. 150 West 100th Street.
Miss Erna Obermeier

CATHEDRAL. 564 Lexington Avenue.
Robert Powers

CENTRAL CHILDREN'S ROOM. Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street.
Miss Maria Cimino

CENTRAL CIRCULATION. Fifth Ave. & 42nd St.
Miss Mary C. Hatch

CHATHAM SQUARE. 33 East Broadway.
Miss Virginia Swift

COLUMBIA. Room 101, Butler Lib., Col. Univ.
John Slade

COLUMBUS. 742 Tenth Avenue.
Miss Eliza Perry

COUNTEE CULLEN REGIONAL. 104 West 136th Street.
Miss Esther Walls

DONNELL LIBRARY CENTER. 20 West 53rd Street.
Miss Loda Hopkins

EPIPHANY. 228 East 23rd Street.
Miss Regina Sludock

FIFTY-EIGHTH STREET. 127 East 58th Street.
Raymond Harris

FORT WASHINGTON REGIONAL. 535 West 179th Street.
Mrs Winifred Carruthers

GEORGE BRUCE. 518 West 125th Street.
Howard Rickert

HAMILTON FISH PARK. 415 East Houston St.
Mrs Mary Pieper

HAMILTON GRANGE. 503 West 145th Street.
Mrs Dorothy Pitman

HARLEM LIBRARY. 9 West 124th Street.
Mrs Rosa C. Brown

HUDSON PARK. 10 Seventh Avenue South.
Mrs Alice Vielehr

INWOOD REGIONAL. 4790 Broadway.
Miss Clara Rees

JACKSON SQUARE. 251 West 13th Street.
Miss Ruth Shinnamon

LIBRARY FOR THE BLIND. 166 Avenue of the Americas.
Miss Charlotte C. Harrison

MACOMB'S BRIDGE. 2650 Seventh Avenue.

MUHLENBERG. 209 West 23rd Street.
Miss Alice McQuaid

MUNICIPAL REFERENCE LIBRARY. 2230 Municipal Building.
Eugene Bockman

Public Health Division. 125 Worth Street. Room 224

MUSIC LIBRARY. 127 East 58th Street.
Mrs Catharine K. Miller

NATHAN STRAUS. 20 West 53rd Street.
Miss Elizabeth A. Boyle

NINETY-SIXTH STREET REGIONAL. 112 East 96th Street.
Miss Irene Patjens

115TH STREET. 203 West 115th Street.
Miss Anne Judge

125TH STREET. 224 East 125th Street.
Miss Virginia Swift

OTTENDORFER. 135 Second Avenue.
Miss Mercy Kellogg

PICTURE COLLECTION. Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street.
Miss Romana Javitz

RIVERSIDE. 190 Amsterdam Avenue.
Miss Myrtle Reynolds

ST AGNES REGIONAL. 444 Amsterdam Ave.
Miss Dorothy Cobb

SCHOMBURG COLLECTION. 103 West 135th Street.
Mrs Jean Blackwell Hutson

SEWARD PARK. 192 East Broadway.
Miss Joan Treble

SIXTY-SEVENTH STREET. 328 East 67th St.
Mrs Margarethe Kortenbeutel Voorhis

TOMPKINS SQUARE REGIONAL. 331 East 10th Street.
Mrs Alice Alexander

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS. 1000 St Nicholas Avenue.
Mrs Regina M. Andrews

WEBSTER. 1465 York Avenue.
Miss Edna Thomson

YORKVILLE. 222 East 79th Street.
Miss Emily Davis

THE BRONX

COORDINATOR, Gerald Gold

ASSISTANT COORDINATOR, Miss Mary Barrett

ALLERTON. 2740 Barnes Avenue.
Miss Grace Iijima

BRONX BOOKMOBILES. 321 East 140th Street.
Mrs Mabel Bell

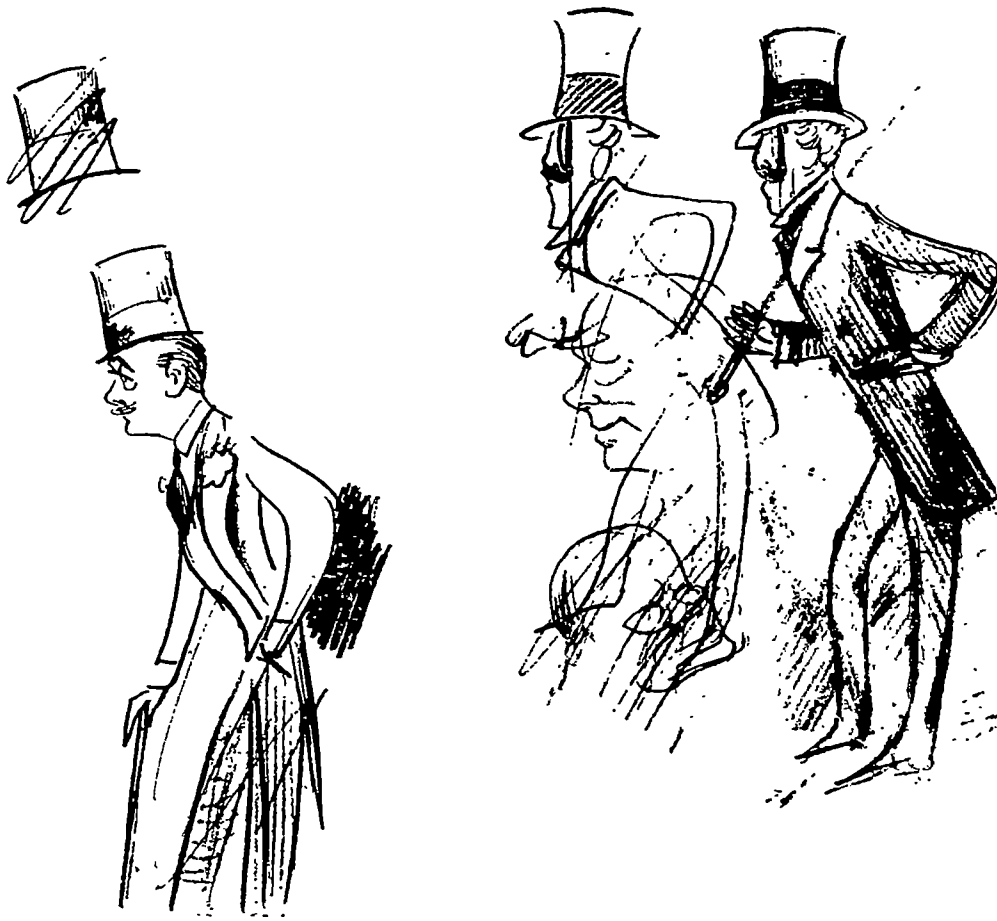
CASTLE HILL. 2220 Cincinnatus Avenue.
Philip Wolcoff

CITY ISLAND. 325 City Island Avenue.
Mrs Stella Webber

FEBRUARY 1964

BULLETIN
OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations



BULLETIN OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

VOLUME 68 FEBRUARY 1964 NUMBER 2

CONTENTS

FRONT MATTER

LEHMAN COLLECTION OF MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS 71

MURAL OF NEGRO HISTORY 71

GIFTS TO THE THEATRE COLLECTION 71

FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY MATERIAL 72

NEW IN THE BERG COLLECTION: 1959–1961 (PART III) BY JOHN D. GORDAN 73

BEERBOHM, WILDE, SHAW, AND "THE GOOD-NATURED CRITIC": SOME NEW LETTERS BY RICHARD M. GOLLIN 83

WORDSWORTH'S RACEDOWN PERIOD: SOME UNCERTAINTIES RESOLVED BY CAROL LANDON 100

READING VOGUES AT ENGLISH CATHEDRAL LIBRARIES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (PART III) BY PAUL KAUFMAN 110

EXHIBITIONS IN THE CENTRAL BUILDING 136

On the cover: Sketches of himself (and others?) by Max Beerbohm, on the blank pages of a binder's dummy of *Zuleika Dobson.* In the current exhibition of new acquisitions of the Berg Collection. Reproduced by permission of Mrs Eva Reichmann.

Printed and published monthly except July and August, by The New York Public Library at Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10018. Subscription $3.00 a year, single numbers 30 cents.

Editor, DAVID V. ERDMAN; WILLIAM L. COAKLEY, *Editorial Assistant*

Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y. February, 1964. Volume 68. Number 2.

form p5 [11-14-64 19c]

Front Matter

Lehman Collection of Music Manuscripts

The Robert Owen Lehman Collection of approximately 500 manuscripts, appraised at over a million dollars, will be placed on deposit in a Robert Owen Lehman Room in the Music Division area of the new Library & Museum of the Performing Arts at Lincoln Center.

The Robert Owen Lehman Foundation thus will make available for study a body of musical holographs and manuscripts which includes original scores, sketches, and letters of such composers as Alban Berg, Berlioz, Ernest Bloch, Brahms, Chopin, Debussy, Fauré, Franck, Gounod, Liszt, Mahler, Mendelssohn, Mozart, Offenbach, Ravel, Saint-Saens, Schubert, Schumann, Johann Strauss, Richard Strauss, Stravinsky, Schoenberg, Wagner, Weber, Anton Webern, and Hugo Wolf. The collection, is particularly strong in the period 1890 to 1940. Its nucleus was the famous Cortot Collection.

Mural of Negro History

The Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature and History will exhibit during February a panoramic mural, *Our New Day Begun,* depicting the history of the Negro in America. The mural, commissioned by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and painted by James De Loache, consists of 12 panels beginning with the early days of slavery and coming up to the Supreme Court decision on Civil Rights in 1954.

Gifts to the Theatre Collection

The Curator of the Theatre Collection reports ten recent gifts of varying size and scope, beginning with the papers of the late Lina Abarbanell, whose name alphabetically has led the theatre greats for years. Long associated with *The Merry Widow* (which she sang for many years) and *Madame Sherry* (which she created) Mme Abarbanell spent the last thirty years of her long life in association with Dwight Deere Wiman, whose musical productions from *On Your Toes* to *Street Scene* she supervised, and after his death with Anna Deere Wiman. The gift of her clippings, photographs, programmes, and professional correspondence was assembled by her son-in-law, the late Marc Blitzstein, and given by him in her memory.

A gift of the costume sketches for *A Lonely Queen* came from Albert Boni, who frequently helps with an acquisition beyond the Collection's means.

The collection of Edward Goodman, the playscripts, promptbooks, and notebooks of an eminent director and teacher of acting as well as playwright, is a gift that includes the professional and personal correspondence of fifty years. Particularly interesting are the letters of the late Theresa Helburn of the Theatre Guild.

Helen Hayes, disposing of her enormous country home in Nyack, has given precious theatrical memorabilia to several institutions. This Library received her scrapbooks, photographs (of Miss Hayes and Charles, Mary, and James MacArthur), costume sketches of Lucinda Ballard, the ms of *Letters to Mary* (Helen Hayes' autobiographical letters to her daughter Mary), her prompt copy of *Mary of Scotland,* and her professional correspondence including letters

of William Gillette, Laurence Houseman, Lawrence Langner, Maxwell Anderson, and Alfred Lunt.

Barry Hyams presented forty scrapbooks detailing Broadway productions for which he was press representative, including *Mrs McThing*, in which Helen Hayes starred for ANTA.

Mrs Fritz Leiber presented the original promptbooks of plays in which her husband starred, including *Macbeth*, *The Taming of The Shrew*, and *King Richard III*.

The widow of Frank Lovejoy (last seen on Broadway in Gore Vidal's political drama, *The Best Man*) gave handsomely bound typescripts of plays and film productions in which Mr Lovejoy starred.

The scrapbooks, typescripts, and correspondence of Edwin Justus Mayer, author of *The Firebrand*, *Children of Darkness*, and *Sunrise in My Pocket*, given by his son, include plays, filmscripts, and letters from professional associates including Joseph Verner Reed and Margo Jones.

The late Harry G. Nash, Chief Guide of the United States Capitol, a theatre buff from the Eighteen-Nineties, left his collection of programmes of the last sixty years. Principally of the Washington stage, these supplement the Mudd Collection of Washingtoniana — acquired by the Library years ago, largely on the advice of Mr Nash.

Arvid Paulson, the Swedish-born actor, translator of Strindberg and Ibsen and authority on Strindberg, has presented many of that dramatist's first editions for use in the Theatre Collection after the move to Lincoln Center.

French Revolutionary Material

It is well known that this Library has extensive holdings in documents of the French Revolution, including the large Talleyrand collection of pamphlets, periodicals, and official publications. A checklist of that collection appeared in the *Bulletin* and separately in 1945 but is now out of print.

Additional material, purchased in 1948 from H. P. Kraus, includes more than 13,000 French pamphlets of 1787–1800 and 371 periodicals of the era totaling 32,000 numbers. As the value of such a collection lies in its size and scope rather than in the importance of individual pamphlets, it will not be catalogued piece by piece but sorted, arranged, and bound into pamphlet volumes. Ultimately a checklist and subject index will be provided.

The organizing of this collection has been under way since November 1962, when Miss Claire Schumacher came to the staff after several years of historical studies in France. Pamphlets and periodicals are being checked against the six-volume *Catalogue de l'histoire de la Revolution française*, covering the holdings of the Bibliothèque Nationale for this period. About twenty per cent of the pamphlets being sorted are found not to be duplicated in the BN list.

It should be noted that the Library also has a sizeable collection of acts of royal administration under the Ancien Régime, and about 950 pamphlets relating to the history of Geneva in the 18th century. The royal acts must be considered apart from the bulk of the material; they will be checklisted at a later date. The Geneva pamphlets have been placed in chronological order, but further sorting will be deferred until the checklist of the Revolutionary material has been completed.

New in the Berg Collection: 1959-1961

By John D. Gordan
Chief of the Berg Collection

PART III

Edward Thomas

Autograph notebooks, autograph manuscripts, and letters.

Philip Edward Thomas was born of Welsh stock, with an admixture of Spanish, into an undistinguished middle-class family. There was no intellectual or literary inheritance to foretell his own achievement. He was educated at St Paul's School, London, and from 1897 to 1900 at Oxford, where he further developed the interests in nature and literature that were to dominate his life. A selection of his school-boy prose was mature enough to appear under William Blackwood's imprint four months before he entered the University as a non-collegiate student of nineteen. (He was later enrolled in Lincoln College, Oxford.)

The story of his youthful love and marriage has been touchingly given to the world by his wife, the former Helen Noble. They were married June 20 1899. As Thomas did not receive his B.A. until the next year, the circumstances of the marriage aroused strong family disapproval. In the eighteen years they had together they lived mostly in the country. Despite tensions caused by strong emotions and straitened circumstances they raised a son and two daughters.

Thomas kept his family going by reviewing and by constant publication of critical essays and books and studies of country life. As he received only a pound for a thousand words, the strain was heavy. Though he had a natural inclination for the writing of poetry, he had almost given up the practice until the influence of his friend Robert Frost turned him back toward it a few months before World War I broke out.

Edward Thomas' reputation has grown to large proportions since the Second World War. His poetry especially has received critical revaluation which has placed him above such former favorites of his own generation as Rupert Brooke. His prose, too, has attracted an increasing number of admirers. From relative obscurity he has outstripped many of his contemporaries.

The Berg Collection has acquired a large collection of Edward Thomas manuscripts and a few letters by him and to him that until lately had remained in the possession of his wife. One or two documents are of personal importance. Most of the manuscripts are of his prose work, and most of the prose manuscripts are concerned with his nature studies — notes on his observations and the essays in which he incorporated them. A few are of his work in fiction.

The more interesting of the personal documents is a manuscript anthology of favorite poems by Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Virgil, Victor Hugo, and of passages from "The Song of Solomon." Edward Thomas compiled the collection for Helen Noble and gave it to her on January 9 1897, in memory of an expedition they had made to Richmond exactly a year previous. The anthology is a souvenir of the early days of the relationship before their friendship had developed — despite lack of family encouragement — into love. The course of this love has been summed up by a biographer: "It was not idyllic nor indeed always happy; but it was sure and steady and true, and it survived the wretchedness and poverty of many terrible years so that with the last words he spoke to her Edward could still tell Helen, 'All's well between us for ever and ever.'"

The other personal document is a rough family tree drawn up by Thomas when he was living at the Weald near Sevenoaks between 1903 and 1906. It shows the descent of his father and of his mother. It reveals where he found among his people the name Eastaway which he used as a pseudonym for the publication of some of his poetry.

The dating of the earliest finished compositions by Thomas in the Berg Collection presents problems. There are a dozen homogeneous manuscripts, of which only two were dated by the author at the time he wrote them. Eleven are short essays on aspects of nature. When Thomas was still in his teens, he was already a contributor of nature sketches to magazines — the *New Age* and the *Speaker*, for example. His first book, *The Woodland Life*, published in

June 1897, is composed of such sketches as the manuscripts found here: studies of the changing year, of moonlight and sunlight, of man against the background of country life and the seasons.

What would appear to be the earliest essay on display — it has been suggested, perhaps with Helen Thomas' authority, that it was written as early as 1894 — is entitled "Autumn Touches," undated but signed, thirteen pages long. It is a preliminary version of the essay "In Autumn Woods" found in *The Woodland Life*. It carries a few pencil corrections, which have been incorporated with other changes into the text, and marginal pagination suggesting first publication in a magazine.

The two manuscripts with dates — one being "7.iv.'97, Swindon," the home of his paternal grandmother; the other "iii.98, 113 Cowley Road, Oxford" — can be grouped with the other ten: all are on the same ruled quarto laid paper and all but one are nature studies. Altogether they aggregate some 140 pages. Only two in the group carry a title and only three are signed.

The twelfth manuscript, though undated, bears the Cowley Road address. It is entitled "The Harp of Tristram" and is an imaginary episode in the Tristram story told in a highly mannered style. The atmosphere is fin de siècle Arthurianism, and the piece, 14 pages long, may have been a college exercise.

The Berg Collection also acquired five manuscript notebooks that provide important evidence of Thomas' development as a personality and as a writer. They are numbered and dated as follows: Vol.VI.April '96; Vol.VIII.5.ix.'96 — 14.xi.'96; Vol.X.24.iv.'97 — 22.vi.'97; Vol. XVIII.viii-ix,1899; Vol.XIX.30.ix.'99 to 30.iv.'08. They aggregate over 500 pages. They obviously became separated from a long series of such notebooks which may or may not still exist elsewhere.

In the notebooks Thomas pressed flowers and leaves in the same way that Henry David Thoreau, whom he greatly admired, kept similar records for his own notebooks. The annotations fall for the most part into two kinds: daily observations of the physical world and of natural changes, and imaginative compositions both in prose and in verse. The notebooks display the bewildering variety of handwritings characteristic of all Thomas manuscript material.

The nature observations are entered under the day of the month, but they are far from forming an unbroken daily record. All the notebooks contain entries of this sort, offering a panorama of the changing year. They also contain notes which are really embryonic essays. Sometimes they contain actual essays, as in the much corrected piece in Volume X entitled "The Forest Noon" and annotated, "Sent to the *Speaker* on June 1. Printed July 3 [1897]. An essay will occasionally exist in more than one version, as one finds in Volume XVIII (1899).

The poetry in the notebooks is far less frequent than the prose, and without exhaustive examination it is not possible to be certain whether the poetry is Thomas' own or little-known poetry that he copied out. Examples of both — including a famous stanza of Byron's — can be found in Volume VI (1896), showing how far back Thomas' desire to express himself in verse can be traced. Volume XIX contains the earliest dated poem, 14.ii.'98.

The notebooks offer much miscellaneous material of interest. Volume XVIII, for instance, contains a partial translation, partial adaptation of *The Trojan Women* and a long fable in the 'Nineties manner. Volume XIX displays gardening notes and lay-outs for flower and vegetable gardens. There are drawings of farm yard details — a gate, a waggon, a horse, a plow — and drawings of clouds and rainfall to illustrate meteorological notes.

Other manuscript pieces and fragments, more fiction than essay, seem to belong to the turn of the century. There is a nature sketch (signed at Lincoln College, Oxford) which is built around a child named Basil. Basil can also be found in Volume X (the spring of 1897) in a similar sketch. Three long folio pages, heavily corrected, carry what seems to be the beginning of a short story or perhaps even a novel, without any clew as to date.

Far more extended and significant is the heavily corrected manuscript of a novel entitled *Olivia Patterson*. It is a collaboration in 87 pages and 10 chapters of which four are signed by Thomas and a fifth is in his hand, a total of 38 pages. The rest can be tentatively described as the work of his Oxford friend E. S. P. Haynes, who later became a well-known lawyer and writer. His recollections of Thomas can be found in the collection of essays entitled *Fritto Misto*, London 1924. The identity of the collaborator, hitherto unestablished, is suggested by a letter from Thomas to Haynes dated 15.iv.1900, shown here, which declares: "I am *trying* persuading my wife to help us in our history by giving me notes on the infant's development as she sees it. It may be useful. . . . However I feel I need little to complete Raymond Patterson's life up to 3 months. . . . Dialogue will be very difficult. If I do it at all, the most important speeches will have to be autobiographical in which I am least bad."

Watermarks in the paper on which *Olivia Patterson* is written bear the dates 1897, 1898, and 1900, so mixed as to suggest that this burlesque of university life by undergraduates was not begun before 1900. The chapters have been renumbered too often to establish what the final order might have been and whether, despite the word "Finis," the novel can be called complete. It was presumably not published.

Thomas' second book, *Horae Solitariae,* London 1902, has been called the distillation of his Oxford experiences. Here are fifteen quiet and contemplative essays that take their starting point in his reading or in his observations of nature. Eleven had already appeared in various magazines, which included the *Atlantic Monthly,* and three appeared here for the first time. *Horae Solitariae* was the first of his books to be published in the United States.

The Berg Collection acquired a combination of manuscript, typescript, and corrected copy from magazine publication for eleven of these essays — all but numbers ten, eleven, and twelve. Type has been set from all the copy, as the compositors' marks testify. The manuscripts of the first and last essays, and the typescript of the next to last, all never before published, carry slight corrections. Thomas was sufficiently satisfied with the essays to print all but three of them in *Rose Acre Papers,* 1910.

The next group of dated notebooks and manuscripts belong to the last five years of peace before the outbreak of World War I. There are three notebooks unnumbered but dated in the spring and summer of 1909: "7.v.09"; "6.vii.09"; and "10.viii.09." Adding up to some 350 pages, they present considerable examples of the new sort of work which, with the encouragement of Edward Garnett, who stimulated the development of so many writers, Thomas was undertaking that year.

These notebooks reveal Thomas turning toward fiction — yet not quite all the way. The fictional pieces found here are primarily character sketches and fables, what could serve as the beginning of a short story or novel. They introduce a character or characters in a situation; they create a setting; but they are not developed. The manuscripts are heavily corrected early drafts. Each notebook has a table of contents, but one notebook has been so dismembered that only two of the ten pieces listed remain.

Of the twenty-one pieces found in the three notebooks some half dozen can more or less definitely be traced to publication in two collections of Thomas' sketches: *Rest and Unrest,* 1910, and *Light and Twilight,* 1911. More thorough research will doubtless raise the proportion of published pieces. These two books, in the opinion of both John Moore and Robert Eckert, among the principal Thomas biographers, are his best prose work. They contain the pieces that he wrote to please himself in the years when he was turning out much forced work to earn a meager living.

An example of the writing of desperation that Thomas did to maintain his family is found in *The Icknield Way,* published in 1913. It is the record of a ten-day walking trip, taken early in August 1913, on which he tramped thirty to forty miles a day along the old Roman road called the Icknield Way which runs from Norwich along the Chilterns and the Berkshire Downs into southwest England. It has been called "the weariest of Thomas's books and the dullest." With him he carried the pocket notebook of 35 pages shown here. It gives brief descriptions of villages and countryside, of characters and weather. There are sketches for farm buildings and plans of cross-roads, later used in working up the travel book.

Similar to *The Icknield Way* is a group of brief descriptions of places, which exist in manuscript, typescript or both. They describe Hampstead Heath, Harrow, Kew, and other picturesque spots. Some are connected by the name of a month (July through February) written by Thomas in the upper left corner, as if they belonged in a series of seasonal sketches or were to be published successively. Published they apparently were: several bear the note, "Please send proof to Edward Thomas, Wick Green, Peterfield." This places the composition of the piece as between December 1909 and July 1913 when he lived at Wick Green. The date 1913 appears in the text of one of the typed essays. During these three and a half years Thomas was writing himself into a nervous breakdown, with suicidal tendencies, from which he was rescued by the kindness and quick action of E. S. P. Haynes, his collaborator with *Olivia Patterson.*

Thomas' biographers have recorded that he left behind an autobiography which he himself preferred to consider as fiction. One volume of this — a notebook signed by Thomas at Selfield House, East Grimstead, and dated "12 xii 13" — carries a pencil notation, believed to be in his hand, which reads, "A Fiction (not completed)." The leaves of this notebook are numbered 40–111, though there are 101 pages of manuscript, and this indicates that it was one of a series. The narrative opens in the middle of a childhood visit to a great uncle who lived at

Limpley Stoke — the uncle who had a beard, a deep husky voice, a pet monkey, and a pet goat. It seems to be handled as straight autobiography.

Another notebook with eleven pages of manuscript is flatly entitled "Addenda to Autobiography." The pages are headed with roman numerals I through IX, and the ninth is dated "15 xii 14." The date puts it a year after its companion. The addenda are concerned with Thomas' pre-teenage and teenage years.

There are two puzzling notebooks that belong to Thomas' attempts at fiction and to around the period when *The Icknield Way* was published. Thomas was living at the Steep, Petersfield, when he used these notebooks, for both carry his name and that address and a penciled notation believed to be in his hand: "fiction incomplete." The puzzle arises in the dates Thomas put in the notebooks. The earlier date is "7.iv.13"; the first page of the text in the notebook is numbered 126 and the last 160; and there is a pencil notation, "dropped at Ledington April (1914)." There are 24 blank leaves at the end to substantiate the statement. The other notebook is dated "begun 25.ii.14," and the first page of text is numbered 1 and the last, the verso of the final leaf, 60. The story seems to be the same: in each notebook the hero is named Philip and the heroine is his cousin Catherine. In the 1914 notebook Catherine is 12 and in the 1913 she is 22, and in each notebook Philip is her adoring junior. It would seem that there was surely once a notebook now missing which contained pages 60–125 of the story of Philip and Catherine and that Thomas used the wrong year — April 1913 for 1914 — in dating the notebook containing pages 126–160. This is corroborated by his not having come to live at Steep until July, 1913. The abandoned fragment in the Berg Collection runs to 125 pages of text and is certainly another attempt by a hard-pressed author to write in a popular vein.

Interest in Edward Thomas today is largely centered on his poetry, and one of his biographers is of the opinion that "he would never have expressed himself in poetry if he had not met Robert Frost." The two men met in February 1913 when Frost had recently settled with his family in England and when Thomas was undergoing a period of estrangement from his wife. Thomas wrote for the *New Weekly* an enthusiastic review of Frost's first book, *A Boy's Will.* The two men were constantly together, especially in 1914, and in the country in Gloucestershire, until the Frosts returned to the United States in February 1915. Thomas enlisted in the British army in July.

An impression of the pleasure which the two poets, who were essentially country men at heart, took in their walks and talks can be obtained from an essay entitled "This England" which was published in the *Nation* in November 1914. The manuscript of fifteen pages, called "Our Country" and dated "16th and 19th ix.14," the time of his daily intimacy with Frost, is here displayed. Thomas describes "how easy it was to spend morning or afternoon walking . . . with my friend, nearly regardless of footpaths, in a long loop, so as to end either at his house or my lodging." The essay ends with a quiet expression of the feeling for the English countryside which meant patriotism to Thomas and for which he gave his life.

Helen Thomas recognized that Frost came quickly to know and to understand her husband's nature "as no man had ever understood it." He seems to have seen at once, as Moore puts it, that Thomas was "a poet who had lost his way." Under the influence of Frost's friendship he found it, and between November 1914 and February 1915 he produced most of the 130-odd poems which he left.

The Berg Collection has half a dozen poems — one in two versions — that were written in the month of January 1915 on eight pages torn from an exercise book. The poem published in thirty-two lines as "The Unknown Bird" exists in an early version of thirty-one lines beginning "That lovely far off note of the bird who roved" / "Among our beeches all one May and June"; and in another of twenty-six (perhaps other lines are merely lost) beginning, "That bird that whistled 3 soft and lovely notes" / "Down in the beech woods all one May & June." Other poems which bear no title in the Berg manuscript leaves were published in revised versions as "The Mill Pond"; "The Gypsy"; and "Man and Dog." The manuscripts are all heavily corrected.

With the manuscripts came a few letters, sometimes copies, in Edward Thomas' hand and a few letters to him. The earliest is a letter to his parents written, it is believed, in 1892 when he was a school boy of fourteen, and full of athletic and scholastic achievements. There are six or so letters to friends of his University days, both men and women, including Hamilton Fyfe and E. S. P. Haynes. It was through Professor J. H. Morgan that he met Haynes, and among the letters is a rough draft of a sorrowful letter he wrote to Morgan in October 1900 as the result of a quarrel which was later healed.

One letter, written in March 1900 after the appearance of *The Woodland Life,* speaks disparagingly of his first publication and the whole nature genre: "Most of the essays were written when I was 17. . . . They now seem to me poor enough. They lack restraint and concentration. . . .

I have never seen any studies of nature . . . that were good literature. The whole class is bad . . . The best work of the kind is that of Jeffries. . . ." Richard Jeffries, the mid-nineteenth-century nature writer, was his great enthusiasm.

An extremely interesting run of letters are those written to Thomas by his friend Gordon Bottomley and by Emily Bottomley when her husband was too ill to write. There are 26 letters falling between 1900 and 1913, exactly half belonging to 1909. The letters are full of comment on Bottomley's work, Thomas' work, and on other literary figures of the first decade of the twentieth century.

Another letter, written by Thomas on the last Christmas Eve of his life when he was training with his battery in Kent, shows a happy adjustment to the new condition of military life. "As far as I am concerned," he commented, "the sooner we go out the better. I am enjoying a large part of the work." He had a little over three months to live before he fell in action on April 9 1917, the day after Easter.

Virginia Woolf

The major collection of her manuscripts.

The distinguished quality of Virginia Woolf's life, mind, and achievement is apparent in all that is known of her. From birth she was surrounded by some of the most eminent intellects and talents of her day. She was the daughter of Sir Leslie Stephen, the goddaughter of James Russell Lowell, the wife of Leonard Woolf, the friend of T. S. Eliot, E. M. Forster, Maynard Keynes, Vita Sackville-West, Ethel Smyth and Lytton Strachey. She herself was a writer of great sensitivity and varied range — a novelist and short-story writer, a critic, an essayist, and a biographer.

The Berg Collection has had the happy experience of building up a large collection of Virginia Woolf's manuscripts — perhaps the most appropriate memorial a writer can have. On its shelves are the vast majority of her papers and notebooks: the manusripts of seven of the novels and of most of the short stories, essays, criticisms, and biographies. Two notable additions have been the generous gift of Leonard Woolf himself. All this material is working drafts.

All that seems to remain of the manuscript of Virginia Woolf's first novel, *The Voyage Out* (1915), is in two notebooks, one dated March 29 1912, the other December 21 1912. The March notebook, which contains over 77 pages of manuscript, presents at one end Chapter Twenty One, which was reworked and renumbered Chapter XVII of the published novel. The other end presents Chapter Twenty Seven, which was reworked and renumbered Chapter XXIV. The December notebook, which was the most recent gift of Mr Woolf, contains 86 pages of manuscript. The first chapter number is also Twenty One, which, however, corresponds to Chapter XVIII of the published novel. The chapters of this notebook are numbered through twenty five and there are additional pages, too, which lie outside this numbered sequence of chapters. The contents of the December notebook, much reworked, can be found scattered through Chapter XVI, XVIII–XXIII of the published novel. The problems raised by the dates of the notebooks are not easily solved, but between them the two well-corrected manuscript notebooks contain the material that later was developed into one third of the chapters of the book as published — Chapters XVI-XXIV. Beside the notebooks lies the heavily corrected but undated typescript in which the history of the reworking of the story can be partially traced. The typescript runs to some 750 pages. Many of the typed chapters can be found in more than one version. Three exist in fragments only.

Though the Berg Collection lacks the manuscript of *Night and Day*, it has that of Virginia Woolf's third novel, *Jacob's Room* (1922), in three notebooks. These are dated from April 1920 to June 1922 and comprise somewhat less than three hundred well-corrected pages. *Jacob's Room* was the first novel in which she experimented with unconventional techniques of story telling. The first page of the first notebook carries a word to herself: "Yet what about form? Let us suppose that the Room will hold it together."

The Berg Collection does not have the principal manuscript of *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925), Virginia Woolf's fourth novel. She willed it to her great friend, V. Sackville-West, and it is now in the British Museum. The Collection, however, does have much vital subsidiary material connected with the novel. The third of the *Jacob's Room* notebooks contains fragments of other work, including preliminary notes for *Mrs. Dalloway* and three passages for the novel amounting to some thirty-five pages altogether. Early titles were "At Home: or The Party" and "The Hours." The passage about the Prime Minister's car is the earliest part of the story found in the portions in the Collection. On October 16 [1922] she was making notes for "a possible revision of this

book." Another notebook in the Collection contains further notes and ruminations on the story extending over a dozen pages and over the months between November 9 1922, and August 2 1923. The earliest entry reads: "So far Mrs. D in Bond Street & the P.M. are written." The chief character, Mrs Dalloway, was giving her name to the novel. But at the beginning of the three manuscript notebooks in the British Museum the novel was still referred to as *The Hours.*

In the Berg Collection there is another notebook, dated November 22 1924, which contains, among other things, some thirty-one intermittent pages headed "Mrs. Dalloway (Corrections)." Some of these extend for several hundred words, some for only a few lines. In still another notebook, labeled "Reviews 1924," are three more pages of manuscript describing Clarissa's evening party. All these corrections are themselves copiously corrected.

From the beginning Virginia Woolf seems to have decided to call her fifth novel *To the Lighthouse* (1927). The manuscript is found in two notebooks and a loose-leaf folder. The first notebook opens with two pages of preliminary notes for the novel dated August 6 1925 and the statement that the story was begun on January 18 1926 and completed on March 16 1927. There are 154 pages of manuscript. The second notebook is dated March 17 1926 and has only 24 pages of manuscript. The loose leaf folder, which is undated, contains some 255 pages. The manuscript does not quite bring the story to a conclusion.

The Waves (1931) was not the only title considered for Virginia Woolf's sixth novel — sixth if *Orlando* (1928) is to be described by its subtitle, "A Biography." The first page of the first of the seven notebooks which contain the actual manuscript carries the date July 2 1929 and a choice of titles: "The Moths," "The Life of Anybody," "The Life of Anyone," "Life in General," "Moments of Being" and "The Waves." The notebooks, which run up to the end of January 1931, reveal the difficulty Virginia Woolf encountered in working out exactly the pattern and the effects she wanted. There are false starts carried to considerable length. There are sections of the pattern in quite different positions from where she placed them in the published story. An additional notebook of 22 pages, bearing dates between June 15 1930 and January 30 1931, is devoted to ideas for revisions and continuations of the story — and this in addition to similar pages scattered throughout the other notebooks. No other manuscript of hers in the Berg Collection shows so much reconsideration.

Virginia Woolf's seventh novel, appearing six years after *The Waves,* was known as "The Pargiters," "Time Passes," "In the Flesh," "Here and Now," "Mother and Sisters," "Dawn," "Uncles and Aunts," "Ordinary People," "Sons and Daughters" before it was published as *The Years* (1937). The eight notebooks which contain the manuscript show that she began writing on October 11 1932 and continued into October 1934. The earliest notebook carries a subtitle missing from the printed text; "A novel based upon a paper read to the London National Society for Women's Service."

The first title Virginia Woolf gave her eighth novel, *Between the Acts* (1941), was "Pointz Hall." Preliminary notes for the story are found in a small undated notebook. The order of the three notebooks containing the manuscript and the order of composition of the component parts of the story present material for careful study. There are also some sixty-seven pages of corrected typescript with the dates April 2 and August 1 1938 added in longhand, dates earlier than any others to be found in the body of manuscript material relating to *Between the Acts.* It is not impossible that these typed pages correspond to a stage of the manuscript not present in the Berg Collection. The material here is in a state of greater disorder than in any other manuscript of a Woolf novel in the Berg Collection. *Between the Acts* was the last that she completed and it was published in July 1941, more than three months after her death.

The Collection also contains the manuscripts of some of Virginia Woolf's short fiction. For instance, in a notebook bearing two labels — "Fiction. 1925. Spring" and "Reviews 1926" — can be found the manuscripts of two of the short stories published in *A Haunted House,* a posthumous collection that appeared at the end of January 1944. One of these, "The Conversation," was published as "Together and Apart"; the other had alternative titles, "The Man who Loved his Kind" and "Lovers of their Kind," of which the first was used in print. In this same notebook are essays found in *The Common Reader* and in *The Captain's Death Bed.*

Another notebook, dated November 22 1924, contains a short story entitled "The New Dress," which was published in the *Forum* in 1927 before it was included in *A Haunted House* in 1944. The story introduces Mrs Dalloway as a character, and, indeed, the notebook in which the manuscript for "The New Dress" is found also contains the 29 pages of "Mrs. Dalloway (Corrections)" already described.

Virginia Woolf was a prolific writer of criticism, essays, and biographical sketches, which she contributed to journals and newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic. Later she gathered some

of them into two large collections published during her lifetime: *The Common Reader* (1925) and *The Common Reader: Second Series* (1932). Other hands made four selections after her death. Because of her habit of using the same notebooks to advance many different pieces of work simultaneously, these occasional writings can be found scattered unchronologically throughout many of the notebooks in the Berg Collection.

Most of her essays grew out of her reading, for all her life she read widely and avidly. Among the papers now in the Berg Collection are twenty-three notebooks which are the storehouses of her reading. She read for future use: she took copious notes on the contents of books; she made comments on the ideas, the style, the purpose, and the effect of what she read.

Here is displayed a sampling of her reading notes. The notebooks sometimes carry rough and incomplete tables of contents which only partially suggest the wide range of her mind. The catholicity of her interest ranged from the medieval to the contemporary, from politics to philosophy to literature of all periods and in many languages.

Here, for instance, is a notebook devoted only to Addison. Beside it is one that embraces Brummell, Dorothy Wordsworth, a life of Donne and two lives of Sir Philip Sidney. A notebook with a typed table of contents for a cover flings a capacious net: "Biography, The Mysteries of Udolpho, Northanger Abbey, Bleak House, Praeterita, Lord Chesterfield, Silas Marner, What Maisie Knew, Proust, Moby Dick, Hardy's Life, Notes for Phases of Fiction." Though most of the notebooks are in manuscript, a few pages are typewritten.

Among the best known single pieces of criticism in the large body of Mrs Woolf's critical essays is *Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown.* This study of the condition of contemporary fiction was first published in the New York *Evening Post* in 1923 and in pamphlet form in 1924. The notebook shown here contains fifteen pages of manuscript entitled "Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown Corrections."

Virginia Woolf made a habit of publishing in pamphlet form individual sketches and essays which might or might not have first appeared in a periodical. A later interesting example can be found in *Walter Sickert: A Conversation,* issued in October 1934, which had been published a month earlier as "A Conversation about Art" in the September 1934 issue of the *Yale Review* and which was later reissued in *The Captain's Death Bed* in 1950. The manuscript entitled "Portrait of Walter Sickert" and dated November 26 1933 fills fifteen pages in the notebook on display.

The flavor of *The Common Reader* (1925) can be sampled in the notebooks seen here in the manuscript of one of her essays called "Notes on an Elizabethan Play." The Elizabethans were a favorite subject of Virginia Woolf's and set her imagination ranging. The essay is dated January 4 1925 and was first published in the *Times Literary Supplement* for March 5 1925. The whole notebook is dated November 22 1924 and includes not only pieces found in *The Common Reader, A Haunted House,* and *The Moment* but also portions of *Mrs. Dalloway.* It is characteristic of the confusion presented by Mrs Woolf's manuscript notebooks.

Many of the essays published in *The Common Reader: Second Series* (1932) are found in the manuscript notebooks. The notebook shown here, for instance, is dated June 1930 and is open to the essay "I am Christina Rossetti," which bears the marginal date October 9 1930. It was first published in the *Nation and Athenaeum* for December 6 1930. In addition to papers collected in *The Common Reader: Second Series* there are in this notebook manuscripts of studies in *The Death of the Moth* and *The Captain's Death Bed.*

Three Guineas, which was published in 1938, might be considered an extended essay on woman's position in the modern world and how it got that way. Conceived as an answer to various masculine appeals for woman's help in improving a world of man's creation, especially in preventing war, it carried forward the arguments advanced in *A Room of One's Own* (1929). The Berg Collection has some sixty unnumbered pages of manuscript, mostly from the third and final section, and a hundred and seventy-odd pages of typescript largely from the first section.

The manuscripts of some of the essays in the posthumously issued *Death of the Moth* (1942) are scattered through the notebooks. The notebook shown here is dated January 28 1940 and it is open to an essay on Coleridge entitled "The Man at the Door." This manuscript essay has the added interest of being preceded by a brief informal outline — a jotting down of notes. The notebook also contains material that appeared in *The Captain's Death Bed.*

The Moment and Other Essays (1947) is represented by the manuscript of "American Fiction," found in this notebook dated April 21 1925. The notebook contains other essays in manuscript later collected in *The Moment.* In it can also be found essays republished in *The Common Reader: Second Series* and *The Death of the Moth.*

Another of the collections of essays edited by Leonard Woolf after the death of his wife is *The Captain's Death Bed* (1950). The notebook shown here contains the manuscript of the essay on Oliver Goldsmith which opens the volume. The essay, which fills sixty-three pages of

manuscript in the notebook, was written between April 8 and December 18 1933, and reveals the severity with which Virginia Woolf pruned work with which she was dissatisfied. In print it occupies ten pages of *The Captain's Death Bed,* where it was reprinted from the *Times Literary Supplement.* The rest of this notebook is given up to notes for *Three Guineas* dated "4, 1935," and headed "Draft of Professions etc."

The last posthumous collection of essays to appear — in 1958 — was entitled *Granite and Rainbow.* The notebook shown here is dated June 18 1929 and contains the manuscript of an essay on Maria Allen, "Fanny Burney's Half-Sister," published there. The Burney family and their work was a favorite point of departure for Virginia Woolf into by-paths of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the same notebook can be found manuscripts of essays that were collected in *The Common Reader: Second Series* and *The Captain's Death Bed.* To the end, the various collections of Virginia Woolf's essays were culled from a wide range in her career as a writer.

Many of these essays are essentially biographical sketches. She herself called *Orlando* "a biography," whatever tag other critics may care to use. It is not surprising that Virginia Woolf tried her hand twice at books closer to the biographical norm. The earlier of the two, *Flush: a Biography* (1934), is an account of the Brownings through the life of Mrs Browning's spaniel, Flush. The Berg Collection has a coverless notebook labeled "Flush" on the first page which contains Mrs Woolf's reading notes for the biography, some in long hand and some typewritten. In addition there are three notebooks containing two manuscripts of the biography of the famous spaniel. The earlier of the drafts is in two notebooks and is entitled "The Life Character and Opinions of Flush the Spaniel." The first chapter, dated July 21 1931, is in one notebook and chapters two through five in another notebook dated July 31 1931. The later of the two drafts is in a single notebook; in the margin of the first page Mrs Woolf added in pencil the date July 26 1932. Even this later draft differs drastically from the text as published.

Mrs. Woolf's biography of Roger Fry, the art critic and artist who was her devoted friend, is more conventional in its approach and in its detail. Published in 1940, it shows the same consummate skill in working within the established technique of the biography that she had displayed with established techniques of the novel in *The Voyage Out.* Among the papers in the Berg Collection is an undated notebook containing 18 pages of manuscript for Roger Fry. Through the generous gift of Mr Woolf the Collection now has a corrected typescript of the complete biography.

The tragic death of Virginia Woolf in 1941 at the age of fifty-nine was felt as a loss to the entire reading world. In the quarter century that has almost elapsed her work has been subject to the revaluation which inevitably follows the disappearance of a dominating figure from the literary scene. "It is a curious fact," John Lehman, the noted English editor and critic, declared in the *Listener* for April 4 1963, "that, at a time when the reputation of Virginia Woolf among the currently dominant critics in this country has fallen quite sharply, in Europe and America she is still considered to be of primary importance in modern English literature. . . . My own guess is that recognition of her true place will not be long in returning over here." It is a great satisfaction to The New York Public Library that those who wish to study her manuscripts will find them in such plenty in the Berg Collection.

Dorothy Richardson

Three hundred autograph letters and the autograph manuscript of a translation from the German.

If Dorothy Miller Richardson is not widely known today, it is because too much tribute has been paid to Joyce's development of the "stream of consciousness" at the expense of earlier contemporary innovators. In 1915 Dorothy Richardson, one of the innovators, began publication of her twelve-volume novel, *Pilgrimage,* which was completed in 1938. Each volume she considered a "chapter" of the whole. In them the interior monologue was employed in print before the publication of *Ulysses* made it famous.

Miss Richardson, who became Mrs Alan Odle, was, like Virginia Woolf, a feminist. She seems deliberately to have set out to reproduce "a feminine equivalent of the current masculine realism." This she did by limiting the reader's awareness solely to the mind or point of view of her heroine, Miriam Henderson, as she matures. For the pilgrimage of the novel is that of Miriam's consciousness from adolescence to middle age.

The consciousness of Dorothy Richardson is seen most interestingly in a series of over 300 letters, now in the Berg Collection, which she wrote between 1919 and 1952 to P. Beaumont Wadsworth. He was a journalist about a dozen years her junior whose assignments kept him out of England in this country, on the Continent, and as far away as India. He was greatly interested in writing, in the work of contemporary authors, and in their problems. Dorothy Richardson wrote him about his own work, the dangers of apprenticeship, the point of view from which a story is presented, and kindred topics. "In James Joyce," she remarked on May 1 1919, "I recognize one who used [my, deleted] the same methods as I, more strictly beautifully and perhaps to a wider end — that I don't know. I have not read *Ulysses*." The correspondence deals largely with her experiences in reading and in exploring parts of the English countryside on a severely limited budget. The writers of five decades are seen through Miss Richardson's discerning intelligence. It is particularly interesting to find that she had read most of Proust by April 1925 in the original French: "an overwhelming experience . . . a marvellous fabric, a rich tapestry, threadbare in places and in places translucent beyond any other writing whatsoever."

Alan Odle was an artist and illustrator whose artistic work was no more in demand than his wife's books. Their income was small, especially during the world depression, and Dorothy Richardson undertook translations to supplement it in the early 1930s. One of her translations from the German was *Jews in Germany* by Joseph Kastein, a writer of history, biography, verse, and fiction. On display are the corrected version of her entire translation and a typed fair copy of the first section of the typescript. Beside it are the original manuscript and a corrected typescript of the preface contributed to the Kastein work by James Stephens. The translation was published by the Cresset Press in London in 1934. Though it undoubtedly gave Miss Richardson satisfaction as a Quaker to take part in this protest against Nazism, she found translating exhausting. In January 1935 she wrote Wadsworth: "I am paying now, for my 'four years hard' with pressure, at translations. . . . The local medics diagnose neurasthenia due to prolonged overstrain plus eyestrain."

Sylvia Townsend Warner

The autograph manuscript of *Lolly Willowes*.

Miss Warner came to the writing of fiction by way of an interest in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century music and in poetry. Her poems, which are her first published work, have the delicacy, learning, grace and wit which are characteristic of her prose. These are not the characteristics which are necessarily associated with the interest she showed in left-wing politics and the Spanish Loyalist cause in the 1930s. Yet a mixture of unexpected ingredients is part of the special charm of her work.

Miss Warner's first novel was *Lolly Willowes*, published in 1926, the story of a discreet and spinsterish lady who discovers the joys of independence and of witchcraft. It was, incidentally, the first selection of the Book of the Month Club in America. It suggests the fantasy, cynicism, wit and sophistication of such diverse satirists as Jane Austen, Saki, David Garnett, and John Collier.

Critics praised Miss Warner for her prose style, and according to a note in her hand on the leaf that serves as a cover to the manuscript of *Lolly Willowes* she worked long on the novel — from "c.1923–1925." The manuscript, now in the Berg Collection, is complete and runs to 282 pages. The corrections are numerous and interesting, but not so copious as Miss Warner's reputation as a stylist would suggest. There was, however, considerable work done between the manuscript and the published text.

Elizabeth Bowen

A fragmentary autograph manuscript and two corrected typescripts of *The Death of the Heart*.

Elizabeth Bowen was descended on both sides from Anglo-Irish families. The Bowens had lived for generations at Bowen's Court, Kildorrery, County Cork, which had been given them by Cromwell and which Miss Bowen still owns and writes about. She was educated in England, and on her twenty-first birthday her father gave her a small income and allowed her to complete her education in her own way. Living in London and on the Continent, she devoted most of her time to the writing which she had begun seriously at the age of twenty. Gradually she achieved a reputation among English women writers second only to Virginia Woolf's.

Though she confines herself to the small upper middle class world which she knows at first hand, Miss Bowen's work is sensitive and probing. A good example of the depth which she reaches within her chosen field is her third novel, *The Death of the Heart*. A study of a young girl's "loss of spiritual inocence," it has been called "too painful to be the subject of fiction."

The Berg Collection possesses fragmentary holograph drafts of certain chapters of Part I of the novel; a nearly complete corrected typescript of the whole, lacking only four chapters; and a complete later corrected typescript. None of these bears any title, though Miss Bowen added to the later typescript a leaf of another sort of paper with the title written out in ink and signed — presumably as an afterthought.

The fragmentary manuscript of Part I contains three successive versions of Chapters I. Two of these are marked in blue pencil "Draft (1)" and "Draft (2)" and the third seems to fall between the two. All three carry corrections, though these are not copious. There are also corrected drafts of the second and third chapters of Part I.

The first and second typescripts are more heavily corrected than the fragmentary manuscript, and the second typescript only a little less heavily than the first. The lack of completeness in the first typescript is found in Part III of the novel, which has only the first and third of the six chapters. The second typescript is complete; a later draft incorporating the changes of the first and mysteriously making changes not indicated by corrections in the first. This suggests that another draft came between the two typescripts now in the Berg Collection.

Stephen Spender

Autograph manuscripts of "Vienna" and of "The Burning Cactus."

The name of Stephen Spender is associated with the tensions and changes that worked on and below the surface of life and letters between the two world wars. He comes of an affluent and intellectual Anglo-German family with a Jewish strain. He has lived through the depression, the rise of Hitler, the attempt to exterminate the Jews, the fall of Vienna, the Spanish Civil War, the Moscow trials, the Second World War. He has reacted as a man and a poet to all these events. His was a left-wing point of view and voice for many years, but he was not so much a communist as an anti-fascist, an anti-totalitarian. He is associated with the other disturbed and questioning writers of his generation — Auden, Day Lewis, Isherwood, MacNeice — who developed a new point of view, widened the subject matter of poetry and fiction, and spoke with a harsher, more vernacular note than the rebels of the generation between the turn of the century and the Depression.

One of Spender's poems most concerned with the problems of the early 1930s is *Vienna*, 1934, and it is interesting to note that he did not include it in his *Collected Poems*, 1955. The Berg Collection has obtained a notebook — purchased by Spender in Vienna itself — containing a late manuscript draft of the poem 38 pages long. The text is close to the published version, though occasional words, phrases, and even whole lines differ. The notebook was presented to the dedicatee of the poem in September 1934.

Another acquisition is a notebook signed and inscribed: "Poems (Vol. 3). Oct. 1932 Notes for Principles." There are eleven poems on 17 pages. Five of these poems can be found with considerable alteration in the *Collected Poems*. The others may be traceable to other printed appearances.

The notebook also contains 8 pages of miscellaneous notes, most of them concerned with Greek vocabulary. Two pages, however, are devoted to a listing of Spender's published prose work in 1932 and 1933. Here are recorded a dozen book reviews — of work by Virginia Woolf, MacLeish, Walter de la Mare and Harold Monro, among others — and the titles of the magazines in which they appeared.

Under the heading "Stories" in this notebook is listed only "The Burning Cactus." In the Berg Collection is another notebook which carries on 34 pages the manuscript of the story. It is dated 1933. There are a few corrections in the manuscript. For the most part the account of Till, the psychotic product of post First World War Germany, is as published.

Beerbohm, Wilde, Shaw, and "The Good-Natured Critic"

Some New Letters

By Richard M. Gollin
The University of Rochester

EDWARD ROSE (1849–1904) served London during the last decades of the nineteenth century as a journalist, actor, producer, playwright, and social reformer. The author or co-author of nearly three-dozen plays or musicals, a drama critic for the *Sunday Times*, and a Fabian, he became well-acquainted with many of his better-known contemporaries, some of whose letters to him have survived. Among these are an unpublished letter from Max Beerbohm, another from Oscar Wilde, and twelve from George Bernard Shaw; together these letters define the relationships established by a genial man of the theater with three others not usually known for their geniality.[1]

Rose's own work was designed to satisfy rather than reform prevailing taste. His mind was a good one but not powerfully original, and his most successful plays were adaptations of novels that turn on farcical or romantically adventurous situations. He was convinced that above all drama must entertain, and as a critic he could praise nearly any play that managed to do so; when some plays faltered before their audiences, he was generous and detailed in his suggestions for setting them straight, drawing on his own considerable theatrical skill in his effort to help playwrights and actors towards fulfillment of their primary obligation. Yet his very emphasis on stagecraft made him extraordinarily liberal when confronted by unconventional morality or difficult themes: he could consider nearly any moral vision fit to be shared, nearly any subject fit for dramatic treatment, and nearly every play enjoyable at some level of comprehension; and he occasionally lamented that British audiences and the Lord Chamberlain's Licenser were more restricted in outlook. Thus he played an important role in making the New Drama of Strindberg, Ibsen, and their British followers seem respectable, and whatever his judgments, professionals and laymen

1 I am grateful to Rose's daughter, Mrs Dorothy Thornycroft, for permission to transcribe and present these letters, and to Mrs Eva Reichmann, Mr Vyvyan Holland, the Public Trustee of the Shaw estate, and the Society of Authors for permission to publish them. I am further indebted to Professor Dan Laurence, whose great knowledge of Shavian affairs has informed this article at several points.

alike could trust his kindly temper. He rarely employed irony in his criticism, but it is wholly characteristic of him that when confronted with an utterly inept and trivial play, his condemnation of it took the form of a compliment. "'The Kiss of Delilah' was over by half-past ten," he wrote on this one occasion. "I have not the space to dwell upon its other merits, and this one so completely overshadowed them that the good-natured critic is well-justified in confining himself to it." [2]

I

The good-natured critic's kindly temper could turn away wrath, but not parody. In October of 1895 Rose chose to defend dramatic poetry spoken as poetry (against the then-current fashion of speaking it as prose), by declaring that "Even a mere fantasy of sound is to me . . . a sheer delight." [3] Ten days later Max Beerbohm chose to publish some travesties of the decade's drama criticism as "Press Notices on 'Punch and Judy'." [4] He caught and reduced to absurdity William Archer's magisterial style, A. B. Walkley's debonair manner, and Shaw's bluntness ("I have always maintained that Italy is the land of asses," Shaw's supposed review began). The review attributed to Rose was relentlessly kind:

> There may be pleasanter ways of spending an afternoon than witnessing the play of 'Punch and Judy.' There may be; but, if there are, I know them not.
>
> I may be peculiar in this, but I do revel in fantasy, and fantastic this play assuredly is. . . . It made me sit up and rub my eyes in the effort to reconcile some of its action with the eternal verities. . . . I did wish that the meaning of most of the lines in the play were just a *little* less obscure. But one need not grudge the intellectual exercise it is to interpret them (each after his kind), and, besides, they were spoken with ineffable beauty of rhythm. . . . The execution scene was well staged and impressed me deeply. In fact, everything was *couleur d'Edward Rose.*

The mock-mindlessness of this parody apparently hit its mark. Rose seems to have written Beerbohm congratulating him on the likeness, for he received the following compensating praise in reply:

> 19, Hyde Park Place. W.
> October 28, '95.
>
> Dear Rose (not having noticed the grey hairs I omit the 'Mr') It was so very nice of you to write to me and I am glad you were amused by the

[2] *Sunday Times* Nov 29 1896 p 4.
[3] *Sunday Times* Oct 6 1895 p 6.
[4] *The Sketch* Oct 16 1895 p 644.

parodies. I always think satire may be a mode of praise and in my little satire of your writing, I really tried to express the impression it gives me — that you are the only one of the modern dramatic critics with an *attractive* personality — I mean whose writing never alienates an intelligent reader. It may be in bad taste to extol you at the expense of your confrères, but I must confess that Archer's impartiality has got on my nerves and so has Walkley's light touch and that I am tired of hearing Shaw called 'the incorrigible'. Your method of always searching for what is good in a play and (I think) ignoring what is bad, is surely the rightest one a critic can pursue. Besides, not being gifted with good-nature myself, I like it all the more in others — All of which remarks will not seem impertinent, I hope

Hoping to meet you soon again

I am sincerely yours
MAX BEERBOHM

Despite this complimentary postscript to the parody Rose felt himself properly stung. On two later occasions he made rueful reference to his new-found "reputation for seeing everything 'couleur de rose'." [5] He did not noticeably change his reviewing habits, however.

II

It was just as well; his good-nature — and the courage sometimes required to exhibit it — soon found a worthy and needy beneficiary. Rose had early recognized Oscar Wilde's unique talents as a dramatist. He had praised "An Ideal Husband" for its evidence of "the noble play which lies in him, yet unwritten"; and he had been altogether charmed by "The Importance of Being Earnest," which he recognised as a "point-lace comedy" of brilliant originality, "fresh, ingenious, irridescent." [6] The 1894–1895 theatrical season began triumphantly for Wilde, but it ended with him already suffering the worst of his two-years' ordeal in prison, his name become virtually unmentionable in the press. Rose nevertheless found five different occasions to remind the public of Wilde's contributions to the theater: he called "Lady Windermere's Fan" "that high-water mark of dramatic literature," for example, and he called even the "overcharge of epigrams" in "A Woman of No Importance" "mostly admirable." [7] When Wilde was suffering deepest disgrace, Rose paid him a most exceptional tribute:

[5] *Sunday Times* Oct 20 1895 p 6; and Nov 10 1895 p 6.

[6] *Sunday Times* Jan 6 1895 p 6; and Feb 17 1895 p 8.

[7] *Sunday Times* Nov 22 1896 p 4; and Nov 1 1896 p 6. See also July 7 1895 p 4; and Jan 5 1896 p 6.

> The event of the year was, of course, that terrible tragedy, of which at the time one hardly cared even to speak; the breaking off, by an end so far sadder than death, of a career of high performance and of promise perhaps unequalled. With the mastery of the stage which he had gained, there was, to my mind, no reason why Mr. Oscar Wilde should not have rivalled the achievement of his countryman Sheridan — who was, indeed, as much his inferior in what belongs to poetry as his superior in vigour and simplicity of mind. 'The Importance of Being Earnest' was, to my thinking, the most interesting production of the season; it was the first play — and perhaps the last — of a new and fanciful kind.[8]

This praise did not go unnoticed. When Wilde was released and living in France under an assumed name, he spent his first day alone at Berneval writing various grateful letters to the small group of people who had helped him. To Robert Ross he declared that his "rich, profligate, cynical, materialistic" days had ended, and to the Governor of Reading Prison he confessed that his earlier life had been "quite unworthy of an artist." [9] The same penitential note appears in a letter he wrote to Rose, whom he hardly knew; apparently Wilde was trying to rebuild his self-confidence by rebuilding other people's confidence in him. The letter is especially interesting for its insistence, three times repeated, that prison was good for his career as an artist:

> Hotel de la Plage
> Bernaval-sur-Mer [sic]
> Dieppe
>
> *Private*
>
> Dear Edward Rose,
>
> Whenever my friends came to see me in prison they always told me of charming notes and recognitions of my work as a dramatist, in articles above your name, and I write now — my first opportunity since my release — to tell you what pleasure it gave me to know that amongst those who write on the aesthetic of the drama in England, there was, at any rate, one who remembered my work, and desired to recall it to his own or public memory. The French were charming to me all the time, and produced my play 'Salome', and wrote about me as a living artist, but the English denied me even the barren recognition one gives to the dead.
>
> I am sure you will be pleased to know that I hope to be able to write again, and that I feel that while there is much that I have lost, still there

[8] *Sunday Times* Aug 4 1895 p 6.

[9] *The Letters of Oscar Wilde*, ed Rupert Hart-Davis (London 1962), p 577 and 581. The same phrases and sentences recur in several of these letters.

was much that was not worth keeping. I am more of an individualist in morals than before, but I see clearly that my life was one quite unworthy of an artist in its deliberate and studied materialism.

I am delighted to hear of your two great successes:[10] your laurels are perhaps sere or sun-scorched to you now, but to me they are fresh and green, as I have only just heard of them: indeed to you also they should be fresh and green, as you won them in a difficult and dangerous contest: to adapt requires the most subtle tact of selection and reconstruction, and I hear from my friends how quite admirable the art of your two adaptations was: I wish very much I could have seen your 'Prisoner of Zenda', but I was occupied perforce with my own tragedy, one terrible in its origin and result, but from which I may gain — perhaps have gained — something not without high import for my life and art.

France has given me a lovely asylum, and many charming notes of sympathy, and, I may almost say, welcome: she is the modern mother of all artists, and has many wilful sons whom she always consoles and sometimes heals. For the moment I have, to avoid the prying eye and the foolish tongue, taken a curious name — M. Sebastian Melmoth — so, should you care to send me a line ever to tell me of your work, pray address me by my new title. Perhaps it sounds stranger to you than it does even to me. Melmoth is the name of that curious novel of my grand-uncle — Maturin — which thrilled Goethe, and *les jeunes romantiques,* and to which Balzac wrote a fascinating epilogue years ago. The book is now an extinct volcanoe, but I come from it like Empedocles, I hope, if the Gods prove kind to one who denied them.

Pray keep — as you no doubt will — this name and my address a secret. I write to pay in words a debt I am proud to still owe you.

Truly yours [?]
OSCAR WILDE [11]

Rose's earlier pessimism about Wilde's future proved more justified than Wilde's optimism. Wilde immediately began composing stanzas for "The Ballad of Reading Gaol," but only three months later he was writing "Something is killed in me. I feel no desire to write. . . . Of course my first year in prison destroyed me body and soul." [12] Separated from his audience, Wilde spent his last few years dramatizing only himself.

10 Two of Rose's most successful dramatic adaptations opened in the West End during Wilde's imprisonment, one based on Anthony Hope's *The Prisoner of Zenda* (St James, Jan 7 1896), and the other on Stanley Weyman's *Under the Red Robe* (Haymarket, Oct 17 1896). Rose had undertaken to make a play of the latter novel despite his earlier statement (*Sunday Times,* Jan 12 1896 p 6) that its repetitive action made it unsuitable for the theater. Apparently he proved himself wrong.

11 The letter is undated, but its postmark reads "9:15 AM, May 29, 97, Dieppe."

12 Quoted in Hesketh Pearson, *The Life of Oscar Wilde* (London 1946) p 353.

III

Bernard Shaw's extant letters to Edward Rose extend from 1889 to 1900, from a period of relative obscurity to a time when his reputation as a dramatist was fully established. Yet throughout his attitude toward Rose remained unchanged — the letters are all confident, brisk, entertaining, and written in the role of an older man dispensing advice to a younger. Though Rose was in fact the older, he seems in turn to have sought out and deferred to Shaw's judgment; it is difficult to remember when reading the letters that Rose was then trying to help Shaw become better known, and that on at least one occasion Rose's persistence brought Shaw to re-examine his own views. During these years both men lived within easy visiting range of each other. What they must have discussed together is apparent from Shaw's letters: the topics range from small scenic effects to the Boer War. As the letters also suggest, Shaw felt free to impose upon Rose's time and good nature at will; this may in itself be taken as a measure of their friendship.[13]

They had met by at least 1886, when Shaw acted a part in wig and costume in the copyright performance of Rose's "Odd, to Say the Least of It"; but Shaw's first extant letter to Rose was written three years later. Its subject was the matinee first performance of Rose's "Her Father."[14] A day earlier Shaw had devoted four unsigned paragraphs in *The Star* to Rose and the two performers mentioned in the letter. Rose, he had pointed out, "is known to the public as the irresistibly comic boy in 'Vice Versa,' and also, somewhat contradictorily, as a veteran dramatist. On the stage he is always in extremes as to age; but in private he is a humorously solemn and enviably married middle-aged citizen of Bedford Park. He is a Norfolk man of Suffolk stock, and in his youth resisted a determined effort to make him a solicitor." He had then reviewed details in the past experience of Rose and his two principles, in a manner designed to whet the public's curiosity and interest.[14a]

The letter itself was written, apparently, immediately after the performance. In it Shaw apologized for not joining a subsequent gathering at Rose's home and then, wasting no words on mere friendly congratulation, turned to suggest ways for Rose to improve the play:

[13] Rose in turn felt free to twit Shaw in print, as in his column in the *Sunday Times* for April 5 1896 p 6: "Mr Shaw's essays, in especial, would really make an excellent appendix to the Ten Commandments — he tests every play by a moral standard of such admirable originality."

[14] "Odd . . ." was performed at the Novelty Theatre on Nov 6 1886, as Shaw noted in his diary. "Her Father" (Vaudeville, May 16 1889) was written in collaboration with J. T. Douglass and performed on a double bill with "Dregs," a play pseudonymously written by Dr Edward Aveling, the Marxist.

[14a] "Mainly About People," *The Star* May 15 1889 p 1. I must here thank Professor Laurence for this reference and its attribution.

1

29 Fitzroy Square W.
16th May 1889

Dear Rose

I regret to say that after striking up a considerable acquaintance with the man next me on the tacit assumption that he was Sherrington, I found, on requesting him to apologize for my non-appearance at Bedford Park (I have to go to a concert) that he was a total stranger to both of us.[15]

Your Roman hand was very apparent in Uncle Chum But out[15a] his comic exit as Grantley & Duncombe are left on the stage in the 2nd act. The laugh jars. In Act I, instead of preparing the audience for the discovery that Grantley is the murderer, conceal it carefully & let it bring down the curtain with a thunderclap. In the last act, when Jose hands Ines the letter after tearing it, let her hand it on to Alice. On no account ever let Miss Cowen appear in the play again; and replace Gould by a man who can strike a deeper note, and sustain his pitch during a long period (Act 2) when he has nothing to say.[16] Gould's interjections there came off very badly.

And live happy ever after.

G.B.S.

P.S. Yes: I also utterly fail to feel the full dignity of my advancing years. Somehow I miss the sensation of impressiveness. I expect it is because we are not fat.

The next two letters track Rose into the Fabian Society, with Shaw's encouragement; the second speaks of the origin of "Mrs. Warren's Profession":

2

29 Fitzroy Square W.
17th January 1893

Dear Rose

29th April 1892 is the date of my review of A Plea for Liberty in the Chronicle. I think the title of the review was A Derelict Plea. It is not worth raking up, as the Plea was an absurd potpourri, with nothing

15 (Sir) Charles S. Sherrington (1857–1952) was Rose's step-brother, and later a Nobel Prize-winning physiologist. Shaw was then music critic for *The Star*.

15a I e, take out.

16 Henrietta Cowen, whose "Spanish eyes" Shaw had thought "just the right thing for the part of Ines," had turned to the stage from her career as a recitationist only two years earlier; in 1891 she was to play the servant woman in a production of "Hedda Gabler." Bernard Gould, whose real name was Bernard Partridge, created the role of Sergius in "Arms and the Man" in 1894; he was also an illustrator, and later a political cartoonist for *Punch*.

readable in it except Donisthorpe's article & a page or two which had nothing to do with the controversy.[17]

G.B.S.

3

29 Fitzroy Square W.
27th September 1893

Dear Rose

I congratulate you on your Marxian efforts. That is one of the foolish things that people do when they become Fabians. The economics of Marx (see the 9 chapters) are completely exploded; but you ought to get the complete translation of Vol I from some library, and go through the historical chapters: they form a fearful indictment of 19th century civilization.

If you want a Hammersmith group you must make one. There has never really been anything of the kind. Ask Pease for instructions & good advice.[18] I forbear to offer them myself, as you may feel sufficiently happy without them.

I think the Star people have sopped up about as much Fabianism as they will hold.

I will do a paper for the P.C.[19] someday; but at present I am so overwhelmed with Fabian literary work that I do not see at all clearly where my income is to come from this winter over & above the World emoluments.

I cannot distinctly remember Miss Nesbitt (don't tell her so) though I have a vague vision of a rather capable young woman somewhere in the picture. But when Janet Achurch vanished from The Philanderer cast, the play became rather impossible for the I.T.;[20] so, as I did not want to disappoint Grein, I started another play of a very Independent kind indeed — much worse than the Cenci and Ghosts rolled into one.

[17] See Wordsworth Donisthorpe, "The Limits of Liberty," in Thomas Mackay, ed, *A Plea for Liberty: an Argument against Socialism and Socialistic Legislation* (London 1891). This note is on a postcard.

[18] Rose was now living in Hammersmith, where at least nominally there had been a Fabian group for several years; see *The Fabian Society List of Members* (London 1891). Rose's name appears in the 1894 list as a member of the same Hammersmith group. Edward R. Pease was a founder and secretary of the Fabians, and author of *The History of the Fabian Society* (London 1916).

[19] The reference seems to be to the Playgoers Club, of which Rose was then Vice President. Shaw occasionally participated in its discussions; on Feb 23 1891 for example he engaged in a heated debate about Ibsen.

[20] The Independent Theatre, now famous for its early productions of Shaw and Ibsen, was co-directed by J. T. Grein, and after 1895 by Charles Charrington. Janet Achurch, Charrington's wife, was one of Shaw's favored actresses. "The Philanderer" was not finally performed until 1905.

It is more than half finished, two acts being ready for the stage.[21] The Philanderer is not decipherable easily by anyone but the author at present; but I am prepared to give private readings of it to curious and enthusiastic households upon whose discretion I can rely.

G.B.S.

The next three notes (the first two on postcards, and the last on a letter card), are concerned with plays performed and unperformed: in them Shaw responds to a suggestion for staging "The Man of Destiny," comments on Rose's dramatization of Anthony Hope's novel *The Prisoner of Zenda*, and — not without guile — arranges an occasion and audience for a reading of "Candida":

4

29 Fitzroy Square W.
14th January 1896

Don't you think it would be wiser to reserve Nap. for some actor-manager who would play the lead himself? [22]

Anyhow, I feel its impossible under present circumstances to take the initiative. When they really want anything from me, they'll come for it fast enough.

I have been trying to make an epigram of the Rich-Gay order out of Hope-Rose. It clearly *ought* to be feasible; but so far I have failed. — Made Rose hope & Hope — no! it won't do. So sorry. (Unless Anthony blushes).

G.B.S.

5

29 Fitzroy Square W.
16th January 1896

The Saturday Review goes to press tonight; [23] and I have been unable to finish up in time to get across to you. Can I make amends by going over some evening & reading a play, or something of that sort?

G.B.S.

6

29 Fitzroy Square W.
19th January 1896

Tuesday *or* Thursday, if the latter would suit you better. All other nights next week impossible.

[21] Yet, when Shaw finished "Mrs Warren's Profession," even the Independent Theatre rejected it; see St John Ervine, *Bernard Shaw* (London 1956) 251–256.

[22] "The Man of Destiny" was not performed until July 1 1897, at the Grand Theatre, Croyden.

[23] By this time Shaw was drama critic for the *Saturday Review*.

Not presume to dictate — but look here. Mrs. H. A. Jones is so deaf that it is impossible to read a play to her: it must be shouted. Now there is a question afoot of my reading "Candida" to H. A. Jr.; and if I do it at his own house Mrs. Jones will want to hear it. The prospect of delivering its timid and delicate passages of poetry in stentorian tones appals me. Now you know Jones, and I learnt today that he is highly pleased with your notice of "Michael".[24] Why not ask him to toddle over on his bike in the unceremonious mudproof garments which he reserves for that uncertain vehicle, & hear the play. You, he, and the perfect flower of English womanhood (I cherish this phrase as Wilson's [25] solitary success in the art of conversation) would make an ideal audience. I had rather not feed or talk much before reading the play; so you can do with Jones as you will, but me you need not expect until about 8 (or whenever you wish the reading to begin) when I will dash up on *my* bike, in rational dress. Of course if for any reason this notion does not suit you, do not entertain it against the grain: I only propose it on the chance of its recommending itself to you.

Yrs ever
G.B.S.

The notion did recommend itself, and two nights later the reading took place as planned.

Shaw married the wealthy Charlotte Payne-Townsend on June 1 1898; on September 10 they went to the Freshwater Bay Hotel on the Isle of Wight. There Shaw wrote "Caesar and Cleopatra" and waited for his leg to recover from necrosis of the bone, as it did a year later. Meanwhile, in June of 1898 Rose's ten-year-old daughter Lucy died. Though far from wealthy, Rose wanted to make some suitable memorial bequest. Recalling that Shaw had already pronounced on the pitfalls of philanthropy,[26] he wrote Shaw for the reference and elicited the following reply:

[24] Henry Arthur Jones' "Michael and his Lost Angel" opened at the Lyceum on Jan 15 1896 and closed within two weeks. Rose singled out its many weaknesses in his review, but managed to call it beautiful. His kindest comment was that despite "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," it seemed to prove that Jones' finest play "is still to come" — see the *Sunday Times*, Jan 19 1896 p 6. Jones was apparently thankful for small favors, or else Shaw was greatly exaggerating his pleasure.

[25] Possibly Wilson Barrett (1846–1904), the producer and playwright. The "perfect flower" flattered by Shaw at one remove would be Mrs Rose. "Candida" was not performed in London until July 1 1900, though Shaw had completed it in 1895.

[26] "Socialism for Millionaires," *The Contemporary Review* LXIX (Feb 1896) 204–217, later revised and re-issued as Fabian Tract No 107 (London 1901). In this essay Shaw laid down the rule "Never endow Hospitals" (since this is a public responsibility), but approved founding "scholarships for the endowment of research and the attraction of rising talent" — Fabian Tract, p 9–11.

7

Freshwater Bay Hotel
Isle of Wight — until Tuesday morning
Thereafter until the end of October
Pitfold. Haslemere. Surrey
25th Sept. 1898

My dear Rose

I cannot give you the date of the Contemporary Review article; but my wife thinks she has a copy at her rooms in London. She is writing up to have it sent on to you if it can be found. You can let us have it again at your convenience.

I heard about your misfortune — one of those atrocities of Nature which give one's heart a horrible screw; but this is such a villainous world that it seems almost mean sometimes to let children grow up and go through it. As to the disposal of your superfluous wealth, why not come down to Pitfold some day and talk it over? My wife has been through it all: she has founded a bed, established a scholarship, endowed the London School of Economics, subscribed to the Fabian, and finally married me as a permanent absorbent of gold. We are not very inaccessible — train from Waterloo to Haslemere, half an hours drive uphill, and there you are. I should like my wife to meet Mrs. Rose. We can put you up if you like, daughter [27] and all. We are close to Hindhead; and the air is so bracing that nobody can sleep. We go back there on Tuesday; on Wednesday we shall be settling down & working off train headaches; Massingham [28] will perhaps come from Saturday to Sunday afternoon; so you can choose your own time.

I am of course violently hostile to the bed project. Good Heavens, my dear Rose, should a sick child's bed remind it in any way that children sometimes die? It is Lucy's *life* that you must commemorate. Lots of people are ready to look after sick children: it's the sound ones that need a lift. A scholarship at a Polytechnic would be worth ten beds in a hospital. However, we can talk over it. We — my wife and I — will probably soon be in the same difficulty; for though I haven't as yet ascertained her income (the spoils of The Devil's Disciple being still unexhausted) [29] it seems clearly more than we shall want. Let us discuss the formation of a Millionaire's Thrift Club.

27 Dorothy Rose Thornycroft, Rose's younger daughter and the owner of these letters.

28 H. W. Massingham was then editor of the *Daily Chronicle*.

29 St John Ervine, p 340–341, states that the 64 New York performances of "The Devil's Disciple" (Fifth Avenue Theater) in Oct 1897 yielded Shaw £2500 in royalties. Professor Laurence's examination of Shaw's diary and account books reveals however that the New York performances earned only ca. £700, though another £1300 accrued from a mid-western tour in 1898.

The foot is still disabled, the hole being less like a well or a church door than it was, but still serving most effectually.

Better reply to Pitfold.

Yrs ever
G. BERNARD SHAW.

Shaw then wrote to Graham Wallas at the London County Council telling him that Rose was interested in establishing a full scholarship for a Board School girl; he also wrote to Sidney Webb at the London School of Economics suggesting that Rose might wish to establish a research scholarship.[30] Rose ended by endowing both.

The next letter and the one following discuss among other things Ebenezer Howard's book *Tomorrow: a Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (London 1898), which argued for the construction of large independent towns, complete with their own factories, services, and community facilities carefully planned and zoned. Rose wrote soliciting Shaw's opinion, which as the letters show was not unlike that adopted by the Fabians during the following year (as Webb wrote Rose about this time, "I still distrust Utopias — not because they are *Utopian*, but because they always proceed on the lines of making a select haven for a comparative few, rather than improving the mass").[31] Rose was becoming disheartened with the Fabians' lack of interest in dramatic solutions, and increasingly interested in Howard's proposals, which ended with the successful founding of Letchworth Garden City.[32] Their discussion gave Shaw occasion to revise his own views on the subject, and later, as he himself described it, he gave Ebenezer Howard some practical aid and comfort. Garden cities were to recur as a topic in "John Bull's Other Island" (1904), where Tom Broadbent is inspired by Howard's book to try building one in Ireland; Shaw's debt to discussion of Howard's schemes is perhaps equally apparent in his conception of Perivale St. Andrews, the Undershaft company town in "Major Barbara" (1905).

This letter also exhibits Shaw's feelings about the luxury cruise he took this year:

30 See ms letters to Rose from Graham Wallas (Nov 11 1898) and Sidney Webb (Jan 10 1899), and see below.

31 See *The House Famine and How to Relieve It*, Fabian Tract No 101 (London 1900); *Overcrowding in London and its Remedy*, Fabian Tract No 103 (London 1900); and ms letter of Oct 23 1899.

32 See C. B. Purdom, *The Garden City* (London 1913) 17–31; and his *The Building of Satellite Towns* (London 1949).

8

Just round Cape St. Vincent,
entering the straits.
S. S. "Lusitania." [printed]
25th September 1899.

Orient Lines [printed]

My dear Rose

This is a godless cruise with godless people. We take our first look at the iron walls of these African coasts with a Hampton Court steamer band playing music hall tunes on a piano, two fiddles, a double bass & a cornet. The passengers gamble meanly by getting up sweeps on the daily run, with a third prize (1%) to God, represented by "the Marine charities" to secure indulgence from eternal justice. The more I see of the moneyed classes, the more I understand the guillotine. All excellent people, of course, not a *naturally* infamous person among them; but oh! what a ——

Well, enough of this. I got the Garden City book when it first appeared (the author sent it, I suppose); glanced at the maps; and said "the same old vision." It is of course possible that the threat of legislation against factories in London might drive a few big & philanthropic firms to combine & buy land with the object of placing their "hands" thereon in a model township. Factories are often built in the north, as part of what is at bottom a land speculation. Join the Association by all means & follow its fortunes & discussions: they will be more convincing and instructive than anything I could write; but don't contribute a farthing more of that £240,000 that [sic] you are positively eager to lose. Of course an artificial city, so to speak, is no more impossible than a canal is: in fact Eastbourne & many other places are such cities; but the thing should be kept clear of philanthropy & utopian socialism because people (the tenants) will not stand being kept in a nursery.

Impossible to continue — an accursed place, this floating pleasure machine — I am dragged away — porpoises or something.

We return on the 31 October.

Our love to Mrs. Rose

G.B.S.

The next letter — in typescript with pencil emendations — continues comment on Ebenezer Howard and raises yet another large issue, that of the Fabian attitude toward the Boer War. In it, Shaw expresses views that were to embitter the Society's debates during the next year and culminate in his tract *Fabianism and the Empire* (London 1900). Shaw and the majority of the Fabians refused to denounce the war, believing that an enlightened empire holding South African wealth as public property could be more

easily transformed into an international socialist commonwealth than a Boer Federation protecting the mines as private property. Pro-Boer and anti-imperialist Fabians — Rose among them — felt frustrated by the Fabian Society's attitude, which was confirmed by a referendum held in February 1900. Some, like J. Ramsay Macdonald and Walter Crane, resigned their membership over this issue.[33]

The letter opens in response to a suggestion that Shaw license amateur productions of his plays, most of which were still unperformed commercially. He was more open to this idea than one might expect, considering the tight control he usually maintained over productions of his plays:

9

10 Adelphi Terrace W.C.
14 December 1899

Dear Rose

I presume that any arrangement with Hogg would involve the preparation of "acting versions", full of R.U.E. and the other technicalities in which amateurs revel. Also that the plays should be sold separately in loathsome little pamphlets.[34] I should not object if I had time to prepare these things; but I haven't and shant have until the demand from the amateurs threatens the £100 a month which Hogg imagines he pays to Pinero, and which I take to be only another example of the stimulating effect of the theatre on the imagination. Anyhow, if Hogg will offer me £75 a month for my amateur rights (which would leave him a very handsome profit) I am ready to consider it. But what are amateur rights really worth? I suppose anybody can buy my plays and perform them as much as they like "privately": that is, not taking money for admission, subject to my taking an action for damages if I can prove any — not a very easy thing. Is this so? and if it is, do the amateurs know it? or does Hogg bluff fees out of their innocence? or has the author got any real rights as against private performances — for instance, if such a performance is contemplated, can I get an injunction from the courts to stop it? Do you know the law? does anybody know the law? is there any law? I can't prevent you from buying a novel of mine and reading it aloud to somebody who hasn't bought it (morally a gross act of piracy and mean fraud): is it at all clear that I can prevent you from doing the same thing with scenic accessories in the case of a play? [35] It is a stupendous subject.

[33] See Pease 128–138, Ervine 360, and below, note 39.

[34] Wentworth Hogg had just issued a *Guide to Selecting Plays* (London 1899), a companion to French's Acting Editions (which was, in turn, the successor to Lacy's). Shaw had deliberately omitted staging technicalities from his 1898 *Plays: Pleasant and Unpleasant*, which (as the letter points out) had already made his plays available for clandestine amateur performances.

[35] However unclear the law may have been, French's Acting Editions usually included a page citing legal cases sufficient to intimidate all but the most daring amateurs, warning that "by means of the telegraph, injunctions can be obtained to restrain unauthorized performances"; see e.g. Vol 146 (London 1899).

I am off to Aberystwyth on Saturday to lecture to the University Fabians there. Shall stay over Xmas, I think, if I find it a nice place. Address Queen's Hotel, or letters will be forwarded from here.

We went down to Hindhead from Saturday to yesterday. On Monday Ebenezer the Garden City Geyser lectured in Hindhead Hall, with a magic lantern giving views of that flourishing settlement in the manner of Mr. Scadder in Martin Chuzzlewit. I had to make a speech, which had so fell an effect, in spite of my earnest endeavors to help him over the stile, that the audience declined to hold up a single hand for his resolution. Finally the chairman put it again, coupling it with a vote of thanks, when, the situation becoming too poignant, I ostentatiously held up my paw, on which the others followed suit and Eb. was saved. I pointed out that manufacturers were ready enough to go into the country; but that what they went there for was cheap labor. I suggested that half a dozen big manufacturers building a city could give good wages, and yet get so much of them back in rent and shop rent, or in direct butcher, baker, and dairy profits, that the enterprise might pay them all the same. At this the Hindhead proletariat grinned from ear to ear, and concluded that I was the man who really understood the manufacturing nature, the Geyser being a mere spring of benevolent mud.

You had better stick to the Fabian. You will find that there is no such thing in the world as a society that will or can entirely discharge your soul's message for you. At times, through the operation of Ibsen's Law of Change, you will get very tired of the Fabian and its old municipal tramway. At such moments you can subscribe without frequenting it or reading Fabian News. But just at present it looks as if we were at last being forced to a new birth pang with a foreign policy. The affair the other night shewed that in the absence of any alternative the Fabians fall back on Cobdenism, recruited by pure Humanitarianism, both based on a morality which, as the bold Haden Guest said, is obviously perfectly useless for the criticism of cosmic forces. Suppose the Boers lick us, which seems eminently possible at this moment. Well, the inevitable sequel will be the integration of South Africa in a great Afrikander Republican State, into which any recalcitrant colony will be forced by civil war if necessary, like the American Confederates. If this is to be, it will be; but the new state will inevitably become a great centre of capitalism like the United States, possibly with the spoils system, finally presenting the same contrast to America by its Manchesterism that America now does to us. The notion that it will be a more humane or just solution than a development under New Zealand conditions (for example) seems to me absurd — a notion only possible to a Gladstonian of the sixties, not to socialists educated by Marx. Anyhow, here is a tremendously interesting problem to be worked out in the Fabian, in the discussion of which, whatever may the conclusion arrived at, we shall at all events blow Cobden to bits.

So don't resign just yet: the fun is only just going to begin.

G.B.S.

The next two letters continue the discussion of public events. The first refers to a Home Office amendment to the Factory and Workshops Acts, proposed on March 2; the second refers to the role already played by Miss Amy Harrison (Rose's research scholar at the London School of Economics), in mustering data to help combat the amendment.[36] Eventually the Home Office abandoned the proposal, which would have substituted a system of uniform regulations for the established system of labor arbitration.

10

10, Adelphi Terrace. W.C.
15 March 1900

My dear Rose

I send you, specimentally, the last bit of work done by Disillusioned Socialism. We shall have to send that to every blessed Trade Unionist secretary in the country, and to every member of parliament. And then perhaps we shall succeed in stopping a job that would throw us back to 1830 & do the mischief of ten South African wars. How would Illusioned Socialism have done this, or been able to do it if it had discovered the need for it?

You stick to the old firm, my son. It is prosaic; but it earns its money. It is a neat stroke for the native capitalist to take the opportunity of the British Working Man shaking his silly fist at Rhodes, to steal up behind him & filch from him the fruit of fifty years desperate agitation.

Yours, conscious of worth,
G.B.S.

11

10, Adelphi Terrace. W.C.
27th June 1900

Thanks for the letter; but, as you may have surmised, I had already talked over the Government Bill & Miss Harrison's exploits with Webb.

I haven't time to counterblast Archer: all my moments are mopped up by my new volume of plays, now going through the press, and other cares, including the forthcoming productions of Candida (Stage Society) and The Devil's Disciple (Forbes Robtsn).[37]

How do you feel about China? I observe that the Morning Leader declares that this Boxer business must not occur again, and that war

[36] See her *A History of Factory Legislation* (London 1903).

[37] William Archer reviewed "You Never Can Tell" (Strand, May 2 1900) in the *World* (May 9 1900, p 28–29); he admired the play, but found it too whimsical and unnatural. Shaw was then seeing *Three Plays for Puritans* through the press; a footnote in the preface is dated Sept 1900 although the volume was not published until the following year. "Candida" was given a single subscription performance by the Stage Society at the Strand on July 1 1900, and the Forbes Robertson production of "The Devil's Disciple" opened on September 7 at the Coronet Theatre, Notting Hill.

must go on until it is made for ever impossible for a Chinaman to resist a European.[38] This seems the common pro-Boer view. The Imperialists lean to pro-Boxerism. I presume you are violently anti-Boxer.

Did you see my Clarion article: My reply to Crane & Co will appear, I believe, this week.[39]

G.B.S.

The last note in this collection — a postcard — returns to discussion of plays. Rose saw the Forbes Robertson production of "The Devil's Disciple" mentioned in the previous letter, and despite his usual genial nature he apparently commented adversely upon it. Meanwhile, "Captain Brassbound's Conversion" was having casting difficulties; and the part of Lady Cicely — originally written for Ellen Terry — was being acted instead by Janet Achurch.[40] The play nevertheless opened as scheduled at the Strand Theatre on December 16 1900.

12

10, Adelphi Terrace. W.C.
7th Dec. 1900

I banged saxpence on the 7th row of the gallery last week at Notting Hill, and formed so strong an opinion in the critical direction you indicate that the West End production is off, and F.R.'s feelings cruelly lacerated.[41] I thought it was tepidly underdone, & the last act bad opera bouffe.

Brassbound is not cast yet — rather serious, as even Charrington will have to begin rehearsing on Friday at latest. Janet is the only Lady Cicely! All the rest have refused. Wish you'd play the American captain for us.[42]

G.B.S.

But Rose was busy with other projects, among them the founding of Letchworth Garden City and the preparation of a new method for teaching children to read.[43] Four years later, when Shaw had achieved international fame, Rose was dead.

38 The main siege of the foreign legations during the Boxer Rebellion had begun a week earlier, on June 20.

39 See "Shaw on South Africa," *The Clarion* May 26 1900 p 161–162; Walter Crane *et al*, "The South African Question: Shaw Answered . . . ," *The Clarion* June 9 1900 p 177–178; and "Shaw's Rejoinder," *The Clarion* June 30 1900 p 201.

40 See Hesketh Pearson, *Bernard Shaw* (London 1961) 211–215, and Ervine 285, 332, and 336.

41 The first West End production did not take place until 1907.

42 I e the part of Captain Hamlin Kearney, finally played by Harley Granville Barker.

43 See *The Rose Reader: a New Way of Teaching to Read* (London 1902).

Wordsworth's Racedown Period: Some Uncertainties Resolved

By Carol Landon
United College, Winnipeg

I *Mary Hutchinson's Visit*

IT IS WELL KNOWN that Mary Hutchinson's visit to Racedown ended early in June 1797,[1] but there has been less certainty about the length of her stay. Biographers and critics have tended to assume that she arrived only about the beginning of March 1797, although she herself, in her old age, recalled having passed "a long winter & spring" at Racedown.[2]

She was accompanied on the journey from Sockburn by her brother Henry, who later described the episode — the journey, their arrival at Racedown and his own departure early the next morning — in his doggerel verses, *Retrospect of a Retired Mariner in nine cantos,* published in 1836. He was on his way to rejoin his ship, the *Edgar,* at Plymouth, after a short spell of leave (he recalls that he was granted 21 days), and his account of the *Edgar's* movements after his rejoining her on this occasion tallies with the records in the ship's logs for December 1796.[3] Henry writes, in Canto iv, that they "sail'd to join the Channel fleet," under Admiral Colpoys, and "found it in the Bay of Brest," and "here for long we cruis'd about." Meanwhile, he adds, the French Fleet found opportunity to slip out of the bay. The logs record that the *Edgar* left the harbour at Plymouth on 8 December, and show her moving about off Ushant, opposite Brest, until Christmas Day; she was back at Plymouth early in January. The French Fleet escaped from Brest on 16–17 December,[4] and the *Edgar* learned of this on the 19th, according to the Master's Log.

Henry's memory is sometimes unsure (curiously enough a comment in his *Retrospect* that "the nights were long and dark" during the journey to Racedown is altered in an *erratum* to "The nights were neither long nor dark") but, fortunately, in the instance that we are concerned with, his evidence is corroborated by the *Edgar's* Muster Book,[5] which puts the period

[1] See *The Early Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth,* ed E. de Selincourt (1935) 167.
[2] *Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson with the Wordsworth Circle,* ed E. J. Morley (1927) 444.
[3] See Captain's Log, Public Record Office, Adm. 51, 1174 (5), and Master's Log, Adm. 52, 2978 (4).
[4] See W. L. Clowes, *The Royal Navy* (1897–1903) iv 297–300.
[5] Adm. 36, 12960.

of Mary's visit beyond doubt. It records that Henry went on leave on 4 November 1796 and returned on 2 December, and shows him present throughout January, February, and March 1797. According to his own account there was, inadvertently, a space of three or four days between his leaving Racedown and his rejoining the *Edgar*, so that the arrival at Racedown would be about 28 November.

Mary's influence at this period is not mentioned, along with Dorothy's and Coleridge's, in the earlier versions of the last book of *The Prelude*, and the tribute to her that Wordsworth inserted there in later versions may perhaps be best interpreted as referring to their married life — she came "Thereafter," and "no more a phantom to adorn / A moment, but an inmate of the heart" [6] — yet it is possible that her presence at Racedown during those six months had more effect in helping to restore Wordsworth's peace of mind than is generally supposed. "[S]he is one of the best girls in the world," Dorothy wrote to Jane Marshall that Spring, "and we are as happy as human beings can be. . . ." [7]

II *Date of Two Poems*

THE POEMS concerned are the "Fragment of a 'Gothic' Tale" — the title was supplied by de Selincourt — and the piece that follows it in his edition,[8] an unfinished story about a woman who loses her way at nightfall and comes to a wretched hovel occupied by a mother and her child. This latter piece, like the "Gothic Tale," is written in quasi-Spenserian stanzas but its opening exists also in blank verse; following de Selincourt I shall refer to the blank verse variant as (a) to distinguish it from the stanzas (b).

Both this poem and the "Gothic Tale" are to be found, much worked on by their author, in MS 4, the brown leather notebook, now at Dove Cottage Library, containing work dating from 1786 to 1796 or 1797.[9] De Selin-

6 XIV 266ff (1850).

7 *Early Letters* 165.

8 *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, ed E. de Selincourt and H. Darbishire (1940–49) I (Reprint 1952) 287ff, 292ff.

9 Judging by the position of the appropriate stubs, it seems likely that several of the manuscript's lost pages contained work on one or other of these narratives — on one stub in fact traces of the "Gothic Tale" are identifiable. The existing entries, for both pieces, are spread about the manuscript, with concentrations at certain points where space, left over from earlier work, allowed. A rough draft of (a) is followed by a fair copy, which shows a few subsequent revisions. There is no complete fair copy for (b) or for the "Gothic Tale." Incidentally the lines numbered 98–101 in the published text of the "Gothic Tale" supply the four "missing" lines after line 75, and the line numbered 102 should follow straight on after line 97; see MS 4, p 37, 114, 118–20. (All references to MS 4 in this article are in accordance with the corrected pagination, dating from 16 Sept 1960. It affected numbers from 94 onwards.)

court records their presence in this manuscript and suggests, tentatively, that the two poems were written in 1791. I agree with him that both were entered at about the same time — including the blank verse fragment — but I should give them a later date. It is true that the one about the woman contains just the start of a tale not unlike the Female Vagrant's, and that Wordsworth in a Fenwick note said that much of the Female Vagrant's story was composed at least two years before *Guilt and Sorrow* (i e, the extended version of "Salisbury Plain"), which he assigned to 1793–4, the date actually of the *first* version of "Salisbury Plain." But judging by the Fenwick note to "The Female Vagrant," he was not very clear in his later years about the exact dating of these poems. Nor does the piece in MS 4 as it stands represent "much of the Female Vagrant's story," whereas "Salisbury Plain" does represent much of her story and it was incorporated into an extended version about two years later.

Although the handwriting in MS 4 is nearly all Wordsworth's it happens that a few lines belonging to the "Gothic Tale" and also a few belonging to (b) have been entered by Dorothy Wordsworth, whose hand is not always strikingly different from her brother's at first sight (useful distinguishing features are the *&*, the g and the *H*). One of Dorothy's entries, with some amendments in Wordsworth's hand, occurs at the top of page 83 of the manuscript and corresponds to the third stanza of (b) as edited by de Selincourt. The other, on page 118 of the manuscript, corresponds to the first stanza of the "Gothic Tale." [10] Neither of these entries can be termed a fair copy, nor, in either case, does the entry's position in the manuscript seem to separate it in time from the drafts in Wordsworth's hand among which it appears; so we may assume that Wordsworth composed both narratives at a time when he and Dorothy were together. He had a few weeks with her on a Christmas visit to Forncett, before returning to Cambridge in January 1791, but there is no record of even a brief meeting later that year. It should be remembered too that *Descriptive Sketches* was still largely unwritten at this time. It was composed mainly "during . . . walks upon the banks of the Loire" at the end of 1791 and in 1792; and it seems rather unlikely that Wordsworth would depart so firmly from the form and style,[11] and by and large from the subject matter, of *An Evening Walk* to write these not inconsiderable narrative fragments, and then go back, as it were, to produce *Descriptive Sketches,* which has so much in common with *An Eve-*

[10] Line 4 is inserted and is probably in Wordsworth's hand; line 7, omitted by de Selincourt, reads "And when his fear was ended blessed his guide."

[11] See next footnote.

ning Walk. His next meeting with Dorothy was delayed until the Spring of 1794, and by then he had written the first version of "Salisbury Plain," in the true Spenserian stanza, with its more exacting rhyme scheme. So we must accept, I think, that he had already succeeded in the more difficult form before he turned to the "debased" one; and, in fact, the manner of "Salisbury Plain" goes far to establish its priority. With its author's moralising, and its frequent personification, it is often reminiscent of *An Evening Walk* and *Descriptive Sketches,* whereas the plainer style of these pieces in MS 4 looks forward to "The Ruined Cottage." [12]

In determining the dates of these pieces we are now left with two alternatives: the period from early 1794 to the beginning of 1795, when Wordsworth and Dorothy were both in the North, though seeing little of each other apparently after the end of the summer; and the period November 1795 (after the "material" revision of "Salisbury Plain" that occupied the earlier weeks at Racedown [13]) to October 1796. By the latter date Wordsworth had begun *The Borderers,*[14] for which he used not only the plot of the "Gothic Tale," but also some lines and phrases from both narratives.[15] There is no evidence in favour of the earlier period, in the North, but there is some sound evidence in favour of Racedown. We know that MS 4 was there and in use; the handwriting in the entries concerned is similar to that in some of the known Racedown entries — the Imitation of Juvenal and "The hour-

12 Notice, for instance, the four opening stanzas of "Salisbury Plain" (*Poetical Works,* I 334–5), and parts of app. crit. 185–98 (46)–(68) (p 105); and to illustrate the difference in style as briefly as possible, here are two roughly parallel quotations. From "Salisbury Plain":

> Might Beauty charm the canker worm of pain
> The rose on her sweet cheek had ne'er declined (p 105),

and from (b), lines 116f:

> — Her cheek, the beauty of whose doubtful hues
> Showed like a rose, its time of blowing past . . .

I am indebted to Mr Mark Reed, of Harvard University, who made an early suggestion that the "Gothic Tale" and (a) and (b) might be Racedown work, and drew my attention to the stylistic evidence.

13 *Early Letters* 145.

14 *Memoirs of William Wordsworth,* by Christopher Wordsworth (1851) I 96 (Dorothy's letter).

15 He also used three lines from the "Gothic Tale" and two lines from (b) in the course of developing "Salisbury Plain." The lines from (b) (127f) were used in a stanza that he composed, or thought of, in Germany in 1799 (see *Poetical Works* I 332, 337). Those from the "Gothic Tale" (200ff) occur in a version which may represent substantially the enlarged, and now missing, version of the autumn of 1795 — suggesting that the "Gothic Tale" was in existence before that date — but in fact the version in question has been entered in a manuscript dating from 1798 (see *Poetical Works* I 331f, 337), when Wordsworth was again intending to publish the poem, so there was plenty of time for the lines from the "Gothic Tale" to have been incorporated then or in the interim.

bell sounds";[16] and in certain details (a) and (b) read like a record of the Wordsworths' early impressions of their new surroundings. The "roads are of a sandy kind," Dorothy wrote, "and are almost always dry." In the poem the road is "white" and "fresh-indented" (not rutted) by the wheels of a wagon — as a sandy road would be; and the wagoner is "self-provided," suggesting the local baker's cart mentioned in Joseph Gill's Racedown diary.[17] Dorothy notes that some of the hills are "cultivated nearly to their summits, others in their wild state covered with furze and broom." Wordsworth makes a similar distinction in describing the heath or common at the beginning of his story; as he puts it in one version: "no cottager had there / Won from the waste a rood of ground," and he makes special mention of the "furze" and "gorse." Finally we should notice his account of the hovel where the vagrant finds refuge — a "crazy hut" according to one jotting,[18] and "a dwelling wild," whose occupants are ragged and more than half starved. Compare this with another extract from Dorothy's letter: "The peasants are miserably poor; their cottages are shapeless structures (I may almost say) of wood and clay — indeed they are not at all beyond what might be expected in savage life";[19] and Wordsworth to William Mathews: "The country people here are wretchedly poor. . . ."[20]

As far as the "Gothic Tale" is concerned, the fact that it includes a description of a castle in a storm that derives from earlier work is not evidence of an earlier date for the piece as a whole, since the "several attempts" at the lines in question, mentioned by de Selincourt, were directed at a blank verse description of about 1788 that was perfected as such.[21] Wordsworth later found the lines appropriate for this story — they were there before him in MS 4 — and put them into stanzaic form. In the same way his resorting to the "Gothic Tale" when it came to writing *The Borderers* is not proof that the former had been written recently. Nevertheless, taking into account the theme of the "Gothic Tale," and granted that *The Borderers* in its finished state is the more sophisticated piece of work, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the two were separated by less than a year. The "Gothic Tale"

[16] See III below.

[17] See M. Moorman, *William Wordsworth, A Biography, The Early Years* (1957) 314, fn 2; Joseph Gill was a poor relation of the Pinneys who acted as their steward at Racedown.

[18] MS 4, p 96.

[19] *Early Letters* 147f.

[20] *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth, The Later Years*, ed E. de Selincourt (1939) 1334.

[21] Unpublished; one version is in MS 4, p 114, the others are in MS 6. I would suggest that the fragment belongs to 1788, but the evidence is too complex to be presented in this footnote.

anticipates to some extent the play's portrayal of the state of mind of a person about to commit a great crime, and includes the significant episode of his reaction to the sight of a star.

In the light of the available evidence, then, these narrative pieces may be placed somewhere within the period stretching from late 1795 to the autumn of 1796.

III *Source and Date of "The hour-bell sounds"*

I AM NOT setting out here to retell the full story of the mistakes connected with this poem of Wordsworth's: how it was wrongly linked with the concluding lines, "Yet art thou happier far than she . . . ," of its author's schoolboy Imitation of Catullus, "The Death of the Starling," and how both pieces were attributed to Coleridge. An account of the true facts may be found in R. S. Woof's article, "Wordsworth's Poetry and Stuart's Newspapers: 1797–1803." [22] To this account of earlier mistakes I would merely add a point or two. My main concern is with the source of "The hour-bell sounds," and I shall deal with that first.

It will be recalled that when the poem was published in the *Morning Post*, on 10 May 1798, it was described there as "verses from the French . . . written by a French Prisoner as he was preparing to go to the Guillotine." This description is correct, and I find that the original is in Helen Maria Williams' *Letters containing a Sketch of the Politics of France*,[23] published in 1795 — advertised as "this day . . . published" in the *Morning Chronicle* of 1 July and subsequently. This was probably the book that Azariah Pinney referred to in a letter to Wordsworth of 26 November 1795: "I shall send you . . . Luesdon [*sic*] Hill, & Louvet, but will keep Madame Roland till I have the pleasure of seeing you . . . Beddoe's 2nd Pamphlet I will also forward to you; Miss Williams's Letters I will bring when I go to Race-down, as I propose giving them a second reading." [24] Presumably he brought them when he came on a visit to Racedown on 1 January 1796, or possibly when he came again on 10 February.[25] Dorothy writes in March that she has "read

22 *Studies in Bibliography* xv (1962) 170f. "The hour-bell sounds" is not included in any edition of Wordsworth's poetical works; for the text see standard editions of Coleridge's poetical works, or for the text with variants see Mr Woof's article.

23 II 40. The full title of the book is *Letters containing a Sketch of the Politics of France, From the Thirty-first of May 1793, till the Twenty-eighth of July 1794, and of the Scenes which have passed in the Prisons of Paris.*

24 *Pinney Papers*, Family Letter Book D 5, Bristol University Library. I am grateful to the present representatives of the Pinney family for permission to quote from Azariah's letter.

25 M. Moorman, *William Wordsworth* 289.

lately Madame Roland's *Memoirs,* Louvet and some other French things." [26] As Helen Maria Williams had published several books on France in the form of letters, it is not possible to identify Azariah's reference for certain with the *Letters containing a Sketch of the Politics of France,* but the evidence points that way. The Memoirs of Mme Roland and those of Louvet that are mentioned had both come out in 1795; also Azariah's speaking of a "second reading" suggests a book recently acquired, and it is likely that he and Wordsworth were already familiar with the earlier volumes of Miss Williams' *Letters,* published in 1790 and 1794. Most likely then Wordsworth read the French prisoner's verses early in 1796 and wrote his own stanzas at once or soon after. They follow the original closely. It is true that Miss Williams observes that the French poet addresses his mistress — "The following, written by a young man of twenty-four years of age, to his mistress, the night before his execution, are simple and affecting" — whereas the speaker in Wordsworth's poem addresses his wife; however the French poet talks of *"veuvage,"* which Wordsworth rightly translates as "widowhood," and his meaning in lines 13–14 is merely more ambiguous than Wordsworth's "my wedded Treasure." To the French text Miss Williams has appended her own Imitation. These two texts are as follows:

i

L'heure avance où je vais mourir,
L'heure sonne et la mort m'apelle:
Je n'ai point de laches désirs,
Je ne fuirai point devant elle:
Je meurs plein de foi, plein d'honneur:
Mais je laisse ma douce amie
Dans le veuvage et la douleur —
Ah! je dois regretter la vie!

ii

Demain, mes yeux inanimés
Ne s'ouvriront plus sur tes charmes;
Tes beaux yeux à l'amour fermés
Demain seront noyés de larmes.
La mort glacera cette main
Qui m'unit à ma douce amie!
Je ne vivrai plus sur ton sein —
Ah! je dois regretter la vie!

[26] *Early Letters* 152.

Imitation

i

The hour that calls to death is near,
It brings to me no throb of fear;
The breast that honour arms, can brave
The murd'rer's steel, th'untimely grave;
But thou, to whom I gave my heart, 5
From thee for ever must I part,
And leave my mourning love to sigh?
Ah, 'tis a cruel task to die!

ii

To-morrow, my clos'd eyes no more
Shall gaze on beauty I adore; 10
To-morrow, sadd'ning every grace,
Unceasing tears shall bathe thy face;
To-morrow, chill'd by death's cold grasp,
This hand no longer thine shall clasp;
From thee for ever I shall fly — 15
Ah, 'tis a cruel task to die!

Despite the attention already paid in print to BM Add MS 27,902,[27] readers may still wonder just what the arrangement of this manuscript was that caused "The hour-bell sounds" to be associated with the lines "Yet art thou happier far than she." The particular section of the manuscript that contains these pieces, together with Wordsworth's "Lesbia" and his "Beauty and Moonlight,"[28] consists of eight small pages. It seems to me, as Mr Woof suggests, in Dorothy Wordsworth's hand, and it supplied copy both for the *Morning Post* and for Coleridge's *Literary Remains* of 1836.[29] "The hour-bell sounds" finishes at the bottom of p [4]; and on p [5] the first part of "The Death of the Starling" (including the title, followed by "Catullus") has been written with the manuscript turned round through 90°, so that the lines run parallel with the margins, starting along the outer margin. The

[27] See R. S. Woof's article, and J. W. Smyser, "Coleridge's Use of Wordsworth's Juvenilia," *PMLA* LXV (1950) 419ff; and, earlier, see *Coleridge's Poems. A Facsimile Reproduction of the Proofs and MSS. of some of the Poems*, ed by the late J. Dykes Campbell, with Preface and Notes by W. Hale White (1899).

[28] "Lesbia" and "Beauty and Moonlight" have no title, and in the latter "Winander" is already altered to "Tamaha."

[29] I 274ff.

reason for this is clear. Dorothy had allowed the ends of several lines on p [4] to run over into the inner (left-hand) margin of p [5], so that the beginnings of any new lines entered in the normal way on p [5] would have become entangled with these line-endings. With the manuscript turned round, she had plenty of width for her lines on p [5], and sufficient depth for ten of them before reaching the spoiled inner margin.[30] The rest of the "Starling" was entered on p [6], with the manuscript turned back again so that the lines run normally from side to side.

It was this arrangement that gave the impression, when it came to editing the *Literary Remains,* that the first part of "The Death of the Starling," written parallel with the margins, was a piece on its own; and the second part was taken as following straight on from "The hour-bell sounds." For this sequence to make sense, however, a small but significant alteration was required. In "The hour-bell sounds," we recall, a husband facing execution bids farewell to his wife; and in the second part of "The Death of the Starling" the poet, imitating freely, tells the dead bird that it is happier, in "the mighty Parent's care," than its bereaved mistress:

> Yet art thou happier far than she
> Who felt a mother's love for thee.

Now somebody, presumably H. N. Coleridge, the editor of the *Literary Remains,* or J. M. Gutch, owner of the manuscript, who "communicated" the poem to him, emended this for the *Literary Remains* to "Who *feels* the *widow's* love for thee" (my italics), so that the lines could be presented as the wife's reply to the husband who addresses her in "The hour-bell sounds." To make things quite clear the titles "Moriens Superstiti" and "Morienti Superstes" were added. The "correcter" thought, I suppose, that he was genuinely putting right a slip or inconsistency, though a study of the manuscript should have shown him Dorothy's reason for turning the page round, and at least given him pause. As it is, the two pieces that he related were certainly not composed by Wordsworth with that intention. To the evidence presented by Mr Woof on this score may be added the true sequence in MS 27,902, the adjustment to "widow" made for the *Literary Remains,* and, conclusively, the 1795 source of "The hour-bell sounds" — in DC MS 4 the entry "Yet art thou happier far than she" is undoubtedly an early one, going back to 1786 or 1787. The sequence in MS 27,902 should also dispel any

[30] The ten lines that make up the poem published as Coleridge's; lines 1f are omitted in de Selincourt's edition of Wordsworth's *Poetical Works,* but they are in the original in DC MS 4, p 4.

lingering doubt that the lines "Yet art thou happier than she" belong to "The Death of the Starling," where de Selincourt placed them. The two missing leaves that came between them and the first part of the poem in MS 4 may well have contained more work on the poem, lines perhaps that their author was dissatisfied with. These two existing parts are entered on rectos, for they belong to a fair copy and Wordsworth was using rectos only for his fair copies at this early stage of the notebook's use, but there are two relevant couplets on the verso opposite the first of the two stubs:

And oft these eyes have seen it rest 21
Soft on her bosom's downy nest,

and

'Tis dead and flits in lonely flight
A dismal journey — black as night
(Cf Catullus, *Carmina,* iii.11f.).[31]

31 My visits to Dove Cottage Library and Bristol University Library were facilitated by grants from the Central Research Fund of London University.

Reading Vogues at English Cathedral Libraries of the Eighteenth Century

By Paul Kaufman
University of Washington Library

PART III

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
"Anson Lives"	1			1					
Adam, Melchoir. Vitae Germanorum theologorum. Heidelberg. 1620	2		2						
Atterbury, Francis. Epistolary correspondence, etc. 4v. 1783	12	11		1					
Bedell, William. The life of ———. 1685	1		1						
Berkeley, George. "Correspondence"	2			2					
Bernard, Nicholas. Judgement of Bishop Usher. 1657	1					1			
—— Life and death of Archbishop Usher. 1656	2					1	1		
Biographia britannica. Ed. Andrew Kippis. 6v. 1747	124	23	26	45		19	11		
General biographical dictionary. Ed. Alexander Chalmers. 32v. 1812–17	16	16							
Bioi hagion [in Greek]. Venice 1630	1	1							
Birch, Thomas. Life of . . . archbishop Tillotson. 1752	1			1					
—— Life of Dr. Ward. 1766	1								1
—— Heads of illustrious persons. 2v. 1743–51	6			6					
Blackwell, Thomas. Memoirs of the court of Augustus. 2v. Edin. 1753–5	8			8					
Bollandus, John. Lives of the saints. Antwerp. 1643	3					3			
Boswell, James. Life of Johnson. 2v. 1791	28	9		19					
Bower, Archibald. The history of the popes. 5v. 1748	18	2		10	6				
"British Worthies"	1					1			
Bromley, Sir George. Miscellanea Anglica . . . letters of Charles I and James II. 1787	3			3					
Burnet, Gilbert. Life of Rochester	2		1						1
—— Memoirs of . . . James and William and the Duke of Hamilton. 1677	3		1			2			
—— Matthew Hale's life and death. 1682	1		1						
Camden, William, et al. Epistolae. 1691	1			1					
Some account of the deans of Canterbury, with catalogue of the MSS in the church library. Canterbury. 1793	1	1							
Capgravius, John. Nova legenda, sive vitae sanctorum Angliae. 1516	3					2	1		
Cardan, Jerome. De propria vita. 1643	1		1						
Cassian, St. John. "Collationes patrum" [title occurring once].	7			7					
Cave, William. Ecclesiastici.	2		1			1			
—— Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia literaria. 2v. 1688	4			2	2				
—— Lives of the apostles . . . and the fathers of the fourth century. 2v. 1677–83	7		3	2			2		
—— Antiquitates apostolicae or the history of the life . . . of Christ, etc. 2v. 1677	11		7	1		2	1		

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	Ξ	P
—— Lives of the archbishops?	1		1						
"Character of Queen Elizabeth"	1		1						
"Characters of the court of France"	1		1						
"Charles martyrology"	1				1				
Charpentier, François. La vie de Socrate. Amst. 1699	1						1		
Churton, Ralph. Lives of bishop Smyth and Sir R. Sutton. 1800	4	4							
Collins, Arthur. Sidney family collection of letters and memorials. 2v. 1746	4			4					
Cotelerius, John Baptist. Patres apostolici. 2v. 1672	17			7	7	3			
Coxe, William. Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole. 3v. 1798	22	22							
"Cromwell unp. Monarch"	1		1						
Earl of Danby. Memoirs	1						1		
Diogenes Laertius.	9		1	4		1	1	2	
"Elogiorum libri duo"	1							1	
"Erasmus' Life." In ed. of his works, Basle, 1540. Not signed, but perhaps by Beatus Rhenanus.	1			1					
"Life of Erasmus." Probably same as foregoing.	1			1					
"Extraits de la vie de ———(?)"	1			1					
Fenn, Sir John. Original letters during reigns of Henry VI etc. 4v. 1787–9	3			3					
Fiddes, Richard. Life of Cardinal Wolsey. 1724	12			3	9				
Forbes, Patrick. Letters and other papers in the reign of Elizabeth. 2v. 1740	4			4					
Foxe, John. Acts and monuments [or Book of martyrs]. 3v. 1632	2	1					1		
—— Idem. 3v. 1684	1				1				
Fuller, Thomas. History of the worthies of England. 1662	13	6	2	4		1			
Gamble, ———. Life of general Monk.	1					1			
Gassendi, Peter. De vita et moribus Epicuri. 1647	2		2						
—— Vita Nic. Claudii Fabricii de Peiresc. Paris. 1641	1					1			
Gibbon, Edward. Life, letters, etc. 2v. 1796	2	2							
Some account of Dr. E. Gibson bishop of London.	1				1				
Gifford, Richard. Life of Pitt. 1809	10	10							
Godwin, Francis. De praesulibus Angliae. Camb. 1743	8	2	1	5					
Goodal, Walter. Examination of Mary Queen of Scots' letters. 2v. 1754	6			6					
Granger, James. Biographical history of England. 2v. 1769	32	9		18		5			
—— Idem. Supplement. 1774	5			5					
Gregory of Tours. "Thaumaturgy." Tr. as Lives and miracles of the saints. 1608	1			1					
Greswell, W. P. Memoirs of Politian, etc. Manchester. 1801	1	1							
Harris, William. Life of Charles I. 1758	1			1					
—— Life of James I. 1753	3			3					
Harte, Walter. History of Gustavus Adolphus. 2v. 1759	2			2					
Heath, James. Flagellum; or the life of . . . Oliver, the late usurper. 1663	1		1						
Heidegger, John Henry. De historia sacra patriarcharum. 2v. Amst. 1667	1							1	
Herbert, Edward? History of Henry VI [VIII?]	1			1					

Biography and Memoirs, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Heylin, Peter. Cyprianus Anglicus or the life of archbishop Laud. 1644	5		3	2					
"Historical memoirs"	1		1						
History of Charles V.	1		1						
Hobbes, Thomas. Thomae Hobbes Malmesburiensis vita. 1681	1		1						
Holliday, John. Life of William, late Earl of Mansfield. 1797	2			2					
Huet, Peter Daniel. Commentarius de rebus ad eum pertinentibus. Amst. 1718	3			3					
Hurd, Richard. Account of Warburton, as preface to his works. 1794	2			2					
Hyde, Edward, Earl of Clarendon. Life	6	3		3					
Jacobi de Voragine. Legenda aurea. Cologne. 1485. This ed. identified from catalogue of Canterbury; York had eds. of 1484 and 1486	2	1					1		
Johnson, Samuel. Lives of the poets. 4v. 1781	43	12		31					
Johnson, Samuel (1649–1703). Julian the apostate. 1682	1		1						
Jones, William. Life of George Horne. 6v. 1807	3	3							
Jortin, John. Life of Erasmus. 2v. 1758–60	19	9		8				2	
Kippis, Andrew. Life and voyages of Capt. Cook. 1788	4			4					
Knight, Samuel. Life of dean Colet. 1724	1	1							
Landi, Giulio. La vita di Cleopatra. Venice. 1551	1							1	
Laud, William. History of the tryals, etc. by himself. 1695	2			1		1			
Leighton, Robert. On St. Paul.	1		1						
Lewis, John. History of John Wicliffe. 1720	1	1							
"Life of King Charles."	1					1			
"Life of Father Paul."	2		2						
"Life of Milton."	1			1					
"Lives of the Fathers."	1			1					
"Lives of the classic authors."	1								1
"Lives of illustrious persons."	1			1					
"Lives of the Popes."	3			3					
Lloyd, David. Memoirs of the lives, etc. that suffered for the Protestant religion. 1668	1			1					
Lockhart, George. Memoirs of Scotland. 1714	1			1					
Lowth, Robert. Life of William of Wykeham. 1758	11	2		4		5			
Ludlow, Edmund. Memoirs. 3v. 1751?	1							1	
Lupus, or Wolf, Christian. Thomae Becket Epistolae et vita. Brussels. 1682	1	1							
Macrie, Thomas. Life of John Knox. 2v. Edin. 1813	1					1			
Lyttleton, George, Baron Lyttleton. History of the life of Henry II. 6v. 1769–73	16	6		10					
Marshall, Thomas. Life of archbishop Usher. 1686	1					1			
Melvil, Sir James. Memoirs . . . of Mary Queen of Scots. 1685	1					1			
Memoirs de la minorité de Louis XIV.	1							1	
Memoirs of the Duke of Guise.	1		1						
"Memoires de la reine"	1						1		
"Memoires de Javanes [Tavanes?]"	1						1		
Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton.	2		2						
"Memoirs of Marg: of Clauracarde"	1			1					
Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth	2			2					
Middleton, Conyers. Life of Cicero. 3v. 1767	6			6					
Moleville, Bertrand de. Private memoirs. 3v. 1800	11	11							

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Mombritius, Boninus. Vita Micasii.	1					1			
Cavendish, Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle. "Works." 1668–71	1						1		
North, Roger. Life of Sir Dudley North. 1744	1	1							
—— Life of Francis North, Lord Guilford. 1742	2	2							
Parr, Richard. Life and letters of archbishop Usher. 1686	3			1		2			
Patres apostolici.	3			3					
Paule, Sir George. Life of John Whitgift. 1612	1			1					
Platina, Baptista. De vitis pontificum. Cologne. 1568	2		1				1		
Prince, John. Worthies of Devonshire. 1701	3							3	
Rainbow, Edward. Life. 1688	2		2						
Ridley, Gloucester. Review of Phillips' Life of Cardinal Pole. 1766	1	1							
—— Life of Bishop Ridley. 1763	2	2							
Robertson, William. History of Charles V. 3v. 1769	47	10		24	13				
Rochefoucault, Francis. Mémoires.	1		1						
Ruffhead, Owen. Life of Pope. 1769	4			4					
Rundle, Thomas. Letters to Mrs. Barbara Sandys. 2v. Gloucester. 1789	1			1					
Russell, Rachel, Lady Russell. Letters. 1773	8			8					
Rycaut, Sir Paul. Lives of the Roman pontiffs from the original of Platina. 1685	1			1					
Sade, P. Ald. de. Mémoires pour la vie de François Petrarque. Amst. 1764–7	1							1	
Sanderson, William. Histories of lives and reigns of Mary, Queen of Scotland and . . . King James VI. 1656	3		3						
Sandford, Francis. Genealogical history of the kings and queens of England. 1707	11			3		8			
Scudéry, Georges de. Femmes illustres. 2v. Paris. 1644	1						1		
Sidney family. State papers. Ed. Arthur Collins. 2v. 1746	1	1							
Skinner, Thomas. Life of General Monk. 1723	2			2					
Smith, Thomas. Life of Archbishop Usher.	1					1			
Socinus, Faustus. Vita. 1653	1		1						
Spence, Ferrand. History of Gustavus Adolphus. Tr. from French. 1689	8			8					
Spence, Oliph Leigh, Life of Henry Chichele. 1783	1	1							
Strade, Octavius de. De vitis impp. Romanorum. Frankfurt. 1615	1	1							
"Lord Strafford Letters 2 vols."	3			3					
Strype, John. Life of Archbishop Parker. 1711	13	2		8	3				
—— Life of Bishop Aylmer. 1701	1							1	
—— Life of Archbishop Cranmer. 1694	14	3		7	4				
—— Life of Bishop Whitgift. 1718	10	2		8					
—— Life of Bishop Grindal. 1710	8	1		7					
—— No title	1			1					
Life of St. Teresa.	1		1						
Tott, Baron de. Memoirs relating to Turks and Tartars. 2v. 1785	9			9					
Vasari, Giorgio. Le vite de pittori. 3v. Bologna. 1647	1	1							
Vitae pontificorum.	1					1			
Walton, Isaak. Life of Bishop Sanderson.	2			1					1
—— Life of Dr. J. Donne, etc. 1658	1								1
—— Lives. Ed. Thomas Zouch. 1796	12	9		3					

Biography and Memoirs, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Warton, Thomas. Life and literary remains of Dr. Bathurst. 1761	2	2							
Watson, Robert. History of Philip II. 2v. 1777	9			9					
—— History of Philip III. 1783	4			4					
Welwood, James. Memoirs . . . preceding revolution of 1688. 1702	1						1		
Wharton, Henry. Anglia sacra. 2v. 1691	15	1		10	3			1	
—— Troubles and trials of Archbishop Laud. 2v. 1695–1700	1	1							
Life of A. B. Williams.	1		1						
Wilmot, John Eardley, Life of John Hough. 1812	1	1							
Winwood, Sir Ralph. Memorials of affairs of state in reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James I. 3v. 1725	1						1		
Witte, Henningus. Memoria theologorum et philosophorum. 4v. Frankfort. 1674	1			1					
Wood, Anthony. Athenae Oxonienses. 2v. 1721	19	7	2	7	1	1	1		
Wotton, Sir Henry. Reliquiae Wottonianae. 1651	2		1					1	

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS, INCLUDING GEOGRAPHY AND TOPOGRAPHY

Anson, George, Baron Anson. Voyage round the world. 1764	8			8					
Antoninus Pius. Iter Britanniarum cum commentariis Thomas Gale. 1709	1						1		
Bourguignon D'Anville, Jean Baptiste. Atlas	3			2	1				
Asia, Dissertations, etc. relating to. 2v. 1793	2			2					
"The American atlas"	3			3					
The English atlas. 4v. Ox. 1680	2	2							
Atlas. "3v." Palairet? 1754	1		1						
Banks, Sir Joseph. Voyage round the world. 1772	3			3					
Barrington, Daines. Miscellanies . . . in geographical discoveries. 1781	6			6					
Baudrandi. Geographia	1				1				
Benjamin of Tuleda. Itinerarium. 1575	1					1			
Benyowsky, Mauritius. Memoirs and travels. 2v. 1790	6			6					
Blair, John. Fourteen maps of ancient and modern geography. 1768	1			1					
Bochart, Samuel. Phaleg. Caen. 1651	2	1		1					
—— Geographia sacra (including above title). Caen. 1646, 1651	2		1			1			
—— "Works."	1				1				
Boetticher, Jacob G. Description of Germany.	1						1		
"Book of Maps"	1			1					
Boswell, James. Tour to the Hebrides. 1786	6	6							
Breit, Philip. Parallela geographia veteris et novae. 3v. 1648–49	1			1					
Bruce, James. Travels to discover the source of the Nile [in Abyssinia, etc.]. 5v. 1790	38			38					
Bruce, Peter Henry. Account of travels in Germany, Russia, Tartary. 1782	7	7							
Bruyn, Cornelius. Travels through Muscovy, Persia, etc. 2v. 1736–7	6			6					
Buck, ———. "Prospect of Russia v. 2nd"	1			1					
Burton, William. Commentary on Antoninus' itinerary. 1658	4					3	1		

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
—— Description of Leicestershire. 1622	1						1		
Busching, Anthony Frederick. New system of geography (tr. from the German). 6v. 1754	8			8					
Cellarius, Christopher. Geographia antiqua. (Jena, 1692). 2v. Camb. 1703	9	3		6					
Chandler, Richard. Travels in Greece. Ox. 1776	4			4					
—— Travels in Asia Minor. 2v. Ox. 1775	12			12					
Description of the churches of Canterbury. Cant. 1772	2	2							
Churchill, John. A collection of voyages and travels. 6v. 1732	67	34			32			1	
Cluverius, Philip. Introductio in universam geographiam. 1624	4			4					
Cook, Capt. James. Voyage . . . round the world. 2v. 1777	63	4		59					
Cook, Capt. James and Capt. James King. Voyage to the Pacific. 3v. (first two by Cook, third by King). 1784–5	1	1							
Coxe, William. Travels into Poland, Russia, etc. 2v. 1784	7					7			
—— Account of Russian discoveries. 1780	21			17		4			
—— Travels in Poland, Russia, etc. New ed. 3v. 1784–90	18			18					
—— Sketches of Switzerland. 1779	10			10					
Dallaway, James. Constantinople, ancient and modern. 1797	3			3					
Dart, John. History and art of the cathedral church of Canterbury. 1726	3	2		1					
"Dorington Travells." Edward Dorrington? The Hermit. 1727	1							1	
Douglas, William. Summary of the present state of the British settlements in North America. 2v. 1755	3			3					
Davis, John. Reports and tables of three voyages (published in Hakluyt). 1751	2		2						
Falle, Philip. Caesarea, or an account of the isle of Jersey. 1694	1			1					
Forster, John George Adam. Voyage with Captain Cook in 1772–5. 3v. 1777	2			2					
Francklin, William. Tour from Bengal to Persia. 1790	1			1					
"Geographiae veteris"	1		1						
Gilpin, William. Observations particularly in the highlands of Scotland. 2v. 1788	12			12					
—— Three essays: on picturesque beauty; on picturesque travel; on sketching landscape. 1792	1			1					
—— Observations on the river wye. 1783	2			2					
—— Observations . . . in Cumberland and Westmoreland. 2v. 1787	2			2					
Gostling, William. A walk in and about Canterbury. 1777	12	12							
Gough, Richard. Anecdotes of British topography. 2v. 1780	9	6		3					
Guthrie, William. New system of modern geography. 1771	17			17					
Halde, John Baptist du. "3 vols." That is, Description of . . . China	1			1					
Hanway, Jonas. Travels into Persia. 4v. 1753–4	8			8					
Harris, John. Navigantium et itinerantium biblioteca, or a complete collection of voyages and travels. 1702	36			21	14			1	

Voyages and Travels, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Hawkesworth, John. Account of voyages for making discoveries in the southern hemisphere. 3v. 1773	49			49					
Herbert, Thomas. Travels into Persia. 1634	4			2		2			
Heylin, Peter. Complete journey through France. 1675	2					2			
Hornius, George. Orbis antiqui delineatio geographica. Amst. 1654	7			6				1	
—— Ulysses peregrinus. Leyd. 1671	1			1					
Hutchinson, William. A view of Northumberland. 2v. Newcastle. 1778–80	3			3					
"Imperial sheet atlas from the MSS closet"	2			2					
"2 maps of India"	1			1					
Irwin, Eyles. Voyage up the Red sea. 1780	17			17					
Ives, Edward. A voyage from England to India in 1754. 1773	3	3							
Janson, John. Novus atlas. 6v. Amst. 1658	1			1					
Jardine, Alexander. Letters from Barbary, France, Spain, etc. 2v. 1788	8			8					
Keate, George. Acccount of the Pelew islands. 1788	10			10					
Keysler, Johann Georg. Travels through Germany, etc. Tr. from German. 4v. 1756	2	2							
Kilburne, Richard. Survey of Kent. 1659	2	2							
King, Daniel. Cathedral and conventual churches topographically delineated. 1656	1			1					
Kitchen, Thomas. General atlas. 1773	1						1		
Laet, John de. Novus orbis sive descriptionis Indiae Occidentalis Libri XVIII. Leyd. 1633	1					1			
Leland, John. Itinerary (Hearne). 9v. Ox. 1710–12	19			4			15		
Lettres sur cérémonies de la Chine. 1703	1						1		
Loggan, David. Cantabrigia illustrata figuris. Camb. n. d.	2			2					
—— Oxonia illustrata. Ox. 1675	2			1		1			
Lysons, Daniel. Environs of London. 4v. 1792–6	6			6					
Mandeville, Sir John. Travels	4			4					
Maundrell, Henry. Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem. Ox. 1703	1			1					
Mercator, Gerard. Galliae tabulae geographicae, Tr. Hexham. Amst. 2v. 1636	1						1		
Midgley, Samuel. Halifax and its gibbet, etc. 1708	1						1		
Morenas, Francois. Dictionnaire historique portatif de la geographie sacrée. Paris. 1759	1						1		
Motraye, Aubrey de la. Travels. Tr. into English. 3v. 1723–32	8	1		7					
Moxon, Joseph. Concerning the use of globes. 1659	1							1	
Ogilby, John. Atlas Chinensis. 2v. 1671	1							1	
—— Atlas Japanensis. 1670	1							1	
—— America . . . and the remarkable voyages thither. 1670	3					3			
Ortel, Abraham. Theatrum orbis terrarum. Ant. 1595	1	1							
Park, Mungo. Travels into Africa. 1799	10	10							
Patin, Charles. Travels through Germany, etc. 1701	1							1	
Description de Pays Bas. Cologne. 1669	1						1		
Pennant, Thomas. Journey from Chester to London. 1782	13			13					
—— Tour [or "Tours"] in Scotland. 3v. 1772	29			29					
—— Journey to Snowdon. 1781	1			1					
Perouse, J.F.G. Voyage round the world. Tr. from French. 2v. 1799	5			5					

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Philip, Arthur. Voyage to Botany Bay. 1789	4			4					
Philipott, Thomas. Villare Cantianum 1659	4	4							
Pinkerton, John. General collection of . . . voyages and travels. 13v. 1808–13	24	24							
—— Modern geography. 2v. 1802	14	14							
Pitt, Moses, William Nicholson, and Richard Peers. The English atlas . . . description of Poland, Sweden. 4v. Ox. 1680	9					9			
Pocock, Richard. Observations on Egypt. Vol. 1 of Description of the East. 2v. 1743–5	16	3		11				2	
Pole, Sir William. Collections for a description of Devon. 1791	1			1					
Portlock, Captain Nathaniel. Voyage round the world. 1789	5			5					
Price, Francis. Observations on cathedral of Sarum. 1753	1					1			
Psalamazar, George. Historical and geographical description of . . . Formosa. 1705	1						1		
Ptolemy, Claudius. Magna constructio cum Theonis comm. Greek. Basle. 1538	1	1							
——— Cosmographia. Basle. 1545	1	1							
"Purchas v. 3"	1				1				
Roma antica e moderna. Rome. 1677	1						1		
Ronnell, James. Memoirs of a map of Hindostan. 1783	10			10					
Rycaut, Sir Paul. ?On Turkey.	1		1						
Sandys, George. Travels. 1632	2	2							
Savary, Nicholas. Letters on Egypt. Tr. from French. 2v. 1786–7	7			7					
—— Letters on Greece. Tr. from French. 1788	10			10					
"Schedellii theatrum orbis"	2						2		
Shaw, Joseph. Travels through Holland, etc. 1709, 1738	4	2		2					
Somner, William. Treatise of Gavelkind. 1726	2	2							
Sparrman, Andrew. Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope. Tr. from Swedish. 2v. 1786	11			11					
Speed, John. "Maps." From Chronicon chronicorum?	4	1		3					
—— Prospects of the most famous places. 1631	1	1							
Staunton, Sir George. Embassy to China. 2v. 1797	7			7					
Stow, John. Survey of London. 1633	11	2	1		1		1		1
Strabo. Geographia. Ed. Isaac Casaubon. 1587 (C)	11	2		4	2	3			
Stukeley, William. Itinerarium curiosum. 2v. 1776	3	3							
Swinburne, Henry. Travels through Spain. 1779	15			15					
—— Travels in the two Sicilies. 2v. 1783–5	16			16					
Tavernier, Bernier J. B. Travels into Persia. 2v. 1678	19			14		5			
"Theatrum geographicae veteris"	1				1				
Thoresby, Ralph. Ducatus Leodiensis; or the topography . . . of Leeds . . . and York. 1715	16			8			8		
Tournefort, Joseph Pitton de. A voyage into the Levant. 2v. 1718	9			7	2				
Townsend, ———. "Travels 3 v"	9			9					
Troil, Uno von. Letters on Iceland. 1780	1			1					
Tudele, Benjamin de. Voyages. 2v. Amst. 1734	1	1							
Vaillant, François Le. Travels into Africa. Tr. from French. 2v. 1790	9			9					
Val, P. du. Cartes geographiques. Paris. 1666	2	2							
Varen, Bernard. Geographia generalis. Camb. 1672	6			6					
"Viaggi della valle"	1							1	
Vincent, William. The Periplus of the Erythrean sea. 1800	1	1							

Voyages and Travels, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
—— Voyage of Nearchus. 1797	10	5		3	2				
Volney, C. F. Travels through Syria and Egypt. Tr. from French. 2v. 1787	9			9					
Wall, William. Geography of the New Testament.	4			4					
Wells, Edward. Historical geography of the New Testament. 1708	1			1					
—— Historical geography of the Old Testament. 4v. 1711–12	4			4					
—— Treatise of ancient and present geography. Ox. 1701	1			1					
Wharton, Sir George. "Travels."	1			1					
Wheeler, Sir George. A journey into Greece. 1682	19		3	10		5		1	
Wood, ———. Rivers of Wales.	1	1							
Wright, Edward? Observations in France, Italy, etc. 1730, 1764	11			11					
Wyndham, Henry Penruddocke. Tour through Monmouthshire and Wales. 1775, 1781	7			7					
Young, Arthur. "Travels."	3			3					
Description of York and Canterbury cathedrals. 1755	4	4							

PHILOSOPHY

Agrippa, Henry Cornelius.	2					2			
Bacon, Francis. De augmentis scientiarum.	2					2			
—— Novum organon.	1					1			
—— De sapientia veterum.	3		3						
—— "Miscellaneous works" or Works. 4v. 1730 (C)	8	2		5				1	
—— "Remains"	2		2						
—— "Elements"	1				1				
Bacon, Roger. Opus major. Ed. S. Jebb. 1733	1			1					
Boethius.	2					2			
Bayle, Pierre. General dictionary, historical and critical. 10v. 1734–8	30			11	2		13	1	
Beattie, James. Essay on the nature and immutability of truth. 1770	1						1		
—— Dissertations, moral and critical. 1783	3			3					
Berkeley, George. Works. 2v. 1784	3			3					
Brown, Thomas. Enquiries into vulgar and common errors. 1646	1				1				
Bryant, Jacob. Address to Dr. Priestley on philosophical necessity. 1780	3			3					
Burke, Edmund. "Works vol 1"	10			10					
Burgersdicius, Francis. "Logic" 1727?	1						1		
Burton, Robert. Anatomy of melancholy. 1652	5	3	1	1					
Butler, Joseph. Analogy of religion . . . to nature. 1738	10	1		3			6		
Hyde, Edward, Earl of Clarendon. View of . . . errors in Hobbes' Leviathan. Ox. 1676	1					1			
Collier, Jeremy. Immorality of the English stage. 1698	2		2						
Cudworth, Ralph. Intellectual system. 1678	8	1			6	1			
Cumberland, Richard. A treatise of the laws of nature. Tr. from Latin John Maxwell. 1727	2		1	1					
Dandini, Jerome. Ethica sacra de virtutibus et vitiis. Casena. 1651	1			1					
Derham, William. Physico-theology. 2v. 1745	1						1		
—— Astro-theology.	2				2				
Descartes.	1		1						

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
"Determinationes questionum"	1								1
Diderot, Denis. Encyclopédie. 1751–	4			4					
Digby, Sir Kenelm. Of bodies and of man's soul. 1669	1		1						
Diogenes Laertius. Vitae et sententiae eorum qui in philosophia probati fuerunt. Venice. 1497	1						1		
"Discourses of Things"	1		1						
"Divine harmony"	1			1					
Eachard, John. Dialogues on Hobbes' state of nature. 1672	1			1					
Ellys, Anthony. Tracts on the spiritual and temporal liberty of the subjects in England. 1763–5	4	1		3					
Feltham, Owen. Resolves. 1634	1	1							
Fleetwood, William. On the relative duties of parents and children, etc. 2v. 1705	2			2					
Gisborne, Thomas. Principles of moral philosophy. 1789	3			3					
Gratius, Orthuinus. Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum. Cologne. 1535	1						1		
Grotius, Hugo. De veritate Christianae religionis.	7		1	1			3	2	
—— De imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra. Paris. 1647	1			1					
—— Quaedam argumenti.	1			1					
Hale, Sir Matthew. Contemplations, moral and divine. 1676	2		1				1		
Hammond, Henry. Of fundamentals in a notion referring to practice. 1654	1		1						
Hanapus, Nicholas. Virtutum vitiorumque exempla. Paris. 1560	1						1		
Harrington, James. Oceana. 1656	2				1			1	
—— Works.	1				1				
Harris, James. Philosophical arrangements. 1775	3			3					
—— Philological inquiries. 2v. 1780	2			2					
Haweis, Thomas. "Thelyphthora" 2v. 1781	2			2					
[Edward Herbert, Baron of Cherbury]. De veritate prout distinguitur a revelatione. 1645	1		1						
—— De causis errorum. 1645	1		1						
Hobbes, Thomas. Elements of philosophy. 1656	2		2						
—— De corpore politico. 1684	1		1						
—— De cive. 1647	1		1						
—— Leviathan. 1651	1		1						
King, William. Origin of evil. Tr. from Latin by Edmund Law. 1731	2		1	1					
Law, Edmund. Inquiry into the ideas of space, time, etc. 1735	2			2					
Locke, John. Works. 3v. 1727	44	1		21	17		5		
—— On human understanding.	4		2				2		
Lombard, Peter. Sententiarum libri IV. 1651	1				1				
Loyer, Peter de. Treatise of spectres, etc. Tr. from French Zachary Jones, 1605	1						1		
Lucas, Richard. Inquiry after happiness. 2v. 1685	1			1					
Machiavelli, Nicholas. Disputationum de republica libri III. Frankfort. 1608	2						2		
Malebranche, Nicholas de. The search after truth. Tr. from French. 1694	4		2	2					
Tyrius Maximus. Dissertationes ? Basle? 1519	1						1		
Middleton, Conyers. A free inquiry into the miraculous powers. 1748	2			2					

Philosophy, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Moore, Charles. A full inquiry into suicide. 2v. 1790	1	1							
More, Henry. Collection of several philosophical writings. 1662	1		1						
Norris, John. Reason and faith. 1697	3		2	1					
Paley, William. Moral and political philosophy. 1785	33	4	9	14			6		
Parker, Samuel. Platonis philosophia censura. Ox. 1666	3		2			1			
Pemberton, Henry. View of Sir Isaac Newton's philosophy. 1728	2	2							
Petrucci, Matteo. Lettere e trattati spirituali e mistici. Also an English translation. Venice. 2v. 1681	2						2		
Prophyry. De abstinentia ab esu animalium. Florence. 1548	1			1					
Possevin, Anthony. Biblioteca selecta de ratione studiorum. Cologne. 1607	2		2						
Ramus, Peter. "ix partes lib."	1						1		
—— Dialecticae	1						1		
Thom(p)son, Benjamin, Count Rumford. Essays political, economical, and philosophical. 3v. 1796–1803	1			1					
Sanderson, Robert. Artis logicae compendium. Ox. 1618	1						1		
Search, Edward [i.e., Abraham Tucker]. Light of nature pursued. 7v. 1768	31		16	15					
Smith, Adam. Wealth of nations. 2v. 1776	10	1		8				1	
Speerman, Richard. An inquiry after philosophy and theology. 1755	7			7					
Spencer, John. A discourse concerning prodigies. 1663	2					2			
Spencer, ———. "Marcus Antoninus"	1			1					
Stanley, Thomas. History of philosophy. 1655–60	7			7					
Towne, ———. Opinions of the ancient philosophers. Preface to a *Critical Inquiry* by Bishop Warburton. 1748	1	1							
"Truth brought to light"	1		1						
Winder, Henry. History of the rise . . . of knowledge. 2v. 1745	1			1					
Wollaston, William. Religion of nature. 7th ed. 1750	7					7			
Wilkins, John. An essay toward a real character and a philosophical language. 1668	1		1						

BELLES LETTRES

Addison, Joseph. Works. 4v. 1721	33	1		32					
Bacon, Francis. Essays	4		2		2				
Barclay, John. Argenis et satyricon. Leyden. 1627	1			1					
Berington, Joseph. Literary history of the middle ages. 1814	2					2			
Blackmore, Sir Richard. Prince Arthur, an heroic poem. 1697	1			1					
Blair, Hugh. Lectures on rhetoric and belles lettres. 2v. 1783	13			13					
Browne, Sir Thomas. Religio medici.	1						1		
—— Hydriotaphia.	1		1						
Browne, William. Britannia's pastorals. 1613	1	1							
Butler, Samuel. Hudibras. 1700	2	2							
—— Hudibras. 2v. 1744	2			2					

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
—— Genuine remains in prose and verse. 2v. 1759	5			5					
"Carolus Poems"	1		1						
Chaucer, Geoffrey. Works. 1604	6					5	1		
—— Canterbury tales. Ed. Tyrwhitt. 5v. 1775–8; 2v. Ox. 1798	8	3		5					
—— "Chaucer"	1							1	
Chesterfield, Earl of. Letters to his son. 2v. 1774	6			6					
—— Miscellaneous works. 3v. 1777–8	7			7					
Cockburn, Catharine. Works. 2v. 1751	2			2					
Cotton, Charles. Poetical works. 1715?	1			1					
Cowley, Abraham. Works. 1684	3		1	1			1		
Darwin, Erasmus. Botanic garden. 2v. 1791	8			8					
Donne, John. Poems	1		1						
Drake, Nathan. Literary hours. 1798	2						2		
Drayton, Michael. Polyolbion.	3	2			1				
Dryden, John. Prose works. Ed. Malone. 4v. 1800	8	8							
"Familiar dialogues"	1		1						
Farmer, Richard. Essay on the learning of Shakespeare. 1767	2	2							
Gilpin, William. On forest scenery and other woodland views. 2v. 1791	12			12					
Gray, Thomas. Poems. 1768	5			5					
Hickes, Georges. Thesaurus septentrionalis. 2v. Ox. 1705	16	2		6	2	1	3	2	
Hobaeus. Dicta poetarum.	1								1
Hurd, Richard. Moral and political dialogues, with letters on chivalry and romance. 3v. 1771	5			5					
Jonson, Ben. Works. 1640	2						2		
Kames, Lord (Henry Home). Elements of criticism. 2v. 1769	5			5					
Lisle, William. The fair Ethiopian, a poem. 1631	2	2							
Lyttleton, George, Baron Lyttleton. Works. 1774	20			20					
Macpherson, James. Fingal. 1762	3			3					
Marvel, Andrew. Works.	3			3					
"Memoirs of literature"	2			2					
Milton, John. Paradise lost. 1705(C)	8	1	1			5			
—— Paradise lost. Ed. Thos Newton. 2v. 1749	5			5					
—— Paradise regained.	3			3					
—— Comus with notes. Ed. H. J. Todd. 1798	6	6							
—— Poetical works. Ed. Todd. 6v. 1801	9	9							
—— "Works"	4			4					
—— Paradise regained and other poems. 1705	1	1							
—— "Apologia" [Defensio pro populo Anglicano?]	1		1						
—— History of England	1			1					
—— "Historical works"	1			1					
—— Poems, with translations by Thomas Warton. 1785	3			3					
—— "Milton"	1			1					
More, Sir Thomas. Opera Latina. Louvain. 1566	2				1				1
—— Utopia.	2		2						
——— "Thomae Mori, angli"	1						1		
Musae Etonenses. 2v. 1795	3	3							
"Muse of Northumberland"	1			1					
Nichols, John. Anecdotes of William Bowyer. 1782	22	6		14				2	
—— Literary anecdotes of the 18th century. 6v. 1812–14	20	15				5			
"Oxford verses on the death of the King"	1			1					
"Remarks on Old English Poets"	1	1							

Belles Lettres, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Pope, Alexander. Works. Ed. Joseph Warton (C). 9v. 1797	19	13		6					
"Mr. Pope's Controversies"	1			1					
Richard of Bury. Philobiblon.	1			1					
Richardson, William. Philosophical analysis . . . of some of Shakespeare's remarkable characters. Glasgow. 1774	1							1	
"Scriptores post Bedam"	3			1		2			
Shakespeare, William. Works. 1623	1	1							
—— Ed. Theobald. 7v.	10	10							
—— Ed. Johnson and Stevens. 10v. 1773	7			7					
—— Malone. 10v. 1790	18			18					
—— "Plays"	9				9				
—— "Shakespeare"	1							1	
Spenser, Edmund. Works. Ed. Todd. 8v. 1805	1	1							
—— "Faerie queene" (also "Poems" and "Works")	3				2	1			
Swift, Jonathan. Works.	24			23				1	
Temple, Sir William. Works.	13				13				
Villiers, George, Duke of Buckingham. Miscellaneous works. 1704?	1			1					
Walpole, Horace. Catalogue of the royal and noble authors of Great Britain. 2v. 1759	3					3			
—— Works. 5v. 1798	22	22							
Warton, Thomas. History of English poetry. 3v. 1774–81	16			14				2	
Wotton, William. On ancient and modern learning. 1694	2		2						

FOREIGN LITERATURE

Petri Abaelardi et Heloisae conjugis eius opera. Paris. 1616	3	3							
Ariosto, Lodovico. Orlando furioso. Tr. Sir John Harrington. 1607	4	4							
—— Tr. Hoole.	15			14		1			
Barbaro, Francesco. De re uxoria. Antwerp	2						2		
Barthélemy, Jean Jacques. Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce. Paris. 1788	28		1	20	7				
Bartoli, Daniello. Opera	1			1					
Bembo, Pietro. Opera	1			1					
Boccaccio, Giovanni. Decameron.	3					2	1		
Carlyle, Joseph Dacre. Specimens of Arabic poetry. Camb. 1796	1			1					
Bourbon, Nicholas. Nugarum libri octo. Paris. 1533	1						1		
Bruyère, Jean de la. Characters of the manners of the age. Tr. Nicholas Rowe. 1709	2			2					
Castiglione, Balthazar. De curiali sive aulico. Strasbourg. 1619	1						1		
Cervantes, Miguel de. Don Quixote. Tr. C. Jervis. 4v. 1788?	11			11					
Dante, Alighieri. Inferno, "1st & 2nd vols."	4			4					
Deslauriers, N. (Bruscambille, pseud.) Oeuvres. Rouen. 1629	1						1		
Faerno, Gabriel. Centum fabulae. 1564	1					1			
Flaccus, Valerius. Argonauticon. Leyden. 1724	1			1					
Fontaine, Jean de la. Fables.	14			14					

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Guarini, Battista. Il pastor fido. Venice. 1602–3	1						1		
Hierocles. In aurea carmina	2		1	1					
Metastasio, Pietro. Dramatic works. Tr. Hoole.	9			9					
Montaigne, Michel Eyquem de. Essays	4			3		1			
Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat, Baron de. Works (or "Oeuvres")	6			6					
Pascal, Blaise. Lettres provinciales.	5	1	1			2			1
Perrault? "Lives"	1				1				
"Persian Miscellanies"	1			1					
"Petrarcha" (Or "Petrarch 2nd vol")	3			3					
—— Opera. Venice. 1553	1						1		
—— Epistles	3					3			
Politianus	1					1			
Rabelais, François. Works. Tr. Motteux	7		7						
Scarron, Paul. Nouvelles.	1	1							
Serres, Jean de.	1				1				
Strada, Famianus. Prolusiones oratoriae. Ox. 1662?	1		1						
Tasso, Torquato. Gerusalemme liberata. Venice. 1595	1						1		
—— Jerusalem delivered. Tr. Hoole. 2v. 1763	7			7					
Teissier, Anthony. Catalogus auctorum. Geneva. 1686	2			2					
Trublet, Nicholas. Essays on literary and moral subjects. 4v. Paris. 1760	1							I	
Vida, Marcus Hieronymus. Hymni de rebus divinis. Lyons. 1554	1						1		
Voiture, Vincent. Lettres et autres oeuvres. 2v. Amst. 1709	1						1		
Voltaire, François Marie Arouet. Remarks on history, etc. 1754	6		6						
Vossius, Gerard-John. De arte poetica	2		2						
—— De historicis Graecis	1					1			
—— Elementa rhetorica. 1640	1		1						
—— De arte grammatica. Amst. 1635	2		2						
—— "Vossius"	2		2						
Vossius, Isaac. Variarum observationum liber. 1685	2			2					
Wolfius, John Christopher. Biblioteca Hebraea. 4v. Leipsig. 1715	1			1					
Wormius, Olaus. Literatura Danica antiquissima. Copenhagen. 1636	1	1							

GREEK AND LATIN

Aeschylus. "Eschyle Frag." Ed. Stanely?	7			2	2	3			
Anacreon.	1			1					
Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius.	3			1			1		1
Apollonius of Rhodes. Argonaut. Ed. Shaw. 2v. Ox. 1779	3	2		1					
Apuleius, Lucius. Opera. Delph.	4			3			1		
Aratus.	1		1						
Aristophanes. Some, ed. Kusterus	11		5	5					1
—— Ed. Stephan Bergler.	1			1					
Aristotle. Poetics. Gr. and Lat.	1						1		
—— Poetics. English tr.	1						1		
—— Rhetoric	4		3				1		
—— Historia animalium	1						1		

Greek and Latin, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
—— "Works"	7			2	1	4			
—— Commentary on the Ethics	2					2			
Arrian. Tactica. Ed. Nic. Blancard. Gr. Lat. Amst. 1683	2	2							
—— "2 vols."	1			1					
Artemidorus. Oneirocritica. Paris. 1603	1						1		
Athenagoras. Opera. Ox. 1682	1						1		
Atheneus. Deipnosophistae. Gr. Lat. Leyden. 1612	2				1	1			
Aulus Gellius.	6		1	5					
Bentley, Richard. Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris. 1699	5			5					
—— "On ——"	1							1	
—— "Bentley against Boyle"	1			1					
Bos, Lambert de. Mysterii ellipsios graecae expositi specimen. 1702	3			2			1		
Boyle, Charles, Earl of Orrery. Ad Phalaridis epistolas. Ox. 1695	1			1					
—— Examination of Bentley's dissertation on Epistles of Phalaris. 1698	2			2					
Bryant, Jacob. Ancient mythology. 3v. 1774	26			11		7	8		
Callimachus. Ed. E. Spanheim. Utrecht. 1697	5			3				2	
Capella, Marcianus.	1					1			
Casaubon, Isaac. De satyrica Graecorum poesi. Paris. 1605	1								1
Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius. Delph.	12			4		8			
Cerda, John Lewis. Commentaries (on Vergil or Tertullian?)	1			1					
Cicero. Opera. Ed. Gronov. 11v. Leyden. 1692	8	8							
—— Opera. Ed. Lambini. 4v. Paris. 1566	7	3		4					
—— Opera omnia. 4v in 2. Geneva. 1584	1						1		
—— Opera. Delph. ("4th vol.")	19		7		2	10			
—— Ed. Olivet.	8			8					
—— "Cicero"	3			3					
—— Orations	10			9			1		
—— De oratore (or Orationes).	14			9		5			
—— In omnes orationes enarrationes. Lyons 1554	1						1		
—— De officiis.	6			3		3			
—— De natura deorum.	4		1	3					
—— De natura deorum. Tr. Olivet into English. Paris. 1726	1							1	
—— Rhetoric. Delph.	2			2					
—— Epistolae	3			3					
—— Epistolae ad familiares.	2			2					
—— Epistola ad Atticum. Variorum.	3			3					
—— "Tusculum Quaest."	4		1	3					
Claudianus, Claudius. Delph.	6			1		5			
"Corpus Poet, Lat."	1			1					
"Criticorum graecorum"	2			2					
Curtius, Quintus Rufus.	3					3			
—— Variorum	1			1					
"Decem oratores graeci"	1			1					
Demosthenes. Graece. Paris. 1540	4			4					
—— Apud Benenatum. Paris. 1570	2			2					
—— Opera.	13			8	1	4			
—— Gr. Lat. Per Wolfium	5			5					

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
—— and Aeschines. Orationes.	2					2			
——— Opera. Gr. Lat. Paris. 1604									
Dionysius of Halicarnassus.	8			4		3	1		
—— Tr. Edward Spelman. 4v. 1748	1			1					
Downes, Andrew. Praelectiones in Lysiam. Camb. 1593	1							–	
—— Praelectiones in Demosthenis Philippicam VI de pace. 1621	1							–	
Epictetus. Morals, with Simplicius' commentary. Tr. George Stanhope. 1694, 1700	2			2					
—— Tr. Elizabeth Carter. 1758	3			3					
—— Enchiridion.	1					1			
Ernesti, John Augustus. Clavis Ciceroniana.	1				1				
Euripides. Opera. Ed. Canter. 2v. 1602	2	1					1		
—— Ed. Joshua Barnes. Camb. 1694	8	4		2			1	–	
—— Ed. Samuel Musgrave. 4v. Ox. 1778	2			2					
—— Hippolytus. Ed. F. H. Egerton. Ox. 1796	2	1					1		
—— "Euripides"	1						1		
Eustathius. In hexameron Basilii commentarius.	3			3					
—— De dialectis apud Homerum. Venice. 1525	1			1					
—— Commentarii Graeci in Homerum. 3v. Basle. 1559	4	1					2		1
Fabricius, John Albert. Biblioteca Graeca. 14v. Hamb. 1708–28	16			16					
—— Antiquitatum scriptores	1			1					
Florus, Lucius Annaeus. Epitome rerum Romanorum. Ed. Joh. Stadius.	1		1						
—— "Florus"	1					1			
—— Variorum	1			1					
Fulgentius, Planciades Fabius. Opera	1			1					
Gellius, Aulus. Noctes Atticae. Amst. 1665	1						1		
Graevius?, John George. "Veteres poetae"	1					1			
—— Syntagma variorum dissertationum rariarum. Utrecht. 1702	1							1	
Grotius, Hugo. Excerpta ex tragediis.	8			5		3			
Harpocration, Valerius.	5			5					
Herodotus Halicarnassus. Historiae. Gr. Lat. Frankfort. 1608	6	3					2		1
—— Latine.	3						3		
—— Ed. Peter Wesseling. Amst. 1763	1			1					
—— Ed. Gronovius.	17			6	4	7			
Hesiod. Ed. Schrevelius. Leyden. 1652	1	1							
"Historiae poeticae scriptores antiqui."	1		1						
Holsten, Lucas.... Castigationes in Stephanum Byzantium. Leyden. 1684	1							1	
Homer. Ed. Dacier	6		6						
—— Opera. Ed. Wolf. 5v. Halle. 1794	2			2					
—— Commentary by Eustathius. 3v.	1			1					
—— "Hebraizon" [written in Greek] Ed. Zachary Bogan. Ox. 1658	1	1							
—— Ed. Clarke	5			4	1				
—— Ed. Ogilby (in each case?)	6			1	2	3			
—— Ilias et Odyssea. Basle. 1541. (This edition not certain for Durham.)	3			2			1		
—— Ed. Spondanus.	1			1					
—— Iliad. Gr. Lat. Camb. 1689	3	3							
—— Iliad. Tr. Pope. 1715–	19	2		17					

Greek and Latin, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Homer. Iliad and Odyssey. Tr. Pope. 6v. 1715–20 (same as foregoing). Odyssey alone entered.	7			7					
—— Odyssey. "Cum notis Eustathius"	1			1					
—— Odyssey. Ed. Joshua Barnes. 2v. Camb. 1711	3			3					
Homerus Didymus ["the brazen-bowelled"]	4						4		
Horace. Ed. Dacier (Delph.)	33			14		18	1		
—— Ed. William Baxter. 1701	3	3							
—— Ed. Bentley. Amst. 1713	15	9		3			3		
—— Ed. Duncombe. 2v. 1757	2	2							
—— Ed. Lambe	1			1					
—— Ed. Cantab. Tonson. 1699	1			1					
—— "Cum notis variorum	2			2					
—— Ed "B——"	1			1					
—— "Odes"	1			1					
Isocrates. Orationes a Hieronimo Wolfio. 2v. Paris. 1551	1			1					
Jamblichus. De vita Pythagorae. 1598	3			1		2			
—— De mysteriis.	1					1			
Juvenal. Satires. Ed. Henninius. Utrecht. 1685	1								1
—— Sometimes "Juvenal and Persius." York identifies "Lyon 1498."	16			3		11	1		1
Lipsius, Justus. Ad annales Taciti commentarius. 1588	1					1			
Livy. Sometimes "Roman History Lat." Winchester gives "Delph."	33		7	14	2	10			
—— Ed. Freinshemius.	1			1					
—— Ed. Clericus. 10v. Amst. 1710	1	1							
—— Ed. Drakenborch. 7v. Amst. 1738–46	1							1	
Livy. Frankfort. 1628	1	1							
—— Ed. Crevier. 6v. 1750	2			2					
Longinus, Dionysius. Peri hupses (in Greek letters.) Ed. Zachary Pearce. Gr. Lat. Ox. 1624, 1636	8	2	2	1		3			
Lucan. Pharsalia.	3		2	1					
Lucian. Opera. Ed. Graevius, variorum. 2v.	8			8					
—— Ed. Bourdelot. Gr. Lat. Paris. 1615	4			2			1		1
—— Tr. Thomas Francklin. 2v. 1780	2			2					
—— "Lucian T. 3"	1							1	
Lucretius. Notes by Creech. Ox. 1695	2	2							
—— Delph.?	10			3		7			
Lycophron. Ed. John Potter. Ox. 1697	1	1							
Lysias. Ed. John Taylor. 1739 (Durham only gives edition.)	3			2				1	
Macrobius. Opera. Leyden. 1597	1						1		
—— Leyden. 1628	5			2			3		
Manutius, Aldus. "Ep——la"	1					1			
Manwaring, Edward. Account of classick authors. 1737	2	2							
Martial, M. Valerius. Ed. Thomas Farnabius. Amst. 1676	1	1							
—— Delph.	5					5			
Merula, George. Ed. Cato, Varro, Columella and Palladius. De re rustica. Venice. 1472	1						1		
—— Enarrationes satyrum Juvenalis. Treviso. 1478	2						2		
Meursius, John. "Lect[iones?] Atticae"	2			1			1		
Minutius, Paulus. In epistolam ad Atticum	1						1		
Montfaucon, Bernard de. Palaeographia Graeca. Paris. 1708	11			2	3	3	2		1

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
"Musarum Romanorum"	1			1					
Nepos, Cornelius. Variorum. Frankfort. 1608	5	5							
—— Delph.	6					6			
North, Sir Thomas. Plutarch's Lives from the French of Amyot. 1579	9	3		5			1		
"Opuscula mythologica"	1			1					
Oratorum veterum orationes. Gr. Lat. Paris. 1575	6	1		3	2				
Ovid. Metamorphoses. Delph.	3					1	2		
—— Ed. Burmannius. (some perhaps Delph.)	18			2	1	15			
Pausanias. Ed. Guil. Zylandrius. Hanover. 1613	6	1		4	1				
—— Graeciae descriptio. Frankfort. 1583	2						2		
Petronius Arbiter. Variorum.	1			1					
Phalaris. Epistolae. Gr. Lat. Basle. 1559	1	1							
Philo Judaeus. Opera. Ed. Thos. Mangey. 1742	3	1					1		1
—— Antiquitates biblicae. Lat. Basle. 1526	1	1							
—— Opera. Fr. Lat. Paris. 1640	2	1						1	
Philostratus et alii. Opera. Paris. 1608	2			1			1		
Photius. Biblioteca. 1601	4		1	2		1			
—— Myriobiblon. Geneva. 1611	1						1		
—— Epistolae. 1651	2			2					
—— "Photius"	2			2					
Pindar. Works. Ed. Potter. Gr. Lat. Ox. 1697	6	1		3	2				
—— Carmina	2							2	
—— "Olympia &c" (i.e., Olympiorum hymni). 1527	1			1					
—— Odes. Tr. Gilbert West. 1749	1			1					
Plato. Opera. Ed. J. Serranus. Gr. Lat. 3v. Paris 1578	5	2					3		
—— "Works"	9				2	6			1
—— De rebus [divinis], Dialogi selecti. Canterbury. 1673	3		3						
—— Phaedo.	2		1			1			
—— [Selected dialogues] in English with reflections, etc.	1		1						
—— Ed. Ficinus.	7			4		3			
Plautus. Comoediae. Amst. 1630	11		1	4		5	1		
Pliny. Natural history.	13	1		6	2	3			1
Pliny, the Younger. Panegyricus.	1			1					
—— Epistolae.	4			2			1		1
Plotinus. Opera.	1							1	
Plutarch. Opera. Frankfort. 1620	2						2		
—— Opera. Ed. J. J. Reiske. 12v. Leipzig. 1774–82	7							7	
—— Ed. Bryan.	4			4					
—— "Plutarch 2v. f"	14		1		8	5			
—— "Plutarch"	1		1						
—— "Essays"	4		1	3					
See also Sir Thomas North.									
"Poetae graecae"	1					1			
"Corpus Poematum Latinorum" or "Poetae Latini" same work?	2			2					
"Poetae minores"	1								1
Polybius. Ed Gronovius.	4			1	2	1			
—— Ed. J. Schweighaeuser. 9v. Leipzig. 1789–93	1			1					
—— "Historia"	2						1	1	
Quintilian.	11		1	4	2	1	1		2
—— Declamationes. Ox. 1675	1	1							

Greek and Latin, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Richerius Rhodiginus. Antiqui lectiones. Venice. 1516 (D)	2		1	1					
Reiske, John James. Orationes Graeci. 1770	1							1	
Salmasius, Claudius. De Hellenistica. Leyden. 1644	1	1							
Sallust. Ed. G. Cortius. Leipzig. 1724.	1			1					
—— Ed. J. Waffe. Camb. 1710	2	2							
—— Ed. Havercamp.	3			1	2				
Seneca. Opera. Basle. 1537	1						1		
—— Delph.	6			1	2	3			
—— "Tragedies"	1			1					
—— "Morals"	2		1	1					
—— Epistles.	6			6					
Sidonius Apollinaris.	1					1			
Simplicius. Commentary on Epictetus. Venice. 1546	2			1			1		
Sophocles. Ed. H. Stephenus. 1568	3	1		2					
—— Tragoediae. Heidelberg. 1597	1						1		
—— Ed. A. Brunk	6			6					
—— No title	1							1	
Spanheim, Ezekiel. . . . de emendatis studiis.	1								2
—— Observationes in Callimachum	1							1	
Stobaeus, John. Loci communes sententiarum. Gr. Lat. Frankfort. 1581	9	1		5					3
Suetonius.	14			7	2	5			
Tacitus. Opera. Ed. Lipsius. Antwerp. 1589 (Winchester, Delph.)	21		2	11	3	4	1		
—— Opera. Ed. Gronovius. 2v. Amst. 1672	5	4		1					
—— Variorum. Paris. 1608	1	1							
—— Ed. Brotier. 4v. 1771	7			7					
—— Annales de Tacite.	4							4	
—— Annales. Tr. (?) Rich. Grenewey.	3	1						2	
Terence. Ed. Bentley. Camb. 1726	10	3		7					
—— Delph.	3					3			
—— Variorum. Leyden. 1675	4	2		2					
—— Ed. Haris [sic]. 1724	2			2					
Theocritus. Ed. Daniel Heinsius. 1604	1	1							
—— Ed. Thomas Warton. 2v. Ox. 1770	4			3			1		
—— Tr. Thomas Creech. 1684	1							1	
Theophrastus. Ed. Getty?	1				1				
"Thesaurus antiqu[us?]"	2				2				
Thucydides. Ed. Duker. Amst. 1731	1			1					
—— Gr. Lat.	2						1		1
—— "in Ital" Tr? Fr. di Soldo Strozzi. Venice. 1569	1						1		
—— Tr. Hobbes. 1629	7		2		3	1	1		
—— Tr. Hudson.	13		3	8		2			
—— "Thucydides"	3						3		
Twining, Thomas. Commentary and translation of Poetics of Aristotle. 1789	2	2							
Valerius Maximus.	1					1			
Valesius, Henry. Notae in Harpocrationem. Leyden. 1682	1			1					
Varro, Marcus Terentius. Works	1					1			
Velleius Paterculus.	2		1					1	
Vergil. Cum. comment. Lud. de la Cerda. Leyden. 1619	1	1							
—— Cum Mauri Servii Comm. 1600	1	1							
—— Ed. Masvicius. 3v. Leyden. 1680	2			2					

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
—— Ed. Emmenessius. 3v. Leyden. 1680	6	5		1					
—— Ed. Ogilby. (Winchester, Delph).	28		1	5	6	16			
—— Bucolica et georgica. Cologne. 1628	2						2		
—— With comm. of Guellius. Antwerp. 1566	2						2		
—— "Cantab. ed."	1			1					
—— Not identified.	3			2				1	
—— Tr. Dryden. 1697	16		10	4			1	1	
——— Ed. Fulvius Ursinus, cum Graecis scriptoribus collatus. Antwerp. 1668	1	1							
Victor, Sextus Aurelius. Delph.	1					1			
Wood, Robert. Essay on the original genius and writings of Homer. 1775	2			2					
Xenophon Ephesius.	1			1					
Xenophon. Gr. Lat.	15			4	3	8			
—— Opera. 5v. Ox. 1703	5	3					2		
—— Not identified.	6			2			3	1	

LANGUAGE, DICTIONARIES, ETC

Dictionnaire de l'académie Francoise. 4 tom. Paris. 1694, etc.	8	8							
Ainsworth, Robert. Dictionary of the Latin tongue. 1736	46	21		6	4		15		
Alberti, John. Glossarium graecum. Leyden	1							1	
Amydeus? Hebrew grammar.	1			1					
Apollonius Grammaticus. De constructione. Venice. 1495	1	1							
Baret, John. An alvearie, or quadruple dictionary. 1573	2			2					
Barretti, Joseph. Dictionary of the English and Italian languages. 2v. 1760	2			2					
Beattie, James. Theory of language. 2v. 1790–93	1			1					
Beveridge, William. De linguarum orientalium . . . praestantia. 1658	1								1
Bos, Lambert de. Mysterii ellipsios graecae expositi specimen. Frankfort. 1702	3			2			1		
Budaeus, William. Commentarii linguae graecae. Paris. 1529	5			5					
Burnet, James, Lord Monboddo. "vol 1st" (Metaphysics or Language?)	1			1					
Buxtorf, John. Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmud. & Rabbinicum. Basle. 1639	3	3							
—— Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum. 1646	12	1	1	1	9				
—— Concordantia hebraica. Basle. 1632	4			4					
—— De abbreviationis Hebraicis. Basle. 1640	1								1
—— Thesaurus grammaticus linguae hebraiae. Basle. 1609	1			1					
—— Concordantiae bibliorum Hebraicae et Chaldaicae. Basle. 1632	1					1			
—— De abbreviaturis Hebraicis recensio. Basle. 1613	1		1						
—— Epitome of the Hebrew grammar. Tr from Latin. 1656	2		2						
—— Synagoga judaica. 1604	1		1						
Buxtorf, John, Jr. Dissertationes philologicae. Basle. 1645	1			1					
Calasius, Marius. Concordantiae bibliorum Heb. et Lat. 4v. 1747	3			3					

Language, Dictionaries, etc, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Calepin, Ambrose. Dictionarium IX linguarum 2v. Leyden. 1654	1								1
—— Dictionarium 11 Linguarum. Basle.	1	1							
Calliergus, Zacharias. Etymologicon magnum. Venice. 1499	2			2					
Calmet, Augustine. Dictionnaire historique, critique, etc. 4v. Paris. 1730	3						3		
Castell, Edmund. Lexicon heptaglottum. 2v. 1669	6		2	3	1				
Cattier, Philip. Gazophylacium Graecorum vocabulorum. Paris. 1651	1	1							
Cellarius, Christopher. Grammatica Ebraea. Zeitz. 1681	1	1							
Chambers, Ephraim. Encyclopedia. Ed. Rees. 2v. 1738. (Some entries apparently for 5 vol. edition.)	26	2		11	1	8	4		
—— Supplement.	3			3					
Constantin, Robert. Lexicon, Greek and Latin. 1562	6				1	4	1		
Cooper, Thomas. Thesaurus linguae romanae et britannicae. 1578	3						2	1	
Cotgrave, Randle. Dictionary of the French and English tongues. 1611	8	7						1	
Crenius, Thomas. Thesaurus librorum philologicorum. 2v. Ox. 1696	2			2					
—— Musaeum philologicum et historicum. 2v. Leyden. 1699	1			1					
—— Fasciculus "vol. 4"	3			3					
General dictionary. 10v. 1734	3	3							
Dictionarium linguae Latinae et Anglicanae. "(Deficit titulus)"	1	1							
Dasypodius, Peter. Dictionarium Latino-Germanicum. Frankfort. 1653	1	1							
Dieteric?, John Conrad. Lexicon etymologico-Graecum.	1			1					
Fresne, Charles du Cange du. Greek glossary of the middle age. 2v. Leyden. 1688	3					3			
Fresne, Charles du Cange du. Glossary of low Latin. 3v. Paris. 1678	8					3	3	2	
Florio, John. World of words. 1598	4	2					2		
"French Dictionary"	1		1						
Gally, Henry. Dissertation against pronouncing the Greek language according to accents. 1754	1			1					
Gesner, John Matthew. Novus linguae et eruditionis Romanae thesaurus. 2v. Leipzig. 1749	3					3			
Gill, Alexander. Logonomia Anglica. 1621	1	1							
Glassius, Solomon. Philologiae sacrae. Jena. 1623	2		1						1
"A grammar for the Eastern languages" (Perhaps: Simili instituionem . . . by James Alting. Frankfort. 1717?)	1								1
Grant, Edward. Lexicon Graeco-Latinum. 1581	1	1							
Gunther?, ———. Latinitas restituta.	1			1					
Harris, John. Lexicon technicum. 2v. 1704–10	3			3					
"Hebrew Dictionary"	1				1				
"3 Hebrew Grammars"	1		1						
Hedericus, Benjamin. Graecum lexicon manuale. Leipzig. 1722	18			10			8		
Heidegger, John Henry. Enchiridion biblicum. Amst. 1688	1								1

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	Ξ	P
Hesychius (Alexandria). Dictionarium graecum. 1668	7			6				1	
Hoffman, John James. Lexicon universale. 2v. Geneva. 1677	1							1	
Holyoake, Francis. Dictionarium etymologicum Latinum. 1606	7	3		2			2		
Hottinger, John Henry. Thesaurus philologicus. Zurich. 1659	2	1							1
Hulsius, Anton. Nomenclator biblicus Hebraeo-Latinus. Breda. 1650	1					1			
Hyde, Thomas. Syntagma dissertationum. 1767	2					2			
"Inventaire des T——— langues"	1			1					
"Italian dictionary"	1						1		
Johnson, Samuel. Dictionary. 2v. 1755	10			8			1	1	
Kircherus, Conrad. Concordantiae veteris testamenti Graecae. Frankfort. 1607	1						1		
Kusterus, Ludolph. De vero usu verborum meddiorum apud Graecos. Paris. 1714	2			2					
"Latin dictionary"	1			1					
"Linguae Graecae historia"	1								1
Littleton, Adam. Latin-English and English-Latin dictionary. 1678	12			3		8		1	
Lye, Edward. Dictionarium Saxonico et Gothico-Latinum. 2v. 1772	2			2					
—— Etymologicum anglicanum. Ed. Francis Junius. 1743	1			1					
Mabillon, John. De re diplomatica. Paris. 1681	5			2			3		
Mascleff, Francis. Hebrew grammar. 1716	12	12							
Miege-Guy. French dictionary	8			5				3	
Minsheu, John. Dictionary in Spanish and English. 1623	2	2							
Munster, Sebastian. Dictionarium trilinguae Lat. Gr. and Heb. Basle. 1530	1						1		
Parkhurst, John. Greek and English lexicon. 1792	5	4					1		
Perret, Clement. Exercitatio alphabetica. 1569	1	1							
Pollux, Julius. Onomasticon, or Greek vocabulary.	4			4					
"Radices ling Hebrae —"	1					1			
Richelet, Pierre. Dictionnaire François. Geneve. 1710	4	4							
Rider, John. Dictionarium, Latine et Anglice. Ox. 1589	1						1		
Sanchez (or Sanctius), Francis. Minerva; seu de causis linguae Latinae. Salamanca. 1587	1			1					
Scapula, John. Lexicon, Graeco-Latinum. Many editions: Geneva, Basle, etc.	43	17	6	11		7	2		
Schindler, Valentine. Lexicon pentaglotton. 1635	3		1			1			1
Schleusner, J. F. Novum lexicon Graeco-Latinum in N. T. 2v. Leipzig. 1791–1801	1						1		
Sharp, Thomas? Discourses on the antiquity of the Hebrew tongue and character. 1756	1			1					
Skinner, Stephen. Etymologicon linguae anglicanae. 1671	6					6			
Somner, William. Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum. Ox. 1659	12	10	1					1	
—— Lexicon Saxonicum Latino-Anglicanum. Partly by Thomas Benson. 1701	1			1					
Spalen?, ———. Tauscher sprachschatz.	1			1					
Spelman, Sir Henry. Glossarium archaiologicum. 1626	13	5	2	1			5		

Language, Dictionaries, etc, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Stephanus, Charles. Dictionarium Latino-Graecum. Paris. 1554	2			1			1		
—— Dictionarium historicum geographicum. Ox. 1670	2	2							
Stephanus, Henry. Thesaurus linguae Graecae. 4v. Paris and Geneva. 1572	6	1			2	3			
Stephanus, ———. "Concordantia Graec—" or "opera"	6			3		3			
Stevens, Capt. John. Spanish and English dictionary. 1706	1			1					
Suidas. Greek lexicon. Ed. Kusterus. 3v. Camb. 1705	7			6		1			
Sylburgius, Frederic. Etymologicum magnum.	2			2					
Torriano, Giovanni. Florio's Italian dictionarie. An emendation. 1659	2			2					
Veneroni, Giovanni. Dictionnaire Italien et François. 1723	1			1					
Vossius, Isaac. Etymologicon linguae Latinae. Amst. 1662	1		1						
Walther, George Christopher. Lexicon diplomaticum. Ulm. 1756	5	5							
Walton, Bryan. Introductio ad lectionem linguarum orientalium. 1655	1								1
Ward, William. An essay on grammar. 1765	2			2					
Wilson, Thomas. A Christian dictionary of the chief words in the Old and New Testament. 1622	2				1	1			

(To be continued)

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

President, GILBERT W. CHAPMAN
First Vice-President, ROY E. LARSEN
Second Vice-President, JOHN M. SCHIFF
Secretary, BETHUEL M. WEBSTER
Treasurer, GRANT KEEHN
Assistant Treasurer, UNITED STATES TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK
Director, EDWARD G. FREEHAFER
MRS VINCENT ASTOR
C. WALLER BARRETT
MORRIS HADLEY
ARTHUR A. HOUGHTON, JR
DONALD F. HYDE
DEVEREUX C. JOSEPHS
MRS MILLICENT C. McINTOSH
NEWBOLD MORRIS
THOMAS L. PERKINS
ROLAND L. REDMOND
DAVID A. SHEPARD
FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN
NORMAN H. STROUSE
WALTER N. THAYER
MRS ARNOLD WHITRIDGE

THE MAYOR, THE COMPTROLLER, AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, *ex officio*

HONORARY TRUSTEE
ELIHU ROOT, JR

STAFF OFFICERS

DIRECTOR, Edward G. Freehafer
DEPUTY DIRECTOR, John Mackenzie Cory
ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR, James Wood Henderson (Actng)
CHIEF OF ACCOUNTING OFFICE, Mrs Angela M. Lyons
EXECUTIVE OFFICER, Bayard Schieffelin
CHIEF OF THE PERSONNEL OFFICE, Alan L. Heyneman
CHIEF OF THE PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICE, Miss Marion L. Simmons

REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

Central Building, Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street. Annex, 521 West 43rd Street
JAMES WOOD HENDERSON, Chief

EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT, Gilbert A. Cam
AMERICAN HISTORY AND GENEALOGY DIVISION, Gerald D. McDonald, Chief
ANNEX REFERENCE SERVICES, 521 West 43rd Street, Saro John Riccardi, Chief
ARENTS COLLECTIONS, John D. Gordan, Acting Chief
ART AND ARCHITECTURE DIVISION, Karl Kup, Chief
BERG COLLECTION, John D. Gordan, Chief
BOOK DELIVERY DIVISION, David C. Maclay, Chief
DANCE COLLECTION, Miss Genevieve Oswald, Curator
ECONOMICS DIVISION, John Fall, Chief
INFORMATION DIVISION, Archibald P. DeWeese, Chief
JEWISH DIVISION, Abraham Berger, Chief
MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, Robert W. Hill, Keeper of Manuscripts
MAP DIVISION, Gerard L. Alexander, Chief
MUSIC DIVISION, Philip L. Miller, Chief
ORIENTAL DIVISON, John L. Mish, Chief
PERIODICALS DIVISION, Barron M. Franz, Chief
PREPARATION DIVISION, Robert E. Kingery, Chief
PRINTS DIVISION, Karl Kup, Chief
RARE BOOK DIVISION, Lewis M. Stark, Chief
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY DIVISION, George S. Bonn, Chief
SLAVONIC DIVISION, John L. Mish, Chief
SPENCER COLLECTION, Karl Kup, Adviser
THEATRE COLLECTION, George Freedley, Curator

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

Headquarters: Donnell Library Center, 20 West 53rd Street, New York, N. Y. 10019
MRS JEAN ORTH GODFREY, Chief

ASSISTANT CHIEF, Miss Mary Dana
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES, Mrs Julia Brody, Coordinator
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT, Mrs Dorothy Homer
BOOK ORDERING AND PROCESSING,
CATALOGING, Mrs Sydney G. Marcu, Coordinator
ADULT SERVICES, Miss Katherine L. O'Brien, Coordinator
CHILDREN'S SERVICES, Mrs Augusta Baker, Coordinator
YOUNG ADULT SERVICES, Miss Margaret Scoggin, Coordinator
MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES & RECORDS CENTER, James Katsaros, Administrator

LIST OF BRANCHES AND LIBRARIANS

MANHATTAN

COORDINATOR, Miss Casindania Eaton

ASSISTANT COORDINATOR, Walter Roziewski

AGUILAR. 174 East 110th Street.
Miss Marie Ferrigno

BLOOMINGDALE REGIONAL. 150 West 100th Street.
Miss Erna Obermeier

CATHEDRAL. 564 Lexington Avenue.
Robert Powers

CENTRAL CHILDREN'S ROOM. Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street.
Miss Maria Cimino

CENTRAL CIRCULATION. Fifth Ave. & 42nd St.
Miss Mary C. Hatch

CHATHAM SQUARE. 33 East Broadway.
Miss Virginia Swift

COLUMBIA. Room 101, Butler Lib., Col. Univ.
John Slade

COLUMBUS. 742 Tenth Avenue.
Miss Eliza Perry

COUNTEE CULLEN REGIONAL. 104 West 136th Street.
Miss Esther Walls

DONNELL LIBRARY CENTER. 20 West 53rd Street.
Miss Loda Hopkins

EPIPHANY. 228 East 23rd Street.
Miss Regina Sludock

FIFTY-EIGHTH STREET. 127 East 58th Street.
Raymond Harris

FORT WASHINGTON REGIONAL. 535 West 179th Street.
Mrs Winifred Carruthers

GEORGE BRUCE. 518 West 125th Street.
Howard Rickert

HAMILTON FISH PARK. 415 East Houston St.
Mrs Mary Pieper

HAMILTON GRANGE. 503 West 145th Street.
Mrs Dorothy Pitman

HARLEM LIBRARY. 9 West 124th Street.
Mrs Rosa C. Brown

HUDSON PARK. 10 Seventh Avenue South.
Mrs Alice Vielehr

INWOOD REGIONAL. 4790 Broadway.
Miss Clara Rees

JACKSON SQUARE. 251 West 13th Street.
Miss Ruth Shinnamon

LIBRARY FOR THE BLIND. 166 Avenue of the Americas.
Miss Charlotte C. Harrison

MACOMB'S BRIDGE. 2650 Seventh Avenue.

MUHLENBERG. 209 West 23rd Street.
Miss Alice McQuaid

MUNICIPAL REFERENCE LIBRARY. 2230 Municipal Building.
Eugene Bockman

Public Health Division. 125 Worth Street. Room 224

MUSIC LIBRARY. 127 East 58th Street.
Mrs Catharine K. Miller

NATHAN STRAUS. 20 West 53rd Street.
Miss Elizabeth A. Boyle

NINETY-SIXTH STREET REGIONAL. 112 East 96th Street.
Miss Irene Patjens

115TH STREET. 203 West 115th Street.
Miss Anne Judge

125TH STREET. 224 East 125th Street.
Miss Virginia Swift

OTTENDORFER. 135 Second Avenue.
Miss Mercy Kellogg

PICTURE COLLECTION. Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street.
Miss Romana Javitz

RIVERSIDE. 190 Amsterdam Avenue.
Miss Myrtle Reynolds

ST AGNES REGIONAL. 444 Amsterdam Ave.
Miss Dorothy Cobb

SCHOMBURG COLLECTION. 103 West 135th Street.
Mrs Jean Blackwell Hutson

SEWARD PARK. 192 East Broadway.
Miss Joan Treble

SIXTY-SEVENTH STREET. 328 East 67th St.
Mrs Margarethe Kortenbeutel Voorhis

TOMPKINS SQUARE REGIONAL. 331 East 10th Street.
Mrs Alice Alexander

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS. 1000 St Nicholas Avenue.
Mrs Regina M. Andrews

WEBSTER. 1465 York Avenue.
Miss Edna Thomson

YORKVILLE. 222 East 79th Street.
Miss Emily Davis

THE BRONX

COORDINATOR, Gerald Gold

ASSISTANT COORDINATOR, Miss Mary Barrett

ALLERTON. 2740 Barnes Avenue.
Miss Grace Lijma

BRONX BOOKMOBILES. 321 East 140th Street.
Mrs Mabel Bell

CASTLE HILL. 2220 Cincinnatus Avenue.
Philip Wolcoff

CITY ISLAND. 325 City Island Avenue.
Mrs Stella Webber

MARCH 1964

BULLETIN
OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

BULLETIN OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

VOLUME 68 MARCH 1964 NUMBER 3

CONTENTS

FRONT MATTER:

A NEW LIBRARY 139

THE GAELIC REVIVAL 139

GALA DANCE BENEFIT 140

THE ARENTS COLLECTION OF BOOKS IN PARTS AND ASSOCIATED LITERATURE: A SUPPLEMENT TO THE CHECKLIST, 1957–1963 (PART I) BY PERRY O'NEIL 141

ROBERT HUNTER'S *ANDROBOROS* BY LAWRENCE H. LEDER 153

ANDROBOROS: A B<I>OGRAPHICAL FARCE BY [GOVERNOR ROBERT HUNTER] 161

READING VOGUES AT ENGLISH CATHEDRAL LIBRARIES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (PART IV, CONCLUSION) BY PAUL KAUFMAN 191

EXHIBITIONS IN THE CENTRAL BUILDING 206

On the cover: "Scotch Fur," an excellent example from the early period of lithography, drawn by George Harley as Plate No 3 from Part 1 of his *Portraits of Trees* (London 1821), item number 54 in the Supplement to the Checklist of the Arents Collection of Books in Parts (beginning on p 141).

Printed and published monthly except July and August, by The New York Public Library at Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10018. Subscription $3.00 a year, single numbers 30 cents.

Editor, DAVID V. ERDMAN, WILLIAM L. COAKLEY, *Editorial Assistant*

Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y. March, 1964. Volume 68. Number 3.

form p5 [111-10-64 19c]

Front Matter

A New Library

Last month The New York Public Library confirmed plans developed with the cooperation of the City of New York and with City support for a new Mid-Manhattan library primarily for college students and general adult use. Although detailed plans are not yet available, funds for purchase of the initial book collection have been proposed by Mayor Wagner for inclusion in the City Capital Budget for 1964/65. The new facility is planned for opening in 1966 at 40th Street and Fifth Avenue, in part of the library-owned building which is occupied by Arnold Constable & Company.

The new library would be similar in nature to the central public libraries of other cities. Although its collections will be about one-tenth those of the Research Library in size, they will include reference and informational materials considerably broader in scope and much larger in size than those of branch libraries.

Plans for the new library call for an initial book stock, incorporating that of the Central Circulation Branch numbering 90,000 volumes, of about 300,000 volumes. A notable segment of the collection, essential for student use and frequently not available in sufficient scope in individual college libraries, would consist of back files of periodicals, learned society journals, and government publications. These are the types of materials most often needed for individual investigations, reports, or papers as distinct from general, class-assigned readings.

Most of the books, arranged in broad subject categories, would be directly accessible on open shelves. Duplicate copies of books, in limited quantity, would be available for reference or for home use. Seats would accommodate some 1,000 readers.

The new library is expected to serve the college student and general reader more satisfactorily than the Central Research Library. In the Central Building, the vast collections of more than 4,000,000 volumes are mostly in closed stacks, and are obtainable only through consultation of the massive catalogue containing more than 8,000,000 cards. The Central Research Library, furthermore, is frequently overcrowded and constantly beset by the problem of maintaining for present use and preserving for the future research materials, many of which are scarce and subject to physical deterioration. The new facility would allow the Research Library to serve more satisfactorily the professional, business, and industrial research needs of the community as well as the needs of advanced students whose requirements cannot be met elsewhere.

The idea of such new service has been advocated repeatedly over a period of years in a number of studies designed to identify the ways in which the Library's services should be extended or otherwise modified in the public interest.

The Gaelic Revival

A colorful collection of Gaelic books, representing almost everything of importance in the language published in Ireland since 1940, will be featured in the exhibition beginning March 13 in the Main Lobby of Central Building. The new acquisition of over 500 titles gives the Library perhaps the most comprehensive and up-to-date Gaelic collection in the United States, now

containing most of the materials printed in Gaelic since the modern revival of the language in 1920.

Both current and out-of-print books will be displayed, ranging from classics and scholarly works such as the recent Gaelic translation of *The Divine Comedy*, to Gaelic paperback translations of American westerns. There will be works by Ireland's famed playwrights, from J. M. Synge to Brendan Behan, poetry, textbooks, novels, history, children's books, mystery stories, religious books, and musical scores; and, in addition, phonograph records of Gaelic poetry and music.

Accompanying the books in the exhibition will be photographs of the "Gaeltacht" (the western districts of Ireland where Gaelic is the principal language), numerous posters and playbills, and photographs of festivals and theatrical productions and of Gaelic authors and actors.

The new material was acquired from Irish publishers, government printing offices, and private collections by Robert E. Kingery, special assistant to the Director, and Marguerite von Geyr, administrative associate of the Library. Following the exhibition, which closes April 15, the material will become part of special collections of the Library, such as the Theatre Collection, the Music Division, and the Central Children's Room.

The Library's now greatly augmented Gaelic holdings will continue to be of interest to linguists and Gaelic scholars, and to New York City's large population of Irish extraction, one that exceeds that of Dublin itself.

Gala Dance Benefit

Circle Wednesday, April 29, on your engagement calendar. On that evening, the New York City Ballet will be giving a special performance in honor of the Library's Dance Collection (this year celebrating its twentieth anniversary). The festive occasion, one of the first during opening week at Lincoln Center's new New York State Theatre, will feature new and recent works of the company. The proceeds will be used to help the Dance Collection prepare for its move to the Library & Museum of the Performing Arts at Lincoln Center.

The benefit is sponsored by the Committee for the Dance Collection whose Chairman is Mrs Edmundo Lassalle; Mrs Gilbert A. Chapman and Mrs Arthur A. Houghton Jr are Chairmen for the Benefit. Ticket information may be obtained from Mrs Gillette Boland, 232 East 62nd Street, TEmpleton 8–7138.

Formed six years ago, the Committee for the Dance Collection was organized to help meet the ever-increasing demands made upon the Collection's services and resources. Funds raised by the group have made possible the acquisition of rare and important materials. This Anniversary Benefit will enable the Committee to continue its acquisition program and to sponsor other significant events.

Frontispiece from Part 1 of Fries, Nachtmann, and Kürzinger's *Quadrilles Parées Costumées* (Munich 1835), item 46. *Arents Collections*

"The Collier," an aquatint dated August 1 1813 (apparently the first English plate to picture a steam engine), Plate 3 from Part 1 of George Walker's *The Costume of Yorkshire* (London 1814), item 115.

Arents Collections

No. 2.] [*To be continued occasionally.*

FLOREAT ETONA.

PUBLISHED BY JAMES WYATT AND SON, HIGH STREET, OXFORD, MARCH, 1841

Price 1s. 6d.

Contents of No. 3.

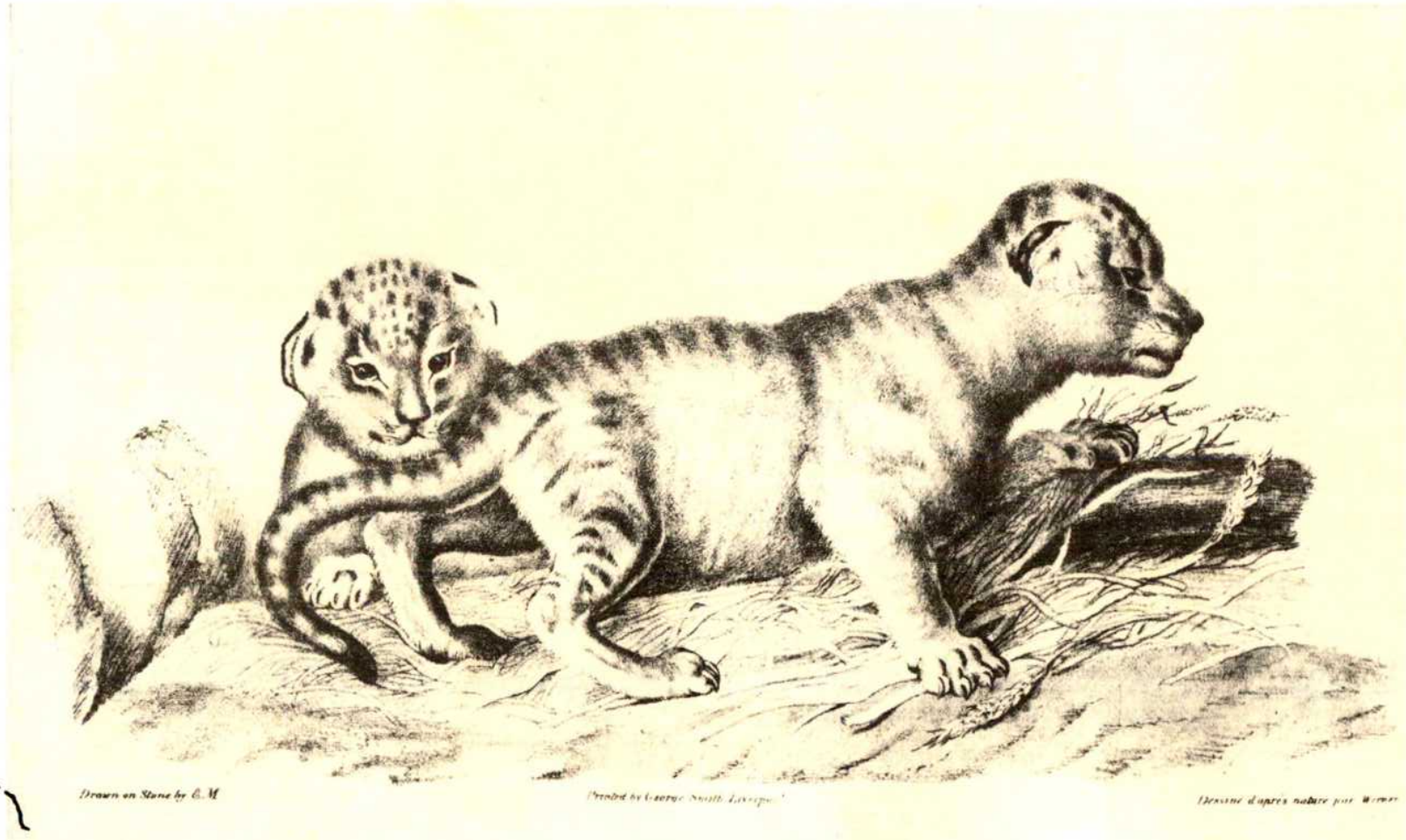
EPOCH 2. THE FOURTH FORM.

Plate 1. Six o'Clock Lesson.
2. Long Morning.
3. Booking for the Fourth Form.
4. Fagging, or "Laying Things."

Mrs J. Smith
from the author

Wrapper of No 2 of *Floreat Etona. Eton Sketch'd* by Quis? (Oxford 1841), item 90.

Arents Collections



"Lions Cubs," a lithograph from a drawing by M. Werner, from Part 7 of M. Huet Junior and Senior, and M. Werner's *Animals Drawn on Stone* (Liverpool [1850?]), item 63.

Arents Collections

The Arents Collection of Books in Parts and Associated Literature

A Supplement to the Checklist, 1957–1963

By Perry O'Neil
Arents Collections

PART I

"THE FIELD IS WIDE for adding to the Arents Collection, and it is happy hunting in the greatest of all sports," wrote Sarah Augusta Dickson at the close of the introductory survey of the original checklist of the books in parts published by The New York Public Library in 1957. It has indeed been "happy hunting" during the years that have followed. The purpose of this supplement is to make known the additions to the collection since 1957. With the death of Mr George Arents on December 13 1960, and the retirement of Dr Dickson as Curator in 1962, the collection lost irreplaceable sources of inspiration and guidance. It was indeed fortunate that Dr John D. Gordan was willing, as Acting Chief, to lend his immense scholarship and rich experience to assure the continuing growth of the collection.

There is no need to repeat the reasons why Mr Arents started to collect books in parts in 1923. Their definition and the scope of the collection were all amply covered by Dr Dickson in her original introduction. The wide diversity of the literature which was issued in parts is well known, and the collection represents almost every type of book, author, and subject (including chemistry, absent from the last listing). It is still the belief, as it was in 1957, that this is the only collection assembled on the principle that the books therein appeared serially, over a period of time, in separate parts, and are still in their original state.

It was not at first the intent to collect works in foreign languages printed on the continent of Europe, but during the last few years of his life Mr Arents gradually expanded the acquisition policy in that direction. The collection remains a predominantly English language collection, but increasing attention is now given to publications in other languages and of foreign imprint. The growth of the collection since 1957 has been necessarily slow. Works surviving unbound and complete as issued are few and hard to find. Yet several items of interest have been acquired in this period, including *Harper's Illuminated and New Pictorial Bible*; *Ichthyology of South Caro-*

lina, by John E. Holbrook; *A Natural History of Cage Birds*, by J. G. Keulemans; *L'Antotrofia Ossia la Coltivazione De'Fiori*, by Antonio Piccioli; *Life in the New World*, by Charles Sealsfield; *Deliciae Florae et Faunae Insubricae*, by Giovanni A. Scopoli; *Abbildungen zür Natürgeschichte Brasiliens*, by Prince Maxmilian Alexander Philipp von Wied-Neuwied; and *Les Roses*, by Pierre-Joseph Redouté.

In the present supplement the subject arrangement of the earlier lists has been dropped and no attempt has been made to class the items. Instead two separately numbered alphabetical arrangements have been used, one listing books in parts, the other their associated literature. In our definition of the material suitable for inclusion in the collection we give a very broad meaning to the word "associated," and in this section will be found manuscripts, autograph letters, original drawings, steel plates, diaries, and other kinds of material related in one way or another to the books in the primary list. Instead of the two indexes of the 1957 list, there will now be, in the separate publication of this list, a single general index covering both sections.

As this is, after all, a checklist, a complete bibliographic description of each work is not to be found in it, nor such matters as priority of issue or edition, or state of text. Names of authors and artists are given when ascertained, as are the number and type of illustrations. The condition of the parts, whether in wrappers or boards, is briefly noted. It has not seemed necessary — in a collection where all of the items are of the utmost rarity, as Dr Dickson observed — to keep repeating such phrases as "of the greatest rarity" or "unknown to bibliographers." Some information which is included may seem outside the scope of the normal checklist, but this is the working catalogue of the collection.

I cannot recall ever using a bibliography or checklist whose compiler did not point out the possibility of errors occurring in the work, and I will indeed be no exception. To anyone suffering from overconfidence or a lack of modesty, I would heartily recommend the chastening effect of cataloguing an assemblage of books in parts.

No compiler works alone, and I would like to thank my colleagues at The New York Public Library who have been sources of aid and information, particularly, Mr William Hanaway, Rare Book Cataloguer, Mr Wilson Duprey, Prints Division, and Mr Lewis M. Stark, Rare Book Division. To Dr Dickson I owe much in many ways, but in this instance I am indebted to her for what little I may know about books in parts. Finally, I would like to add special thanks to Dr John D. Gordan for his constant support and guidance. The aid is theirs and I am grateful; the errors are my own.

Books in Parts *

1 À Beckett, Gilbert Abbott. *À Beckett's Comic Blackstone. An Entirely New Illustrated Edition Revised and Extended by Arthur William À Beckett of Gray's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. With Illustrations in Colour and Otherwise by Harry Furniss.* London, Bradbury, Agnew, and Co 1886–1887.

9 parts, issued irregularly; 8vo; illustrated paper wrappers. 10 colored plates and 16 woodcuts by Harry Furniss. The Arents set lacks Part 9 with its two colored plates.

2 Alken, Henry. *Moments of Fancy and Whim.* London, Thomas M'Lean 1823.

2 parts, issued irregularly; oblong, size of engraved surface: 9½ x 13½ inches; paper wrappers. 14 colored plates by Henry Alken.

Tooley: n 40.

3 Angas, George French. *South Australia Illustrated.* London, Thomas M'Lean 1846–1847.

10 parts, issued bi-monthly with some irregularity; folio; paper wrappers with lithographed replica of the pictorial title-page in sepia, red cloth back strips. Lithographed title-page in color by W. Hawkins, and 60 colored lithographs by George French Angas, T. S. Gill, J. W. Giles and William Wing.

Abbey, *Travel*: Vol 2, n 577. Ferguson: n 4457. Tooley: n 63.

4 Arabian Nights, *English. The Thousand and One Nights, Commonly Called, in England, The Arabian Nights' Entertainments. A New Translation from the Arabic, with Copious Notes. By Edward William Lane. Illustrated by Many Hundred Engravings on Wood, from Original Designs by William Harvey.* London, Charles Knight and Co 1838–1841.

32 parts, issued monthly; 8vo; printed paper wrappers, with title in Arabic in the corners. Engraved title-page and several hundred wood engravings after designs by William Harvey. List of engravers is given at the end of each part and each volume.

5 Audubon, John James. *The Birds of America, from Drawings Made in the United States and Their Territories.* New York, J. J. Audubon, Printed by E. G. Dorsey 1840–1844.

100 parts, issued bi-weekly; 8vo; blue paper wrappers. 500 colored plates from drawings by J. J. Audubon, lithographed and printed by J. T. Bowen. The Arents set lacks Parts 3, 83, 90–100, with their corresponding plates.

Blanck: p 832. Herrick: p 404–405. Nissen, *Vogelbücher*: n 50.

6 [Barbauld, Anna Letitia (Aitkin)] *Lessons for Children.* London, J. Johnson 1791, 1788. [Part 4]

4 parts, issued irregularly; 16mo; paper wrappers with printed labels. In cloth case. Part 1 has title: *Lessons for Children from Two to Three Years Old*; Parts 2 and 3 have title: *Lessons for Children of Three Years Old*; Part 4 has title: *Lessons for Children from Three to Four Years Old.* Each part has an inscription: "Mary Anne and Isabella Ormston's book – January 1st, 1793." From the collection of Lansing Beach.

Gumuchian: *cf* n 460. Toronto: *cf* p 108.

* Following most items in the checklist, there are abbreviated references to the list of sources in the forthcoming separate publication of the checklist. This separate, complete with index, will be available in late April at $1.00 from Public Relations Office, The New York Public Library, Fifth Ave & 42nd St, New York, N.Y. 10018.

7 Barton, William Paul Crillon. *Vegetable Materia Medica of the United States; or, Medical Botany: Containing a Botanical, General, and Medical History, of Medicinal Plants Indigenous to the United States.* Philadelphia, M. Carey and Son 1817–1819.

8 parts in 7, issued irregularly; 4to; paper wrappers, with portfolios, each with printed labels, supplied by the publisher for Vols 1 and 2. 50 hand-colored plates from drawings by William P. C. Barton and engraved by Benjamin Tanner, J. Boyd, J. G. Warnicke, and Vallance, Kearny, and Company.

Nissen: n 85.

8 Beattie, William *Switzerland. Illustrated in a Series of Views Taken Expressly for this Work by W. H. Bartlett, Esq.* London, George Virtue 1835–1836.

27 parts, issued monthly; 4to; paper wrappers. 108 steel engravings under the supervision of Robert Wallis from originals by William Henry Bartlett, including 1 map drawn and engraved by T. Starling. Cover missing from Part 16.

9 Beattie, William. *The Waldenses, or Protestant Valleys of Piedmont and Dauphiny.* London, George Virtue 1836–1838.

18 parts, numbered 28–45, issued monthly; 4to; paper wrappers. 72 steel engravings under the supervision of Robert Wallis from originals by William Henry Brockedon, including a portrait of Beattie by John Rogers after Henry Room, and 1 map drawn and engraved by T. Starling.

This and the preceding item are 2 separate works although all 45 parts have the same wrappers, with the title "Switzerland," and are numbered consecutively.

10 Bible. *The Family Devotional Bible Containing the Commentary of Rev. Matthew Henry.* London, The London Printing and Publishing Co [1835?]

42 parts, issued bi-weekly, with the first 3 parts issued weekly; folio; paper wrappers. 42 steel engravings, including 1 map drawn and engraved by W. Hughes.

Hills: *cf* n 891.

11 Bible. *Harper's Illuminated and New Pictorial Bible.* New York, Harper and Brothers 1843–1846.

54 parts, issued irregularly; folio; engraved paper wrappers. Over 1,600 engravings, many taken in electrotype from a woodcut, by J. A. Adams. More than 1,400 are from original designs by J. G. Chapman. Covers missing from Parts 25 and 47, some others incorrectly numbered in the Arents set.

Hills: n 1161.

12 Bigelow, Jacob. *American Medical Botany, Being a Collection of the Native Medicinal Plants of the United States, Containing Their Botanical History and Chemical Analysis, and Properties and Uses in Medicine, Diet and the Arts, with Coloured Engravings.* Boston; Cummings and Hilliard 1817–1820.

6 parts, issued irregularly; 8vo; boards. 60 colored plates mostly by W. B. Annin after drawings by Jacob Bigelow.

Nissen: n 164.

13 Blanchard, Emile. *La Zoologie Agricole. Ouvrage Comprenant l'Histoire Entière des Animaux Nuisibles et des Animaux Utiles.* Paris, V. Masson 1854–1855.

15 parts, issued irregularly; large 8vo; paper wrappers. 21 colored engravings, a few signed "Geny-Gros," after designs by Emile Blanchard. The Arents set is apparently complete since no further parts were issued after Part 15.

14 Boswell, James. *The Life of Samuel Johnson. Newly Edited by Roger Ingpen.* London, Isaac Pitman and Sons 1906–1907.

13 parts, issued monthly, including supplementary part; 4to; paper wrappers, in 2 cloth cases as issued by the publisher. 568 illustrations including 12 photogravures and facsimiles.

15 Bowen, Frank Charles. *The Sea: Its History and Romance.* London, Halton and Truscott Smith 1924–1926.

16 parts, issued monthly; 4to; pictorial paper wrappers in various colors by E. A. Cox. Numerous color plates and woodcuts, including 1 folding map and 1 star chart.

16 Bradshaw, T. *Views in the Mauritius, or Isle of France, Drawn on Stone by William Rider, of Leamington; from the Originals by T. Bradshaw, Esq. Late of His Majesty's Civil Service in the Mauritius. With an Account of the Island and Description of Each View.* London, James Carpenter and Son 1831–1832.

10 parts, issued bi-monthly; folio; buff paper wrappers. 40 lithographic plates, drawn on stone by William Rider from the originals by T. Bradshaw. 1 of 27 sets on India proof paper.

Abbey, *Travel*: Vol 1, n 295.

17 *British Artists at the Front. With Introduction by Campbell Dodgson and C. E. Montague.* London, Published from the Office of "Country Life" Ltd 1918.

4 parts, issued monthly; 4to; pictorial paper wrappers. 15 illustrations by C. R. W. Nevinson; 15 illustrations by Sir John Lavery; 15 illustrations by Paul Nash; and 17 illustrations by Eric Kennington. No more published after Part 4.

18 Buller, Walter Lawry. *A History of the Birds of New Zealand.* London, Taylor and Francis 1887–1888.

13 parts in 8, issued quarterly; large 4to; paper wrappers. 50 lithographed plates in color, executed from drawings on stone by J. G. Keulemans and F. Van Iterson, plus numerous black and white lithographs. Limited edition of 1,000 copies.

Sitwell: see p 64 for 1873 bound edition.

19 Calhoun, Newell Meeker. *Picturesque Litchfield County.* Chicago, The Gravure Illustration Co 1900.

9 parts, issued irregularly; folio; stiff paper wrappers. Numerous photographic views. Cover title: "Art Work of Litchfield County" lettered in gold. With cloth case and ties issued by the publisher with "Litchfield County" in gold lettering on the sides.

20 Christmann, Fr. *Kunstgeschichtliches Musterbuch; Eine Sammlung von Darstellungen aus der Architektur, Sculptur, Malerei und den Verschiedenen Technischen Künsten und Kunstgewerken.* Frankfurt am Main, B. Dondorf 1878–1879.

13 parts, including 1 supplementary part, issued irregularly; oblong folio; printed paper wrappers. The supplementary part is text and Parts 1–12 contain 48 colored plates by B. Dondorf. Issued in leather portfolio with facsimile of the part wrapper in color on the front cover.

21 Churchill, Sir Winston S. *The Great War.* London, George Newnes 1933–1934.

26 parts, issued bi-weekly; 8vo; blue paper wrappers illustrated with photographs. Numerous photographs, drawings, and maps. An abridged edition of *The World Crisis.*

22 Cockburn, James Pattison. *Swiss Scenery, from Drawings Made by Major Cockburn.* London, Rodwell and Martin 1819–1820.

12 parts, issued bi-monthly; large 4to; stiff paper wrappers. Engraved title-page and 71 engraved plates by Charles Heath and others, including cancel plate of Geneva, dated January 1 1819. Several text illustrations.

23 Colange, Leo de, ed. *Voyages and Travels; or, Scenes in Many Lands with Eight Hundred and Fifty Illustrations on Wood and Steel of Views from All Parts of the World, Comprising Mountains, Lakes, Rivers, Palaces, Cathedrals, Castles, Abbeys, and Ruins, with Original Descriptions by the Best Authors, Edited by Leo De Colange, LL.D.* Boston, W. Walker and Co 1887–?

58 parts, issued irregularly; 4to; paper wrappers. Illustrated with over 800 woodcuts, 60 steel engravings, and photogravures printed in a variety of tints.

24 Coney, John. *Engravings of Ancient Cathedrals, Hotels de Ville, and Other Public Buildings of Celebrity, in France, Holland, Germany, and Italy, Drawn on the Spot, and Engraved by John Coney: With Illustrative Descriptions by Charles Heathcote Tatham, Esq. and Able Assistants.* London, Moon, Boys, and Graves 1829–1832.

8 parts, issued bi-monthly; large folio; stiff paper wrappers. 32 plates drawn and engraved by John Coney. Although announced in 12 parts, the work was finished in 8. Part 8 contains engraved titles in English and French.

25 Connelly, James H. *The Lost Mine: A Story of the Western Plains and Mountain Lands.* New York, P. F. Collier 1892.

2 parts, issued weekly; 12mo; printed paper wrappers. On cover: "Specially written for 'Once a Week Library.'"

26 Croker, Thomas Crofton. *A Description of Rosamond's Bower, Fulham, Distant Three Miles from Hyde Park Corner, the Residence of T. Crofton Croker, Esq., with an Inventory of the Pictures, Furniture, Curiosities, &c.&c.&c.* [London] For Private Circulation Only 1842–1843.

5 parts, issued monthly with some irregularity; 4to; printed paper wrappers. Only 15 copies were printed for presentation to the members of the Noviomagian Society. The author's signature appears on the cover of Part 1. This set belonged to John Noble, Esq and has his signature on the covers of Parts 2–5. Illustrated with woodcuts and engravings. A scrapbook formed by Croker is in the Arents Tobacco Collection.

27 Curtis, James. *An Authentic and Faithful History of the Murder of Maria Marten, with a Full Development of all the Extraordinary Circumstances Which Led to the Discovery of Her Body in the Red Barn; to Which Is Added, the Trial of William Corder, Taken at Large in Short Hand Specially for This Work, with an Account of His Execution, Dissection, &c. and Many Interesting Particulars Relative to the Village of Polstead and Its Vicinity; the Prison Correspondence of Corder, and Fifty-Three Letters, in Answer to His Advertisement for a Wife. The Whole Compiled and Arranged with Upwards of Three Hundred Explanatory Notes, by J. Curtis, and Embellished with Many Highly Interesting Engravings.* London, Thomas Kelly 1849.

26 parts, issued irregularly; 8vo; paper wrappers. 12 engraved portraits and views, some from the original part issue of 1828 and so dated. The Arents set lacks Parts 7 and 8 of this edition of 1849.

28 Danes, Richard. *Cassell's History of the Boer War, 1899–1901. Illustrated.* London, Cassell and Co, Ltd 1900–1902.

49 parts, Parts 1–43 issued weekly, 44–49 issued monthly; 8vo; printed pink paper wrappers. Illustrated with numerous photographs and maps. There was also a monthly part issue of this same work which included 10 colored plates.

29 Darley, Felix Octavius Carr. *The Cooper Vignettes. From Drawings by F. O. C. Darley. India Proofs before Letter.* New York, W. A. Townsend and Co, and James G. Gregory 1861–1862.

8 parts, issued irregularly; folio; boards. 64 steel engravings by F. Girsch, T. Phillibrown, Alfred Jones, and others, after drawings by Darley, including a portrait of J. Fennimore Cooper, painted by C. L. Elliott, engraved by W. E. Marshall, and a view of Otsego Hall (Cooper's residence) drawn by John A. Hows, engraved by R. Hinshelwood. Engraved title-page. Limited edition of 500.

30 Davis, Joseph Barnard, and John Thurnam. *Crania Britannica. Delineations and Descriptions of the Skulls of the Aboriginal and Early Inhabitants of the British Islands: With Notices of Their Other Remains.* London, Taylor and Francis 1856–1865.

6 parts divided into decades, issued irregularly; folio; stiff paper wrappers. 56 Ethographic plates by G. H. Ford and numerous text illustrations.

31 Dawson, Henry B. *Battles of the United States, by Sea and Land: Embracing Those of the Revolutionary and Indian Wars, the War of 1812, and the Mexican War: With Important Official Documents.* New York, Johnson, Fry and Co 1858–1860.

40 parts, issued bi-weekly; large 4to; paper wrappers. 41 steel engravings including battle scenes and portraits from paintings by Alonso Chappel.

32 Defoe, Daniel. *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner. As Related by Himself.* London, Cassell, Petter, and Galpin 1863–1864.

12 parts, issued monthly; 4to; paper wrappers. 101 steel engravings including a portrait of the author. On cover: "Cassell's Illustrated Robinson Crusoe."

33 [Dickens, Charles] *The Library of Fiction, or Family Story-teller; Consisting of Original Fables, Essays, and Sketches of Character.* London, Chapman and Hall 1836–1837.

14 parts, issued monthly; 8vo; paper wrappers. 28 plates, woodcuts, and etchings by Robert Seymour, Robert William Buss, and Hablôt K. Browne. With the *ex libris* of B. George Ulizio. The wrapper of Part 8 is wanting from this set as are the 2 parts comprising the New Series. See the original checklist for a description of the complete set.

34 Dickens, Charles. *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby.* London, Chapman and Hall 1838–1839.

20 parts in 19, issued monthly; 8vo; paper wrappers. Portrait of the author and 39 etched plates by Hablôt K. Browne. Book plate of Jasper Hillier. See original checklist for a duplicate set.

35 Dodd, Francis. *Generals of the British Army. Portraits in Colours with Introduction and Biographical Notes.* London, "Country Life" Ltd, George Newnes 1917–1918.

2 parts, issued irregularly; folio; pictorial paper wrappers. 24 colored portraits by Francis Dodd.

36 Drake, Samuel G. *The History and Antiquities of Boston.* Boston, Oliver L. Perkins, William Guild and Co, and Luther Stevens 1852–1856.

18 parts, issued irregularly; 8vo; paper wrappers. Over 100 engraved illustrations by George Loring Brown and others.

37 Drinkwater, John, and Sir William Orpen, ed. *The Outline of Literature and Art.* London, George Newnes, Ltd 1923–1924.

26 parts, issued bi-weekly; 4to; illustrated paper wrappers in color. Many photographic illustrations, some in color. Part 26 contains indexes for both works including lists of illustrations. The two works were issued conjointly — John Drinkwater the editor of *The Outline of Literature,* and Sir William Orpen the editor for *The Outline of Art.*

38 Du Bus de Gesignies, Bernard Léon. *Esquisses Ornithologiques; Descriptions et Figures d'Oiseaux Nouveaux ou Peu Connus.* Brussels, A. Vandale 1845–1848.

4 parts, issued irregularly; 4to; blue printed paper wrappers. 37 color prints: 20 with text, 17 without text. The plates were executed in lithography, hand colored, chiefly the work of G. Severeyns and J. Dekeghel. There is recorded at the Yale University Library a fifth part with wrapper, probably issued with the 17 plates without text. Some sets have the imprint C. Muquardt in addition to A. Vandale. The Arents set appears to be complete except for the absence of the fifth wrapper.

Wood: p 325. Copenhagen: n 123. Krieg: Vol 1, p 192 lists 7 parts, but states that the work was not finished.

39 Duyckinck, Evert Augustus. *National History of the War for the Union, Civil, Military, and Naval. Founded on Official and Other Authentic Documents.* New York, Johnson, Fry and Co 1861–1865.

78 parts in 33, issued bi-monthly; large 4to; paper wrappers. 52 steel engravings of battle scenes and portraits from paintings by Alonso Chappel and Thomas Nast. One half of page 29 and back wrapper is missing from Part 1.

40 Ellison, Fred E. *Etchings of Bath. A Series of Twenty-four Plates. With Descriptive Letterpress.* London, Chiswick Press 1888.

9 parts, issued irregularly; folio; stiff paper wrappers. 24 etchings by Fred E. Ellison. The total imprint was 250 numbered sets as follows: sets 1–10 were proofs on Japanese paper (vellum); sets 11–50 were printed on Whatman's Creswick paper, with each plate signed by the artist; sets 51–250 were printed on Whatman's Antique paper. The Arents set is number 11, with the plates signed by Ellison and the name of the original subscriber, Mr Woollard, signed on the cover of Part 1.

41 Elson, Henry William. *The Civil War Through the Camera. Hundreds of Vivid Photographs Actually Taken in Civil War Times, Together with Elson's New History.* Springfield, Mass., Patriot Publishing Co 1912.

16 parts, issued weekly?; 4to; stiff paper wrappers. Issued under the auspices of the Civil War Semi-Centennial Society. Illustrated partly with photographs by Matthew B. Brady.

42 Ferguson, John. *Some Early Treatises on Technological Chemistry.* Glasgow, Robert Anderson [and] Royal Philosophical Society 1888–1916.

6 parts, issued irregularly; 8vo; paper wrappers. From the *Proceedings* of the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow.

Alexander: p 56–61. Duveen: p 212.

43 [Finden, William, and Edward Francis Finden] *Finden's Views of the Ports, Harbours, Coast Scenery, and Watering Places of Great Britain Continued by W. H. Bartlett, Revised and Edited by William Beattie, M.D.* London, George Virtue 1839–1842.

31 parts, issued monthly; 4to; paper wrappers. 2 engraved title-pages and 124 plates by William and Edward Finden.

44 Forrest, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Ramus. *A Picturesque Tour Along the Rivers Ganges and Jumna, in India: Consisting of Twenty-four Highly Finished and Coloured Views, a Map, and Vignettes, from Original Drawings Made on the Spot; with Illustrations, Historical and Descriptive.* London, R. Ackermann 1824.

6 parts, issued monthly; large 4to; paper wrappers. 24 colored aquatint plates, 1 folding map, and colored aquatint vignette, from drawings made by Lieutenant-Colonel Forrest.

Tooley: n 227. Abbey, *Travel*: Vol 2, n 441.

45 *French Celebrities as Seen by Their Contemporaries. A Series of Brief Biographies of the Foremost Frenchmen of Our Day, Translated by Francis W. Potter.* New York, Funk and Wagnalls 1883.

2 parts, issued bi-weekly; 4to; illustrated paper wrappers. Although this was a part of the Standard Library Series, Numbers 99 and 102, the two parts were issued as a complete unit and contain biographies by Ernest Daudet, Jules Clarette and others.

46 Fries, Nachtmann, and Kürzinger. *Quadrilles Parées Costumées Exécutées à la Cour de la Majesté le Roi de Bavière le 3 Fevrier 1835 Représentant les Divers Pays des Quatre Parties du Monde, et les Principaux Personages de Quentin Durward, d'après le Croquis de M. M. Fries et Nachtmann. Dessinées en Aquarelle par J. Kürzinger.* Munich, I. M. Hermann 1835.

4 parts, issued irregularly; folio; paper wrappers. 50 colored plates of costumes.

Colas: n 1133. Lipperheide: n 2568.

47 Froissart, Jean. *Sir John Froissart's Chronicles of England, France, Spain, &c. Johnes's Translation. A New Edition, with Notes and Illustrations.* London, William Smith 1838–1839.

16 parts, issued monthly; 8vo; paper wrappers. Numerous engravings on wood. This edition was printed from the translation of Thomas Johnes and collated throughout with that of Lord Berners. Back cover of Part 1: "The illustrations chiefly taken from illuminated manuscript copies of the author, in the British Museum and elsewhere."

48 Giafferri, Paul Louis Victor de, Marquis. *L'Histoire du Costume Féminin Français de l'An 1037 à l'An 1870.* Paris, Éditions Nilsson 1922–1923.

10 parts, issued irregularly; folio; slick paper wrappers illustrated in color. Each part contains 8 pages of text and 12 photo-lithographic plates in color. Issued with portfolio with ties, title in gold lettering on front cover.

Colas: n 1242. Hiver: p 377.

49 Godman, Frederick Du Cane. *A Monograph of the Petrels, (Order Tubinares).* London, Witherby and Company 1907–1910.

5 parts, issued irregularly; 4to; stiff paper wrappers. 106 hand-colored lithographic plates by J. G. Keulemans.

Mullens and Swann: p 234. Nissen, *Vogelbücher*: n 356.

50 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von. *Goethe's Works. Illustrated by the Best German Artists. With Biographical Introduction by Hjalmar H. Boyesen.* Philadelphia, George Barrie 1885–?

32 parts, issued monthly; 8vo; printed paper wrappers. Illustrated with numerous wood and steel engravings. Indexes to the illustrations included in Part 32. Uniform edition with the works of Schiller, also in the Arents Collection.

51 Goldsmith, Oliver. *A History of the Earth and Animated Nature. To Which Are Added, The Life of the Author, His Deserted Village, Traveller, Miscellanies, &c &c &c. Embellished with a Series of Beautiful and Appropriate Engravings, Designed and Executed by the First Artists.* New York, T. Kinnersley 1825.

80 parts in 39, issued irregularly; 4to; paper wrappers, some without printing. 21 copper engravings by various artists.

52 [Goodrich, Samuel Griswold, ed] *Parley's Cabinet Library. Designed to Exhibit, in a Popular Form, Select Biographies, Ancient and Modern; The Wonders and Curiosities of History, Nature, Art, Science, and Philosophy, with the Duties of Life.* Boston, Bradbury, Soden and Co 1843–1845.

40 parts, issued irregularly; 16mo; printed paper wrappers. Numerous woodcuts and engravings.

53 Griffiths, John Willis. *Treatise on Marine and Naval Architecture, or Theory and Practice Blended in Ship Building. Illustrated with More than Fifty Engravings.* New York, Published by the Author 1850.

12 parts, issued monthly; large 4to; paper wrappers. 30 engravings, including frontispiece, and numerous tables and diagrams.

54 Harley, George. *Portraits of Trees, Sketched from Nature and on Stone.* London, Rowney and Forster 1821.

3 parts, issued irregularly; large 4to; paper wrappers. 12 lithographs by Harley. These are excellent examples from the early period of lithography.

55 Harris, Emily C. *New Zealand Berries — New Zealand Ferns — New Zealand Flowers.* Nelson, New Zealand, H. D. Jackson [1890?]

3 parts, issued irregularly; 4to; engraved paper wrappers. 36 colored plates with descriptive notes.

Hocken: p 404.

56 Hatton, Thomas. *Water Colour without a Master: Upwards of Two Hundred Examples of Separate Objects in Landscape Shown under Various Tints and Afterwards Composed into Pictures to Which is Added, an Index of Tints, Showing at a Glance the Various Powers of the Several Colours and Their Compounds.* London, Reeves and Sons 1855.

6 parts, issued monthly; folio; printed paper wrappers. 24 colored plates by Hatton. Autograph presentation copy from the author to Mr William Sawyer. Issued with portfolio, with title in gold on the front cover.

57 Hayne, Friedrich Gottlob. *Termini Botanici Iconibus Illustrati oder Botanische Kunstsprache.* Berlin, Wilhelm Oehmigke dem Jüngern 1799–1817.

15 parts in 13, issued irregularly; large 4to; stiff, speckled paper wrappers with small printed labels on covers. Printed and engraved title pages in color. The 10 parts comprising Vol 1 contain 50 colored copper engravings. The 5 parts comprising Vol 2 con-

tain 15 colored copper engravings. The 15 parts were all that were published of the work.

Krieg: Vol 1, p 305. Pritzel: 3862. Nissen: n 817.

58 Hazard, Thomas Robinson. *The Jonny-cake Letters. Dedicated to the Memory of Phillis, My Grandfather's Colored Cook, by Shepherd Tom.* Providence, R. I., Sidney S. Rider 1880, 1882.

2 parts, issued 2 years apart; 4to and 8vo; paper wrappers.

59 Hinton, John Howard. *The History and Topography of the United States of North America, Brought Down from the Earliest Period . . . with Additions and Corrections, by Samuel L. Knapp, Esq., and a Continuation to the Present Time, by John Overton Choules, D.D.* Boston, Samuel Walker 1852.

40 parts in 22, issued monthly; 4to; engraved paper wrappers. Illustrated with 45 steel engravings.

60 Hoare, Prince, ed. *The Artist: A Series of Essays on Science and Art, Written by Men of Eminent Professional Abilities, on Topics Relative to Their Respective Studies, and by Other Persons Peculiarly Conversant with Those Subjects.* London, J. Murray, J. White 1807.

21 parts, issued weekly; 4to; paper wrappers.

61 Holbrook, John Edwards. *Ichthyology of South Carolina.* Charleston, S.C., Russell and Jones 1860.

10 parts in 7, issued irregularly; large 4to; paper wrappers. 28 colored lithographic plates by T. Sinclair. Complete as listed, no more parts published.

Krieg: Vol 1, p 332.

62 Holme, Charles, ed. *English Water-colour. With Reproductions of Drawings by Eminent Painters. Edited by Charles Holme. Introduction by Frederick Wedmore.* London, "The Studio" 1902.

8 parts, issued irregularly; folio; paper wrappers. 26 black and white portraits and 66 color-facsimile plates of drawings by English artists. Portfolio with ties issued by the publisher with Part 2 to hold complete set of parts.

63 Huet, M. Junior and Senior, and M. Werner. *Animals Drawn on Stone, after Plates from Original Drawings.* Liverpool, George Smith [1850?]

7 parts, issued irregularly; oblong, size of surface: 13 x 18½ inches; printed paper wrappers. 28 lithographs from 16 drawings by the Huets and 12 by Werner. The Huets may be Jean-Baptiste Marie Huet and his son, Nicolas II. Werner is probably Jacques Christophe Werner, the natural history painter.

Brunet: *cf* Vol 3, p 362. Graesse: *cf* Vol 3, p 384.
Thieme and Becker: Vol 18, p 70–71.

64 Hulme, Frederick Edward. *Familiar Wild Flowers.* London, Cassell and Company, Ltd 1877–1885.

100 parts, issued monthly; 8vo; paper wrappers. 200 colored plates and numerous wood engravings. The initial letter and designs by J. Frost and other artists. The flowers were figured and described by F. Edward Hulme.

65 [Irving, Washington] *Tales of a Traveller, by Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* Philadelphia, H. C. Carey and I. Lea 1824.

4 parts, issued irregularly; 8vo; paper wrappers. See original checklist for description of another set containing a variant copy of Part 1 in addition to the 4 parts.

Wright, *American Fiction, 1774–1850*: n 1449.

66 Jaeger, Benedict, and Henry C. Preston. *The Life of North American Insects, Illustrated by Numerous Coloured Engravings and Narratives.* New York [and] Providence, R. I., George Savage [and] Sayles, Miller, and Simons 1853–1854.

6 parts, issued quarterly; 8vo; paper wrappers. 6 hand-colored engravings, and 1 portrait of Sir Hans Sloane.

67 [James, George Percy Rainsford] *The Commissioner; or, De Lunatico Inquirendo.* Dublin, William Curry, Jun. and Co 1891–1893.

14 parts in 13, issued monthly; 8vo; paper wrappers. 28 etched illustrations by Hablôt K. Browne. See original checklist for a duplicate set.

68 Jones, [H. M.?] *The History of England from Julius Caesar Down to the Reign of George IV. In Twenty-five Numbers, Richly Embellished with 200 Engravings by J. Rogers, from Celebrated Paintings by Ancient and Modern Masters.* London, George Virtue [1826?]

26 parts, issued monthly; small 8vo; printed paper wrappers. Over 200 engravings by J. Rogers. Although 25 parts were announced, 26 were issued. *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature,* Vol 3, p 135, lists the work as a children's book under Jones, M. A., and gives the date 1826. The title-page has the author as H. M. Jones.

69 Keulemans, John Gerrard. *A Natural History of Cage Birds.* London, John Van Voorst 1871.

4 parts, issued bi-monthly; 8vo; paper wrappers. 24 colored plates drawn and lithographed by Keulemans. Although announced for 20 monthly parts, only 4 were apparently issued in February, April, June, and September 1871. No title-page was issued.
Mullins and Swann: p 327.

70 [Lawrence, John] *British Field Sports: Embracing Practical Instructions in Shooting-Hunting-Coursing-Racing-Cocking-Fishing, &c. With Observations on the Breaking and Training of Dogs and Horses; Also the Management of Fowling Pieces, and All Other Sporting Implements. By William Henry Scott* [i e, John Lawrence] London, Sherwood, Neely, and Jones 1818.

12 parts, issued irregularly; 8vo; paper wrappers, with vignette illustration. 34 copper engravings by Tookey, Davenport, Scott, Grieg, Mutlow, Webb, Warren, and Ranson after Barrenger, Cooper, Clennell, and others, with woodcuts. The Schwerdt catalogue states that the work is incomplete without the poem "The Sportsman's Progress" issued with Part 1. The Arents copy lacks this poem.
Schwerdt: Vol 1, p 304–305.

71 Lever, Charles James. *Roland Cashel. With Illustrations by Phiz.* New York, Harper and Brothers 1850.

3 parts, issued irregularly; 8vo; paper wrappers. 22 illustrations taken from Hablôt K. Browne. Announced as complete in 2 parts on cover of Part 1 and as complete in 3 parts on covers of Parts 2 and 3.

72 [Lever, Charles James] *Tales of the Trains: Being Some Chapters of Railroad Romance. By Tilbury Tramp, Queen's Messenger.* London, William S. Orr and Co 1845.

5 parts, issued irregularly; 16mo; paper wrappers. Vignette illustrations by Hablôt K. Browne. Part 5 is lacking from this set. See original checklist for a description of the complete 5-part set. Part 4 contains a separate title-page beginning "The Road Versus the Rail."

(To be continued)

Robert Hunter's *Androboros*

By LAWRENCE H. LEDER
Louisiana State University, New Orleans

IN THE FALL OF 1714, Governor Robert Hunter of New York, beset by more problems than he could seemingly comprehend or solve, sought in literature an outlet for his increasing sense of frustration. His reaction to New York politics was not uncommon among the colony's governors, but he possessed an important and unusual advantage. Jonathan Swift, acknowledged master of satire and "no gentle critic or idle flatterer," ranked the Governor with Addison, Halifax, Congreve, and Steele.[1] Hunter, therefore, had an outlet not available to his predecessors or his successors, and he used it to teach his opponents that the pen could be mightier than the sword in cutting them down to size.

The product which emerged from Hunter's pen was *Androboros: A Biographical Farce in Three Acts*, the first play written and printed in America. Its importance goes beyond its literary primacy, however; it is a biting satire in which the Governor did figuratively what he could not do literally — he pilloried General Francis Nicholson, the Anglican clergymen in New York and New Jersey (particularly the Reverend William Vesey), and the opposition leadership in the Assembly. They were responsible for Hunter's unhappiness, and he retaliated by starring them in his play. The consequences were best explained by Cadwallader Colden: the Governor's enemies "were so humorously exposed that the laugh was turned upon them in all companies and from this laughing humour the people began to be in good humour with their Governour and to despise the idol of the clergy." [2]

Hunter had arrived in New York in June 1710 to find the colony wracked by political factionalism and intrigue, perhaps more so than any other royal colony. The issues were so ancient that they were almost forgotten, but the roots lay in the executions for treason and murder of Jacob Leisler and Jacob Milborne in 1691 and the continued persecution of their followers ever since.[3] Governor after governor had been either too weak or too corrupt to do anything to eliminate this evil, and instead played upon it for his own benefit.

[1] Jordan D. Fiore "Jonathan Swift and the American Episcopate" *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3d series XI (July 1954) 426.

[2] "Cadwallader Colden's Letters on Smith's History" The New-York Historical Society *Collections* for 1868, 202.

[3] For the Leisler Rebellion's impact see Lawrence H. Leder *Robert Livingston (1654–1728) and the Politics of Colonial New York* (Chapel Hill 1961) ch iv–xii.

By joining one of the extreme factions, the executive often found his administration made easier and his purse fatter. Hunter insisted upon breaking this vicious pattern, but a month after his arrival all he could report was that "they are in no worse disposition than that I found them in." [4]

After three years at his self-appointed task the Governor wrote to his friend Dean Swift:

> I thought, in coming to this country, "I should have hot meals, and cool drinks, and recreate my body in Holland sheets upon beds of down; whereas I am doing penance as If I was a hermit, and as I cannot do that with a will, believe in the long run the devil will fly away with me." This worthy [i e, Sancho Panza] was indeed but a type of me, of which I could fully convince you by an exact parallel between our administrations and circumstances. . . . The truth of the matter is, I am used like a dog, after having done all that is in the power of man to deserve better treatment, so that I am now quite jaded.[5]

"Here," he added a few months later, "is the finest air to live upon in the universe; and if our trees and birds could speak, and our assemblymen be silent, the finest conversation too. . . . In a word, and to be serious at last, I have spent three years of life in such torment and vexation, that nothing in life can ever make amends for it." [6]

Many things caused Hunter's torment, but the most serious was his relationship with the Assembly. His instructions from the Crown collided directly with the wishes of the stubborn legislators in money matters. This was nothing new, for the Assemblymen had long since learned that no executive could be trusted when it came to finances. Their experiences with Benjamin Fletcher and Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury, gave them ample reasons to insist on strict controls. The legislature insisted, despite Crown instructions to the contrary, that only it could establish a table of fees for the payment of government officials who received their recompense by fees rather than through salaries. The legislature also claimed that it alone could determine the governor's salary, regardless of royal directives about the amount to be paid. A complaisant governor, therefore, stood a better chance of receiving an adequate salary, or even a "gift," which the Crown forbade, than one who showed a streak of independence. The Assembly also dogmatically denied that money bills could be amended by the governor or

[4] Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany 1853–71) v 167.

[5] Francis Elrington Ball, ed *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.* (London 1910–14) II 10.

[6] Ball, *Swift* II 43.

council, and it refused to tempt an executive from the straight and narrow path by voting him any long term appropriation for the government's support.[7]

As though these difficulties were not enough, Hunter soon found himself holding the financial bag of an experiment initiated and then dropped without warning by the Crown. Several thousand Palatinate refugees, ravaged in the Rhineland by Louis XIV and the French armies, fled to London and there posed an embarrassing problem for Queen Anne and her Whig ministers. The refugees were sent to New York with Governor Hunter in the hope that they would become self-sufficient and serve the empire by producing naval stores and populating an important colony. Before the plan could be put fully into effect, the Whigs lost power in England and were replaced by high-church Tories who had no love for dissenters of either English or foreign stock. The experiment was abandoned, but Hunter had expended £32,071 on it and received from the British government only £10,000, along with £800 from the sale of surplus goods. The balance represented funds from the Governor's own pocket and those of his friends.[8]

Compounding these vexations was Hunter's difficulty with the Anglican ministry in New York and New Jersey. The Governor was a Church of England man in good standing — he was on friendly terms with the Bishop of London and John Chamberlayne, Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel — but he was also a rationalist who rejected extremism in any form. The Reverend William Vesey, rector of Trinity Church, however, was a convert with a narrow and bigoted approach to ecclesiastical affairs, and he soon quarreled with Hunter over the disposition of the Queen's Farm, a valuable tract of land in New York City. It had been granted to Trinity Church by Governor Fletcher, and then reclaimed by legislative statute for the Crown's use. Vesey wanted the grant renewed permanently, but Hunter refused to do anything more than lease it. The Governor next insulted Vesey by reconditioning the old chapel in the fort for the use of the Reverend John Sharpe, chaplain to the royal troops, and attending services there.[9]

The final rupture between Hunter and Vesey occurred over the induction of the Reverend Thomas Poyer into the vacant church in Jamaica, Long Island. The Church of England had been established in the colony by an

7 Herbert L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* (New York 192-) II 99–104.

8 Leder 211–216.

9 O'Callaghan, *DRCH* v 300.

Assembly enactment carefully worded to permit the churchwardens and vestrymen to select a minister of their own choosing. In this way congregations of dissenters would not be saddled with Anglican ministers, although the Crown ordered that all ministers assigned to parishes created by the statute must have a certificate of fitness from the Bishop of London. When the vacancy occurred, Hunter inducted Poyer who had such a certificate, but the churchwardens and vestrymen refused to oust a dissenting minister who had taken over the parish. The Governor referred the issue to Chief Justice Roger Mompesson who responded that Poyer's only recourse was a lawsuit to force the incumbent out. Hunter urged, at his own expense, that the minister undertake this action, but Poyer feared the religious complexion of the colony's courts and, at Vesey's instigation, appealed instead to the ecclesiastical authorities in London. The Anglican ministry of New York and New Jersey also sent a representation to the Earl of Clarendon, formerly Viscount Cornbury. When Hunter learned of this, he convoked a meeting of the clergy and laid the matter before them, but they persisted in their appeal to London. Some time later, however, Poyer finally followed the Governor's advice and was duly settled in his parish.[10]

The threatened arrival of General Francis Nicholson in New York as the Royal Commissioner of Accounts, a sort of "Governor of Governors," served to unite all of Hunter's problems.[11] The General began his investigations in Boston, and word soon reached New York that his methods were violent and his temper foul. One friend reported that "he is so violent a party man [i e, a Tory] that every man must fly very high that expects any favour or recommendation from him." Nicholson, he continued, "is a bitter Enimy of Governor Hunter and will endeavor to . . . sift his affairs . . . he swears at the very name of the palatines or companys accounts." Another gave a blunter evaluation: he "is fitter for sume Bedlam than for the post he is in." [12]

Discontented Assemblymen, rebellious clergymen, unhappy creditors, and self-pitying politicians rallied behind Nicholson. The situation threatened to get out of hand, but Robert Hunter at this moment had the happy inspiration of lampooning the troublemakers in *Androboros,* destroying by laughter

10 O'Callaghan, *DRCH* v 312–317.

11 William N. Sainsbury et al, eds *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies* (London 1860–1939) XXVII no 97. Nicholson never came to New York but remained in Boston hoping for a commision as Governor of New York; he returned to England early in 1715 when his commission to inquire into colonial affairs expired with Queen Anne's death. O'Callaghan, *DRCH* v 400, 453.

12 John Livingston to Robert Livingston Jan 1 1713/4, Samuel Vetch to Robert Livingston Dec 28 1713 and Jan 25 1713/4, John Borland to Robert Livingston Apr 19 1714. Livingston-Redmond MSS (Franklin D. Roosevelt Library).

those upon whom reason had no effect. The general populace either saw the play performed or heard it read, as Colden noted, and soon began to appreciate what their Governor was trying to do. The death of Queen Anne and the collapse of the Tory cabal in London put an end to Nicholson's commission and his ability to harrass Hunter. Very soon thereafter, the Governor obtained his long-sought-for *modus vivendi* with the legislature. By 1717 he could report that there was "a perfect harmony reigning" in the province's politics and, two years later, voluntarily return to England secure in the knowledge that he was so much the master of the situation that he could select his own successor.[13]

Cast of Characters [14]

Androboros: General Francis Nicholson (1655–1728), a protege of the Duke of Bolton who entered the army in 1679 and served the Duke of York at Tangier. Appointed Lieutenant Governor of the Dominion of New England in 1688, he fled New York on the outbreak of the Leisler Rebellion. He was next appointed Lieutenant Governor of Virginia in 1691, and displaced by Sir Edmund Andros a year later. In 1694 he became Governor of Maryland. In both Virginia and Maryland he took a broad, continental view of colonial affairs and a deep interest in the Anglican Church and education. He supported the Reverend James Blair in the founding of William and Mary and he helped start what was to become St John's College at Annapolis. Nicholson had a violent temper and in 1698, while Governor of Virginia, he broke sharply with Blair who read him a lecture on conduct. In 1709 he commanded the ill-fated Glorious Expedition against Canada although his military experience was very limited. In 1710 he led Massachusetts' successful assault upon Nova Scotia, but in the following year his second attack on Canada proper failed. He was given a royal commission in 1712 to inquire into provincial finance, illegal trade, and disposition of prizes in the northern colonies, along with a "commission of Spiritual Inspection" from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. His final office was the governorship of South Carolina in 1720. He remained a bachelor, but had reportedly courted the daughter of a Major Burwell in Virginia and "threatened if she were married to another, to cut the throats of the bridegroom, the clergyman, and the justice of the peace giving the license." [15]

Keeper: Governor Robert Hunter (d 1734). As a soldier in the Duke of Marlborough's army he showed marked ability during the War of the Spanish Succession. His friends, the earls of Orkney and Stairr, obtained an appointment for him as Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, but he was captured en route by the French and later exchanged for the Bishop of Quebec. He was acquainted with the leading

13 Leder 232–236, 241–246, 248–250.

14 The unique copy of the play located in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery (San Marino, California), a photostat of which is in The New York Public Library, contains a "Drammatis Personae" annotated by hand with the real names of the characters. It is presumed to have been done by Governor Hunter himself.

15 Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York 1943) VII 499–501.

literary figures of England and the Whig politicians in government. In 1709 he secured the governorship of New York and New Jersey, and demonstrated himself to be one of the most capable governors in colonial annals.[16]

Deputy: George Clarke (1676–1760), a nephew of William Blathwayt, Clerk of the Board of Trade, through whose influence he became Secretary of the Province of New York in 1703. He remained in the colony for 43 years, eventually becoming Lieutenant Governor. He had no brilliance of gifts or striking force of personality, but he paid steady attention to opportunity and painstakingly cultivated influential English leaders. He advantageously married Anne Hyde, cousin of Queen Anne.[17]

Speaker: William Nicolls (1657–1723), son of Matthias Nicolls, first Secretary of the Province. He served with the English army in Flanders and returned to New York in 1679 to practice law. He became Attorney-General in 1687; his opposition to the Leislerians in 1689 resulted in his imprisonment. On the arrival of Governor Henry Sloughter in 1691 he was named to the Council where he remained until suspended by Bellomont in 1700. In the following year he ran successfully for the Assembly but was denied his seat because of non-residency. In 1702 he ran again, won election, and was chosen Speaker, a post he retained until he retired in 1718 allegedly for ill health. Hunter disliked him, but he respected his legal abilities.[18]

Aesop: David Jamison (1660–1739), born in Scotland and a member of a group of religious fantatics known as the "Sweet Singers." They attacked the religious and civil establishment in Scotland, were arrested in 1685 and shipped to New Jersey as indentured servants. Jamison was bound to the chaplain of the fort in New York City, but his educational background won him appointment as head of the Latin School. He soon entered government service, becoming Deputy Secretary of the Province and clerk of the Council. He opposed Leisler and later became a close aide of Governor Fletcher. Although a vestryman of Trinity Church and strong Anglican, he opposed Governor Cornbury's persecution of the Presbyterian minister, Francis Makemie, in 1707. When Hunter arrived, the two Scotsmen quickly became friends, and the Governor appointed him Chief Justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court in 1711, Recorder of New York City and Attorney General of New York in 1712, and, in 1716, referred to him as "the greatest man I ever knew; and I think of the most unblemished life and conversation of any of his rank in these parts."[19]

Doodlesack: Abraham Lakerman, Assemblyman from Richmond County and a member of the opposition to Hunter.

Babilard: Samuel Bayard, merchant of New York City and member of the Assembly. During the Bellomont, Nanfan, and Cornbury administrations, he figured prominently with his more famous father, Nicholas, in the anti-Leislerian faction. Thereafter he played an increasingly lessened role in politics.

[16] *DAB* v 401–402.

[17] *DAB* II 151–152.

[18] *DAB* VII 516–517.

[19] *DAB* v 603–604.

Coxcomb: Daniel Coxe (1673–1739) of Burlington, New Jersey, whose father accumulated extensive speculative holdings of Jersey lands. Daniel came to America in 1702 in the entourage of Cornbury and remained a close favorite of that Governor. In 1706 he was appointed to the Council and the Supreme Court of New Jersey. Hunter finally removed him from the Council in 1713, and he was then elected to the New Jersey Assembly in 1714, chosen Speaker in 1716, and continued to harass Hunter.[20]

Mulligrub: Samuel Mulford (1645–1725) was perhaps Hunter's most virulent enemy. Born in Salem, Massachusetts, Mulford was a first settler of Easthampton and interested from the beginning in the whale fishery. He fought every colonial governor over the issue of the Crown's right to a fourteenth of all whale oil and bone. From 1689 to 1712 he was justice of the peace in Suffolk County, and from 1705 to 1720 he represented the county in the Assembly. When Hunter insisted on renewing the royal claim to whales, he sued Mulford and others for converting the Queen's property to their own use. After a protracted series of suits, Chief Justice Lewis Morris ruled for the Governor. In April 1714 Mulford addressed the Assembly, challenging Hunter and demanding justice, and then had his speech printed. The next session of the Assembly ousted Mulford, and he was indicted for a high misdemeanor in scandalously reflecting on the Governor. The grand jury failed to find a true bill and Attorney General Jamison filed an information against him. In 1716 when Mulford was re-elected to the Assembly, that body asked Hunter to forego the prosecution. Hunter agreed if Mulford would apologize, but Mulford instead went to England to seek relief, published a memorial against Hunter's oppressions, and continued to tilt against both Hunter and his successor, William Burnet.[21]

Cobus: Jacobus Van Cortlandt (1658–1739), one of the prominent merchants of New York City and Assemblyman from 1691 to 1715. He was a staunch supporter of the Dutch Reformed Church, and was referred to by Bellomont as one of several whose "names speak Dutch, and the men scarce speak English." In politics, he followed his brother-in-law, Adolph Philipse. Upon Hunter's departure in 1719, Council President Peter Schuyler, in defiance of the Governor, appointed Van Cortlandt Mayor of New York City[22]

Solemn: Lewis Morris (1671–1746) had landed interests in both New York and New Jersey, and until Hunter's arrival concerned himself largely with Jersey politics. He opposed Governor Cornbury and wrote one of two exceedingly revealing descriptions of that executive. When Hunter arrived in 1710, Morris became closely associated with him in New York politics, and eventually became Chief Justice of both New York and New Jersey. His early support of Hunter's financial policies as a member of the Assembly led to his expulsion from that body. He, like the Governor, was an active supporter of the Anglican Church and became a vestryman of Trinity in 1697.[23]

20 *DAB* II 484–485.

21 Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed *Journal of the Voyage of the Sloop Mary, From Quebeck, Together with an Account of her Wreck off Montauk Point, L. I., Anno 1701* (Albany 1866) 38fn–44fn.

22 O'Callaghan, *DRCH* IV 508.

23 *DAB* VII 213–214.

Fizle: The Reverend William Vesey (1674–1746), born in Massachusetts and educated at Harvard College. He preached on Long Island for two years as a Congregationalist, and then assisted at King's Chapel in Boston. He was called to become rector of Trinity Church in New York with the stipulation that he first be ordained by the Bishop of London. Vesey, as a convert, was extremely sensitive about the rights of the Church, and he argued with Bellomont and Hunter. In 1714 he left for England to vindicate himself before the Bishop of London after his brawls with the Governor and returned as the Bishop's Commissary in New York and New Jersey.[24]

Flip: Adolph Philipse (1665–1750), merchant of New York City was involved with his father during the Fletcher administration in the illegal Madagascar trade and charged with participation in piracy. His first major political office came with his appointment by Cornbury to the Council in 1705. He remained a member of that body until 1721, when Burnet removed him for opposing the passage of a law prohibiting the illegal fur trade to Montreal. In 1722 he was elected to the Assembly, and in 1725 elected Speaker, a post he held until 1745.[25]

Lord Oinobaros: Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury and later Earl of Clarendon (1661–1723), sought office in the colonies because of his straitened finances. He hit upon New York as the most potentially profitable, and his administrations of that colony and New Jersey are accounted the worst in colonial annals. The Assemblies of both colonies bitterly condemned him while he was still in office. In December 1708 he was recalled, but his creditors placed him under arrest and he remained in the sheriff's custody until his father's death elevated him to the earldom of Clarendon. In 1711 he was appointed a member of the Privy Council as a part of the revival of Toryism in England. Bitter over his treatment in the colonies, he continually sought to meddle in their affairs. Hunter despised him for his venality, and his evaluation of Cornbury in the play follows the generally accepted interpretation of this official who publicly paraded on the ramparts of the fort in New York dressed in women's clothes and who was known for running up exorbitant liquor bills.[26]

A Note on the Text

The text of the play is reproduced by the kind permission of The Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, from its unique annotated first edition, a bound, photostatic copy of which is in the Rare Book Division of The New York Public Library. Ink additions or changes have been inserted (it is thought in Gov Hunter's hand). In this hand the characters were identified (see p 157–160), and additional "footnotes" were indicated in the text, identifying some of the satirized persons and places; the title-page listing of the author is also in ink. Where an ink addition or correction is used, it has been identified by angle brackets (<>). (L. H. L.)

[24] *DAB* x 259.

[25] O'Callaghan, *DRCH* VI 56fn.

[26] *DAB* II 441–442.

ANDROBOROS

A

B<i>ographical Farce

In Three Acts, *VIZ.*

The SENATE,

The CONSISTORY,

AND

The APOTHEOSIS.

<By Governour Hunter.>

Printed at Monoropolis * *since* 1st August, 1714.

* This was corrected in ink to "Moropolis," i e, the City of Fools.

Drammatis Personae.

Androboros,	*Coxcomb,*
Keeper,	*Mulligrub,*
Deputy,	*Cobus,*
Speaker,	*Solemn,*
Æsop,	*Door-Keeper,*
Doodlesack,	*Fizle,*
Tom of Bedlam,	*Flip,*
Babilard,	*Messenger.*

SCENE

Long Gallary in Moor-Fields.

—o—

The Dedication

To

Don. Com. Fiz.

Right Dreadful SIR!

CERDO GLOUCESTRIENSIS, an Author of the last Century, of great Sagacity, observ'd well, That *Runto Polimunto Plumpismenoi Raperpandico*——— What d'ye stare at? This is good *Greek* for ought you know, and contains a Mystery, which shall continue so, unless you Reveal it; and so no more of that. The following *Elionophysalo Fizlical Farce* having fallen into my Hands by a most surprizing Accident, it seemeth meet unto me that it should, with all due Reverence Kiss yours. Here it lies at your Feet, take it up. Now read the first Act, ——— Have ye done? What's the matter Man? Have ye got the Gripes? A Plague on your Sower Faces. Bring him a Dram. What have have you to do, had you to do, or ought you to have to do with the *Senate*? You smell a Rat, you say. Be it so. But compose your self, and now Read the Second Act, ——— How d'ye like it, ha? *O Hooo, T'churrrrrrrrtch,* I can say that as Loud as you can do; and if you'll but leave out these Damnable *R*'s and *T*'s which make it so hard in Pronounciation, and harder in Digestion, I like it better than you do. You don't believe me! and I don't believe in you; and this is a perilous Article in a Mans Belief too; For one who dy'd a very good *Christian*, was sentenc'd by your Sanctity to be bury'd a *Pagan*, only because he seem'd to believe

that you were some-what Thick of believing; yet you are a Christian, a very good Christian,

So was your Leader, Major Weere,
Burnt for Bu——ry, God be here.

He had a good Gift of the Gob too: You were bred up in the same Accademy, the same Principles, and the same way of Worship: All the Difference between you lies in this nice point, He Worship't the Dev'l instead of God, and you worship God as if he were the Dev'l. Come to't again, first take two Turns cross the Room, Crossways, I say, Wipe the Sweat from your Brows, and sit down. Now read the Third Act, I'll sing the while,

It is an Old Maxim, et c'est Escrit,
Au trou de mon cul, look there you'll sie't,
When the Head is Be——ck't the Body's Beshit,
Which no Body dare Deny, Deny,
Which no Body dare Deny.

Read on, and be hang'd, don't mind me, Man, I sing for my own Diversion.

But 'tis strange how Notions are chang'd of late,
For 'tis a New Maxim, but odd one, That
Ce que pend a nos culs doit nous garnir latete,
That I flatly and boldly Deny, Deny,
That I flatly and boldy Deny.

What is the Matter now? Is he Dead? or is't a Qualm? Holo, a Hay! Who waits there? some burn't Feathers, *Sal Armoniack*? No, No, Let him smell to the Skirt of his own Garment. So, he Recovers. Poor *Fiz*! who could have thought that you were so quick of Smelling! Come, Man, take Courage; What have You or I to do with it? Let the Gall'd Horse wince, our Withers are unwrung. But tell me, will you be quiet for the Future? You shall be paid for't, nay, you have been paid for't; and it is hard that Men must be Brib'd for Not doing what they ought Not to do. I remember an Odd Fellow upon *Pont Neuf* who got his Livelihood by as Odd a Stratagem; He procur'd himself a Portable Forge and Bellows, which he carried under his Cloak, and having heated a small Iron red hot, he would lug it out and present it to the Gentlemen who pass'd that way, with this Complement, *Good Sir! Pray Sir! give me leave to run my hot Iron into your Arse.* When the Gentleman started at the Extravagance and Danger of the Motion, he continued, *Nay, Sir, if you don't like it, pay me but a Sol Marquee for the heating of my Iron, and there is no harm done.* Now had he insisted upon the Performance of the Operation aforesaid, after payment for the necessary Apparatus, he deserv'd to have his Bones broke; but he was most commonly satisfied, and all the Consequence was a fit of Laughter. Now, I know that it is not an easie matter for you to get rid of your Forge and Bellows, but can't you blow your Bellows and heat your Iron at home, and quit that unaccountable Rage of Running it into your honest quiet Neighbours Arses, who pay

you amply, and meerly for Forbearance? But I have done. Peace be with ye, I mean such a one as he made who made you a COM-

And it was a most Masterly stroke of Art
To give Fizle *Room to Act his part;*
For a Fizle *Restrain'd will bounce like a F--t,*

Which no Body can Deny, Deny,
Which no Body can Deny.

But when it Escapes from Canonical Hose
And fly's in your Face, as it's odds it does,
That a Man should be hang'd for stopping his Nose,

That I flatly and boldly Deny, Deny;
That I flatly and boldly Deny.

Long Kept under Hatches, 'twill force a Vent
In the Shape of a Turd, with its Size and Scent,
And perhaps in its way may beshit a Vestment,[26a]

Which no body can Deny, Deny,
Which no body can Deny.

But however 'tis Dignify'd or Disguis'd,
That it should be for that the higher Priz'd,
And either Don Commis'd or Canoniz'd,

That I flatly and boldly Deny, Deny,
That I flatly and boldly Deny.

B'uey Fizle.

[26a] This reference to the fouling of clerical vestments, which is also the subject of Act Second, Scene First, was a true incident. On March 3 1713/14, Governor Hunter issued a proclamation from Burlington, New Jersey, stating in part: "Whereas it hath been represented to Me by some of the Gentlemen of Her Majesty's Council of the Province of New York, that in the Night, betwen the ninth and tenth days of February last, Trinity Church in that City was broke open, the Books of Divine Service, and the Vestments dedicated to that Use, carryed out, Torn to pieces, and defiled with ordure. . . ." A reward of £55 was offered for information about the perpetrators with indemnity for the informant. *The Boston Newsletter* March 22–29 1714 (no 519).

Androboros.

Scene First, Act First.

Keeper, Deputy and *Tom.*

Deputy. I HOPE, SIR, it is not your intention that this same *Senate,* as they call it, should sit.

Keeper. What harm is there in't, if it does?

Deputy. No great harm, only 'twill <feed> their Frenzy; They are big with Expectation of some mighty Deliverance, towards which is to be brought about by means of *Androboros*; I think they call him so; Whether there is or ever was such a Person, I know not: but all their hopes are placed in him.

Tom. Sir, it is *Old Nick-nack,* who has Paganiz'd himself with that Name, which interpreted, signifies a *Man-Eater.* He is now very far gone indeed, He talks of nothing but Battles and Seiges, tho' he never saw one, and Conquests over Nations, and Alliances with Princes who never had a being; and this Senate is mainly intended for his Reception, I hope you will not forbid its Meeting, if you do, I shall loose an Employment, having had the Honor to be appointed Clerk of the Senate this Morning, after the Choice of the Speaker; so I beg you'll not Rob me of that Honor, and your self of some Diversion, and I shall take care that their Session shall be harmless.

Keeper. I wish you Joy with all my heart; But Prethee, *Tom,* What Chance or evil Fate conducted thee to this same Doleful Mansion? I am surpriz'd to find thee in such Company.

Tom. No Chance, I assure you, *Sir,* but free Choice. I found in my reading, That Man was composed of three parts, *Body, Soul* and *Spirit,* and that the two first were entirely ingross'd by two Societys, so I Resolv'd to Exercize my poor Talent upon the Infirmitys of the last, not with any hopes or intention to Cure them, but as others do, meerly to raise my self a Maintenance out of them, here under your Honors happy Auspeces. But, Lo, here they come, Retire to a Corner. If I am seen in your Company, my Project is spoyl'd.

Act First, Scene Second.

Enter *Doodlesack, Babilard, Solemn, Æsop, &c.*

Speaker. Gentlemen, The Honor you have done me, how little soever I may deserve it, lays me under an Obligation to Exert my self to the utmost for the int'rest of this House. I humbly propose, That in the first place we concert and agree upon some necessary Rules for preventing Confusion.

Deputy aside. Well spoke, Mr. Speaker, Tho' 'tis something strange that he who has ever affirm'd, That Laws and Liberty were things Incompatible, should now propose to proceed by Rules.[27]

[27] A reference to William Nicolls' address in 1711 on behalf of the Assembly denying the Council's power to amend money bills and claiming that "the inherent Right of the Assembly to dispose of the Money of the Freemen of this Colony does not come from any Commission, Letters Patent or other Grant from the Crown, but from the free Choice and Election of the People, who ought not to be divested of their Property (nor justly can) without their Consent." *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of New-York* (New York 1764–66) I 307. See the Council's answer in O'Callaghan, *DRCH* v 292–295.

Mulligr. I desire to be heard before you proceed to Rules, or any thing else; I have a Speech ready.

Doodlesack. Laet onse hearken to Mr. Speaker, and begin with some Rules.

Mullig. I'll have my Speech first.

Coxcomb. D—n your Speech, Let's proceed to Rules.

Babilard. If Rules be necessary to the Speech, let us have the Speech first, but if the Speech be necessary to the Rules, let us have the Rules.

Cox. I'm for neither Speech nor Rules, let us fall upon buss'ness.

Speaker. Gentlemen, The Question is not, as I take it, which you'll be pleas'd to have, but which shall have the Preference; for you may have both in their Turns.

All Confusedly. Speech, Rules; Rules, Speech. *&c.*

Mulligrub. My Speech has carry'd it. Hum, Ha, Ough, Ough, Ough, Ough, *&c.*

Cox. Rot ye, it was not your Cough that Carry'd it; Let off your speech.

Æsop. Mr. Speaker, I do not find that this matter is, as yet, determin'd to the full satisfaction of this House, for which Cause I beg leave to offer an Expedient, which will end the Debate, that is, That we may have both at a time; whilst *Mr. Mulligrub* is Exonerating himself, we may imploy our selves in adjusting and forming the necessary Rules.

All. Agreed.

Speaker. Mr. *Mulligrub*, You may proceed.

Mull.[28] Gentlemen, The ill Measures that have been taken, and the Foundation that hath been laid within this Tenement, to make the Tenants thereof, Tenants therein, is the Cause which causeth me to make this Speech. Our Grievances being innumerable, I shall Enumerate them. The first I shall mention, is this, That tho' the Tenement be large, the Mansions many, and the Inhabitants Numerous, There is but One Kitchin, and one Cellar, by which means we are kept from Eating and drinking What we please, When we please, and as Much as we please, which is our Birth-Right Priviledge by the Laws of God and Nature, settled upon us by Act of Parliament; for which cause I humbly [*illegible half line*] House, Whether it may not be more Convenient that each Mansion have its proper Kitchin and Cellar under the special Direction of the respective Tenants?

To clear up the Necessity of this Method, I'll tell you what happ'ned to me t'other day; One of the Servants of this House, who brought me a Mess of Water Gruel, being my special Friend, and knowing how eagerly my Stomach stood towards what was forbidden me by the Physitians, conveys a Hand of Pork into the Porrige, but being discover'd he was punisht, tho' he offer'd to take his Corporal Oath, That the Hand of Pork was a bunch of Radishes. But of all others, we of the East End of the Tenement suffer most, for by reason of our distance from the Kitchin, our Porrige is cold before it comes to our Hands. To Remedy this, we fell upon a private Intercourse with the *Bethlemites*[29] on the other side of *Moor-fields*,[30] who by virtue of

[28] This speech is a reference to Long Island's trade problem. It was more convenient to trade directly across Long Island Sound with New England than indirectly through New York City. The Long Islanders consistently demanded the establishment of a port, but New York City maintained its monopoly as the colony's sole port.

[29] New Englanders.

[30] Long Island Sound.

their Charter run at large, by which we broke the Laws pretty Comfortably for a season; but these same subtle Fellows of the Kitchin found it out, and put a stop to't, to the Great Prejudice of the Freedom of the Subject, and the direct Discouragement of our indirect Commerce. I Remember we once Address'd our Superiors, That we might have a Servant of our own, independent of this Plaguey *Keeper*; They were Graciously pleas'd to allow us such a one, with this Restriction only, That the Servant aforesaid might have the Custody of our Straw and Water, but by no means of our Meat and Drink; notwithstanding this, the Keeper will not permit him to take the care and Custody of our Victuals and Drink. What! does he think us *Non Corpus Mentlus*, that we do not know the meaning of plain words! But *I* shall Conclude at this time, with this Exhortation, That since it appears plainly, that we of this Tenement, who are Tenants thereof, are in danger of Being, by the Foundations laid, made Tenants therein, let us not lie Crying thereat, but be Valiant Therefore, and Vindicate our Rights There-from, Our Birth-Right Parliamentary Rights, settled upon us by the Ten Commandments.

Speaker. Gentlemen, Mr. *Mulligrub* has given you time to Concert the Rules of the House, would you have them read by the Clerk, in the Order they have been given to him by the several Members?

All. Ay, Ay.

Tom Reads. Mr. *Speaker* Proposes, That to prevent Confusion, not above Three or Four at most be permitted to speak at Once, except in a Grand Committee, where there is no occasion of Hearers.

Mr. *Coxcomb* humbly proposes, That no Body be allow'd to speak but himself, because for want of the Attentive Faculty, he is like to have no share in the Hearing, and so ought to have Compensation in Speaking.

Doodlesack has given his in a Forreign Tongue, which when interpreted stands thus, That He having but a small share of Elocution, but a very lively and strong imagination, may have leave, as occasion shall Offer, to Express his Thoughts by Staring, Grinning and Grimacing, of which he has so Exquisite a Talent, that those who cannot be said to understand any thing else, perfectly understand him in that Method of Utterance.

Bibilardus Represents, That he is quite Dum-founded by the late fall of Stocks, so in Order to the opening his Mouth, he proposes a Law for raising Int'rest to *Twelve per Cent.*

Æsop has given his Rule in Rhime, as follows,

The Rule that I would advise,
  Is, Be quiet, and eat your Bread,
If 'tis good; To be Merry and Wise,
  'Tis the Dev'l to be Sullen and Mad.

Coxcomb. Damn all Rules, Let us proceed to buss'ness.

Cobus. Laet onze erst come to some Revoluties.

Coxcom. Resolutions! Ay, begin with that, I like that Motion well enough; it is the shortest way.

Speaker. Let one at a time Propose, and the rest Agree or Dissent, as they think fit.

Coxcom. Resolv'd That neither this House, or they whom we Represent are bound by any Laws, Rules or Customs, any Law, Rule or Custom to the Contrary Notwithstanding.

All. Agreed.

Mulligr. That this House disclaims all Powers, Preheminencies or Authoritys, except it's own.

All. Agreed.

Babilard. That this House has an Inherent and Undoubted Right to the Undoubted Property of those we Represent.

Coxcomb. That this House is the only Undoubted Supreme Inferior and Infimus Court of this Tenement, and that all others are a Nusance.

All. Agreed.

Solemn. Mr. Speaker, being Resolv'd to enter my Dissent to these several Resolves, I shall first give my Reasons for so doing. I believe it is needless to put you in mind of our Origine, from whence we sprang, and how we came hither. It is well known that we were of that Number of Publick Spirited Persons, distinguish't from our Neighbours by an inward Light or Faculty, call it what you Please. The *Romans* call it *Æstrum*, the *French*, *Verve*, our Northern Nation has indeed given it a Courser Name, which gave us a strong Disposition toward Reformations, Remonstrations, Resolutions, and other Acts of Zeal; in the eager pursuit of which we were apt to throw our selves, sometimes our Neighbours, into the Fire or Water. The Wisdom of the Times thought fit to Erect this Tenement for our Intertainment, where the Exercize of the Faculty aforesaid might be less Dangerous or hurtful to our selves, or others. Here we are Maintain'd at their Charge with Food and Rayment suitable to our Condition, and the Fabrick kept in Repair at the no small Annual Expences of our Landlords. And what Returns do we make? Have not many of us from our private Cells thrown our Filth and Ordure in their Faces? And now in a Collective Body we are about to throw more Filthy Resolves at them.[31]

All. To the Barr, to the Barr.

All. No, With-draw, With-draw.

Solemn. I desire to be heard.

All. With-draw.

Speaker. *Sir,* It is pleasure of this House that you With-draw, in order to your being heard. [*Exit Solemn.*
Gentlemen, your have heard this mans Insolence. What shall be done with him?

Coxcomb. Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd.

Æsop. Ay, but what is his Crime?

Coxcom. For affronting the Majesty of this House.

Æsop. In what? What has he done or said?

Cobus. Dat weet ick niet, but I agree with *Coxcombs* Propositie.

Speaker. I am for Inflicting no Punishment but what is in our power, that is, to Expell him the House.

All. Expell, Expell.

[31] For the story of Morris' expulsion, which exactly parallels this procedure, see O'Callaghan, *DRCH* v 178 and *Journal of the . . . Assembly* I 283.

Æsop. Hold a little. I suppose you intend to punish him, and not your selves; I'll tell you a Story.

All. Expell, Expell, *&c.*

Æsop. I beg your patience, 'tis but a short one; it is a Tale of a Pack of Hounds of my Acquantance,

Fowler, the stanchest Hound o'th' breed,
Had got th' ill Will of all the rest;
Not for his Tongue, his Nose or Speed,
Tho' these were all by far the best;
Malice and Envy know no bounds
And Currs have ever bark'd at Hounds.

But that which most provok'd their Spite
Was this, that when they run a Foil
Or Counter, *Fowler* led them right,
Which cost him many a bitter broil,
Snubbing the Rash and Rioters
And lugging laizy Ones by th' Ears.

So at a General Council held
For Grievances, or what you will,
Poor trusty *Fowler* was Expell'd,
That free-born Dogs might range their fill.
And so they did; but mark what came on't,
Hence-forth they made but sorry Game on't.

The giddy Pack, their Guide b'ing gone,
Run Riot, and the Hunts-Man swore,
Strap't some, and some he whipt; but one
He hang'd, a Noisy babling Curr.
In short, the Pack was spoyl'd; Pray then,
Shall *Fowler* be Expell'd agen?

Coxcomb. A Pox on your Tale, let us proceed to the Vote.

Speaker. What is then your pleasure with relation to the Member who is to be Expell'd?

All. Expell'd, Expell'd.

Speaker. Call him to the Bar.

Enter *Solemn.*

Sir, for *Reasons* best known to our selves, you are Expell'd.

Solemn. *Sir*, you do me too much honor. [*Exit.*

Enter Messenger.

Messenger. Mr. *Speaker*, The Lord *Androboros* with Two Men in Black desires Admittance.

Speaker. Is it your pleasure he be admitted?

Omnes. Ay, Ay.

Speaker. Let the Clerk go to him with the Compliments of the House, and Conduct him in. [*Tom* a going.

Keeper. St. St. St. *Tom*, a Word with you. Pray who are these same men in Black, who accompany the General?

Tom. Two other special Friends of yours, *viz. Fizle* and *Flip*; The first was heretofore a *Muggletonian* [32] of the other side of *Moorefields*, but having no Butter to his Bread there, he Chang'd their Service for that of this House; He sometime fancy'd himself to be the Pope, but his Brother not relishing that as Derogatory to his Pretentions, he is now Contended to be Patriarch of the Western Empire, of which *Androboros* is to be Sultan; The other, for a wonderful Energy in the two most Unruly Members of the Body, has been follow'd of late by the Women and Boys, but a late sinistrous Accident has Crack't his Voice, and — that now he is but little regarded. But I must be gone. [*Ex. Tom.*

Keeper. The Rogue is a good Painter.

Deputy. He draws from the Life, I assure you.

Act First, Scene Third.

Enter *Androboros* and *Tom, Flip* and *Fizle.*

Androb. MOST VENERABLE Gentlemen, Upon my Rounds of Inspection, Prospection and Retrospection, I have understood with Pleasure, that you have sequester'd from your House that wandring Plague, that Kibes in the Heels, and Piles in the posteriors of Mankind.

Æsop. Pardon me, Sir, your Name has not been mention'd here, that I know of.

Androb. I mean *Solemn*, which Act I approve and Commend. It is with no less satisfaction that I now acquaint you, That upon the Earnest Application and most humble Suit of the High and Potent *Towrowmowyoughtough*, Emperor of many Nations, and my good Allies, the Kings of *Agnisagkimaghswoughsayk, Savanaghtipheugh*, and *Bowwougewouffe*, I have undertaken an Expedition against the *Mulo Machians*, your Inveterate Foes.[33] Your Concurrence to enable me to carry it on with Success, is what I demand and expect; and for your Incouragement, I do Swear by this sacred Image, not to pare these Nails, wash this blew Visage, or put off this speckled *Shirt*, Until I have made that Haughly Monarch Confess himself, in all his Projects for Universal Dominion, my Inferior; and My Delamya,[34] fairer then the fairest Princess of his Blood or Empire. So leaving this weighty Affair to your wise Counsels, We bid you heartily Farewell. [*Exit Strutting.*

Speaker. You have heard what this Man has propos'd. What do you Resolve?

Coxcom. Let us Resolve to Support, Maintain and Defend the undoubted Tilte of the Great *Androboros* to the Powers and Authoritys he has Graciously Assum'd

[32] Presbyterian.

[33] Nicholson's 1711 expedition against Canada which failed completely when Sir Hovenden Walker's fleet was badly shattered in the St Lawrence. Nicholson's men never advanced to meet the enemy.

[34] Probably a reference to the alleged romance between Nicholson and the daughter of Major Burwell in Virginia. See the "Cast of Characters" above p 157.

over this and all other the like Tenements, against all Wardens, Directors, Keepers, and their Abettors.

All. Agreed.

Doodlesack. Laet onze Dissolve, That a Summ not Exceeding Negen Skillingen and Elleve Pence be rais'd for the Expeditie.

All. Agreed.

Speaker. Ay, and 'tis more then 'tis worth.

Babilard. Let us Resolve, That He has behav'd Himself on the said Expedition with Courage, Conduct and Prudence.

Speaker. What! before 'tis over!

Æsop. By all means, lest when it is over you should have less reason for this Resolve. But if after all, we must go to War, I would be glad to be better satisfy'd with the Choice of a Leader; For as to this Mans Prowess, we have nothing but his own Word for't.

Coxcomb. The Choice is a good Choice, and he that doubts it, is a Son —— So for that, amongst other weighty Reasons, I second Mr. *Babilards* Motion.

Doodlesack. Ick ock, because it may cast some Reflectie upon our Keeper.

Æsop. Before you proceed any further, I'll beg leave to tell you another Tale, it is but a short one, and if it fails to Instruct, it may divert.

The *Bees* so fam'd for Feats of War,
And Arts of Peace, were once, of Sense
As void as other Insects are,
'Till time and late Experience,
The only Schoolmaster of Fools,
Taught them the use of Laws and Rules.

In that wild state they were Assail'd
By th' Wasps, oft routed and Opprest;
Not that their Hearts or Hands had fail'd,
But that their Head was none o'th' best,
The *Drone* being, by the Commons Voice,
Chose for the Greatness of his Noise.

Thus ill they sped in every Battle;
For tho' the Chief was in Request
At home, for's Fools Coat and his Rattle,
Abroad he was the Common Jest.
The *Wasps* in all Ingagements, held ——
His Folly more then half the Field.

Grown Wiser by repeated Woes,
The Bees thought fit to change their Chief,
It was a *Humble Bee* they Chose,
Whose Conduct brought them quick Relief;
And ever since that Race has led 'em,
The *Drones* are Drums, as Nature made 'em.

But go on with your Resolves; you have mine.

Speaker. I like the last Choice of the Bees, for my part; for by the Law no man can be allow'd to be an Evidence for himself, especially when he happens to be be a single one.

Doodlesack. Wishy Washy's; I agree to Mr. *Babilards* Propositie, for the Reasons given, with this addition, That our Keeper is een Skellum.

Coxcomb. And ought to be dismiss't from having any further Authority over us.

Act First, Scene Fourth.

Enter *Keeper* and *Deputy.*

Keeper. TO YOUR KENNELS, ye Hounds. ——— [*Exit Omnes.*

Deputy. Now, *Sir,* I hope you are satisfied, and for the future you'll keep 'em to their Cells.

Keeper. No, let them enjoy their former Liberty, perhaps they'll stand Corrected.

Deputy. I much doubt it; but I shall Obey.

Keeper. Now, Mr. *Tom.* If I may be so bold, Favour me with a sight of the Minutes of your House.

Tom. With all my heart, here they are.

Keeper. What's here! A *Castle,* a *Wind-Mill,* and *Sheperd* with a *Ram* at his back?

Tom. Ay, *Sir,* a sort of Ægyptian short Hand, containing the substance of their Resolves. The *Castle Renvers'd* and in the Air, denotes the independency of our House; the *Wind-Mill* without Sails, an Expedition without Means or Leader; and the *Ram* butting the *Shepherd on the Breech,* or in other words, dismissing him from having any further Authority over him. ———

Keeper. That wants no Explanation. You'll Watch them, *Tom,* and serve them in the same Capacity, if they meet again.

Tom. To the best of my Skill.

Keeper. Let's to Dinner. [*Exeunt.*

Finis Actus Primi.

Act Second, Scene First.

Enter *Babilard, Fizle, Flip, Coxcomb.*

Babilard. YOU SEE what our wise Resolves have brought upon us, we shall never do his buss'ness in this way, Muzled as we are; I wish my Advice had been follow'd.

Fizle. Pray what was that?

Babilard. I was for proceeding in the way of secret Representations and Remonstrances against him, which My Lord *Oinobaros,* his declar'd Enemy, might have long e'er this improv'd to his Ruin.

Fizle. That was my own Method, but that which discourages me is, that at Parting my Lord assur'd me, That he would return in six Moneths, and Confirm me

in my *Patriarchat*; instead of that, he has himself taken up with the Wardenship of a Spunging-house.

Coxcomb. No, that Method will never do. Have not I, and my Friends transmitted to Mr. *Wry Rump* [35] a Ream of Complaints, as big as the Bunch on his back, which were Referr'd to the Consideration of the Casually sitting Mebmers of the little House, and he was dismiss'd with a Kick o' h' Breech. We must Accuse him of something more Flagrant; Triffles won't do.

Fizle. Why, Then I have another Device for you. You see he can Dissolve our Senate with a Crack of his Whip, so there is nothing to be done that way. Let us incorporate our selves into a *Consistory*; That I believe He dare not touch, without being Reputed an Enemy to the Consistory; and if he does, we may hunt him down full Cry at present.

Flip. That I shold like well enough, but I'm afraid the Cunning Rogue won't meddle with us, as such.

Fizle. We'd say, and swear, That he did, and that's all one. I have a Plot in my head, which I hope will do the buss'ness; in the mean time, go you and acquaint the Rest, that they meet us here in full Consistory Immediately.

[*Exit Babilard,* and *Coxcom.*

Flip. Pray, Brother, Instruct me in your Contrivance, I may help you out with my Advice.

Fizle. It is briefly this. This same Rogue was ever an Enemy to the short Coats and Scanty Skirts of the Laity, and Consequently to the long Robes and Pudding Sleeves of the others; I'll instantly have my long Coat Bes<k>irted and Besh ——, and give out, That it is He, or some of his People, who has don't. If any should be so Heterodox as to doubt the truth on't, I have some ready to swear to the Size and Colour of the T ——.

Flip. I like this well; about it streight, I'll attend them here, Open the Consistory in your Name, and Prepare 'em for what is to ensue. [*Exit Fizle.*

Flip. This same *Fizle* is a Notable Fellow for the head of a Consistory, if he had but a Competent Doze of Brains; but These are so shallow that a Louse may suck 'em up without surfeiting, which renders that noble Portion of *Malice*, with which he is Liberally endow'd of little use to the Publick.

Act Second, Scene Second.

Enter *Mulligrub, Doodlesack, Babilard, Coxcomb, Tom, Æsop,* &c.

Flip. IN THE ABSENCE of My Brother *Fizle* whose occasions have call'd him away for a little time, I am to acquaint you, That he has of his own free Will, meer Motion and by virtue of the Plenitude of his Patriarchal Authority, chosen and e<l>ected you for his Consistory-men and Counsellors in all Cases and Causes Visible and Invisable.

Coxcom. We are highly honor'd by his Choice, and Promise an Implicit Obedience to his pleasure. [Enter *Fizle.*

Fizle. O Horror! O Abomination! was ever the like seen, heard or read of!

Flip. What's the Matter?

35 William Dockwra, one of the proprietors of East New Jersey.

Fizle. As I went to Robe my self for the more decent Attendance on this Consistory I found my Robes in this Pickle! That Vestment, so Reverenc'd by the Antient and Modern World, beskirted and Bedaub'd with what I must not name!

Æsop. Who has done this?

Fizle. Who has done it! Who but the known Enemies to Consistorys and Long Skirts?

Æsop. But methinks your Discretion should have directed you to our Keeper with this Complaint.

Fizle. Our Keeper! One of my Brethren told him of it but now, and he coldly Reply'd, if Mr. *Fizle* from the Redundancy of <His> Zeal has beshit himself, the Abundance of his Wisdom, methinks, should prevail with him to keep the Secret, and make himself Clean.

Mulligr. A plain Proof the Keeper is the Man.

Coxcomb. Ay, Ay, There Needs No Other Proof; it must be the Keeper.

Fizle. I own, I thought so from the beginning; but what course shall we steer for Redress?

Flip. If I may be thought worthy to advise in a matter of this Moment, we shall immediately Address My Lord *Oinobaros* on this head, he being a Devotee to Long Robes of both Gendres, must highly Resent this Affront, and with the Assistance of *Adroboros*, no less an Enemy to the Keeper, may Manage it to his Ruin and our Satisfaction.

Babil. Let Mr. *Fizle* draw up an Address, and we'll all sign it.

Fizle. Gentlemen, If such is your pleasure, I'll retire with the Clerk, prepare one, and submit it to your Approbation.

All. Pray go about it [*Exit Fizle* and *Tom.*

Æsop. I Resent this Affront to the Long Robe as much as any Man, but methinks you proceed too hastily, and upon too slender Grounds against your Keeper. We all know the Malice of Mr. *Fizle's* heart, and that it has Increas'd in proportion to the Keepers good Nature. Had he been oftner Check'd, he had been less Troublesome to himself and us. Let us not provoke our Keeper; for my part, I think he is a good one.

Coxcom. What! is he not an Enemy to the Consistory?

Æsop. No, he is an Enemy to their Folly, and can well distinguish between the Function and the Person who abuses it. Pray give me leave to divert you, 'till *Fizle* returns, with another Tale; It is harmless, and I hope will give no Offence.

In the beginning God made Men,
  And all was well, but in the End
Men made their Gods, and Fondly pay'd 'em.
  The Worship due to him that made 'em,
And all was wrong; for they Increas'd,
  And Multiply'd like Man and Beast.

But none were bold in Reverence
  So much as *Phoebus,* God of sense
And Non-sense, Patron, as occasion
  Did serve, of Arts and Inspiration.

Once on a day as he was led
  About to give a Cast of's Trade,

Whether to Dance, or Sing, or Fiddle,
  Or as some say, to read a Riddle,
I know not; but what-e'er it was,
  His Vehicle was but an Ass,
And he none of the wisest neither;
  For when the Crowd had got together

To pay due Homage to their God,
  Strowing with Flow'rs the Path he rode,
And singing P<a>ans, the vain Beast
  Believ'd all this, to him Address't:
He Pranc'd, and Flung, and Frisk'd about,
  Scatt'ring much Dirt among the Rout,

And bray'd as if h'had got a Pack
  Of Dev'ls, and not a God on's back.
The Crowd essay'd by gentle ways,
  To Curb his Pride, and smooth <his> Pace;
But all was talking to the Wind;
  For Zeal is deaf, when-e'er 'tis blind.

Finding all other Methods fail,
  They seiz'd him by the Ears and Tail,
And took the Idol from his back,
  With many a lusty Bang and Thwack.
They let him know, that *Phoebus* was
  The God, and he was but an Ass.

How d'ye like it? It is an old Tale, but a true *Eccum Ipsum*; let him speak for himself.

Act Second, Scene Third.

Enter *Fizle* and *Tom.*

Fizle. GENTLEMEN, I have finish'd the Address Is it your pleasure that the Clerk read it?

All. Ay, Ay.

Tom. reads. To the most Potent Lord *Oinobaros,* Court of *Kynommaria,* Baron of *Elaphokardia.* The General Consistory of *New Bedlam* [?] most Humbly Represent, That we your Excellencies ever *Besotted* [?] *Subjects,*

Fizle. Devoted Subjects.

Tom. Under a deep sense of the manifold *Bastings* we Enjoy'd.

Fizle. *Blessings,* you Ouph you.

Tom. Blessings we Enjoy'd under your *Wild Administration.*

Fizle. Mild Administration.

Tom. Mild Administration, find ourselves at this time under a *Nonsensical Inclination.*

Fizle. What's that? Let me see't, *Non-sensical Inclination*! It can't be so, It is *Indispensible Obligation.*

Tom. Ay, it should be so.

Fizle. Write it down so then.

Tom. 'Tis done. Finding our selves under an *Incomprehensible Obstination.*

Flip. 'Owns'! That's worse than t'other.

Tom. Cry Mercy, That is a blunder, *Indispensible Obligation* to have Recourse to your Excellencies known *Condemnable Opposition* to our Consistory, and all Things Sacred.

Fizle. I think the Dev'l is in the Fellow. It is *Commendable Disposition.*

Tom. You use so many Long Words, that a Clerk who is not a Scholar may easily mistake one for another. Towards our Consistory, and all things Sacred, Take leave humbly to Represent, That on the *Ev'ning which succeeded the following Day.*

Fizle. Thou Eternal Dunce! *The Ev'ning which preceded All-hallowday.*

Tom. Which preceded *All-hallowday* some open or secret Enemies to this Consistory broke into our *Cupboard.*

Fizle. Ward-Robe.

Tom. Wardrobe, taking from thence some Lumber appertaining to the *Chief of our Rogues,* I mean, some Robes appertaining to the Chief of our Number, which they Inhumanely Tore to pieces and Bedaub'd with *Odour.*

Mulligrub. Hold! I make Exception to that, for there are sweet Odours as well as sower.

Flip. 'Slid; 'tis *Ordure,* (and not *Odour*) which is but another Name for a T—d.

Mulligr. Write it down so then, for a T — is a T — all the world over.

Æsop. And the more you stir it, the more 'twill stink. But go on.

Tom. Now Tho' we *cannot Possibly Prove,* yet we *Affirm Possitively,* That it is our Keeper.

Æsop. How's that?

Fizle. He reads wrong; it is, *Tho' we cannot Possitively Prove, yet we Affirm,* That *possibly it may be our Keeper.* Go on.

Tom. Our Keeper, or some of his People, who is guilty of this *Facetious Fact.*

Fizle. Flagitious Fact.

Tom. Flagitious Fact. We further beg leave to Represent, That this Morning in a Collective Body, by a great *Brutality of Noises.*

Fizle. Plurality of Voices.

Tom. We had declar'd him a *Raskal,* but he had the Impudence to send us packing to our Cells, though we had several *Merduous Matters* under the *In<f>ection of our Hose.*

Mulligrub. Hold! I do not well understand that, Read it again.

Fizle. He cant read his own Hand; it is *Several Arduous Matters under the Inspection of our House.* Go on.

Tom. Wherefore it is our humble and earnest Supplication, That we may be once more put under your *Wild Distraction.*

Fizle. Mild Direction.

Tom. Or that of the *Excrement Androboros.*

Fizle. Excellent *Androboros.*

Tom. That so we may give a *Loose to Our Knavery.*

Fizle. I'm afraid, Sirrah, you are a Knave; Get loose from our Slavery.

Tom. I'm afraid, Sirrah, you are a Knave; Get loose from our Slavery, and fix a *stolid Security for our Nasty Foundations.*

Fizle. Is the Dev'l in thee! A solid Foundation for our lasting Security.

Tom. A solid Foundation for our lasting Security. And your Petitioners, *like Asses as they are, in a durty Pound,* shall never cease to *Bray.*

Fizle. (Raskal! it should be) like as they are in *Duty Bound, shall never cease to pray.* (I could swear he reads thus on purpose.)

Æsop. And not be For-sworn. But have you done?

Tom. Yes, an't please your Honors.

Fizle. Gentlemen, do you approve of this Draught?

Æsop. I like it as the Clerk read it.

Mulligrub. I approve of all, except the *Ordure;* I'll have it a T —:

Coxcom. You'll have it a T —, A T — in your Teeth; it shall stand as it is *Ordure.*

Mulligrub. T—d.

Doodlesack. Ick been on the Cant van de T —d.

Babilard. Let us Compromise the Matter, and make it *Turdure.*

All. Ay, agreed.

Æsop. Gentlemen, you have agreed to the Draught of an Address; but what is to be done with it?

Coxcom. Transmitted to *Oinobaros.*

Æsop. For what purpose?

Coxcomb. To ged Rid of our Keeper, and get *Oinobaros* in his room.

Æsop. If you should, my mind Forbodes you would repent the Change.

Coxcomb. Why?

Æsop. Why! why because a man who could never yet Govern himself, will make but a sorry Governour for others.

Coxcomb. Have a care what you say; That is *Scandalum Magnatum.*

Doodlesack. Pray, *Mr. Tom.* Wat is dat Lating? Ick forestaet niet.

Tom. He say my Lord is in a very great Post, call'd, *The Scandalum Magnatum.*

Doodlesack. Is it given him lately.

Tom. No, he has it by inheritance.

Æsop. Be advis'd by me; Lay your Address aside, and keep as you are; As for your Keeper, none of you can say that he has done you any harm; and for my part I am convinc'd, that he has done us much good. I must beg leave to tell you a Story.

Coxcomb. Hang you and your Storys; we shan't mind 'em.

Æsop. You may give it the same fair play you did to *Mulligrub's* Speech; hear it, tho' you do not mind it. I pray your patience.

The Frogs, a Factious fickle Race,
With little Maners, and less Grace,
  Croak'd for a King so loud,
That all the Host of Heav'n sate mute
Nodding to *Jove* to grant their suit,
  And give 'em what they wou'd.

A King they had, of such a size
Who's Entry too, made such a Noise,
  That Ev'ry Neut and Frog
Affrighted, run to hide their heads;
Some in the Pool, some 'mongst the Reeds,
  Like fools, 'Twas but a Log.

At last, one bolder than the rest,
Approach'd, and the new Prince Address't,
  No hurt from thence sustain'd,
He mock'd his former Fears, and swore
'Twas the best stick of Wood that o'er
  The Marshes ever Reign'd.

Then all the Croaking Crew drew near,
And in his shade from th' angry Air
  Were shelter'd safe, and eas'd,
Nay more then that, they'd frisk and play
Upon his back a live long day,
  He Undisturb'd and pleas'd.

The Pertest Frog of all the Pack,
A Toad, some say, his hue was Black;
  'Tis true; but that's no matter,
Upon the passive Monarch's head,
At times would Noxious Venom shed,
  And both his sides bespatter.

'Twas That same Frog, the Legends tell,
Burst when he only meant to swell,
  Soon after these Events.
Be that as 'twill, 'twas He that drew
That giddy Senseless Crowd to new
  Sedition and Complaints.

Give us a bustling King, *Dread Sir*!
They cry'd, a King that makes a stir;
  This is not to be mov'd.
Jove heard and gave 'm one, who's care
Was, that they should Obey and Fear,
  No matter how they Lov'd.

It was a *Stork*, who's Law-less Rage
Spar'd neither Sex, Degree nor Age,
  That came within his reach.
And that was great, for whilst his Claws
Ransack't the Deep, his Vulturs Jaws
  Could wander oe'r the Beach.

Then they Implor'd the God to send
From heav'n a Plague, from Hell a Fiend,
  Or any but this Curse.
Peace, cry'd the Monarch of the Gods,
Ye Worms; Keep him you have, 'tis odds
  The Next may prove a Worse.

Now If you please, you may put the Question about your Address. I take it to be Log or Stork.

Enter Door-Keeper.

Door-keeper. Here's a Courier from *Androboros*, just return'd from the Expedition, who desires Admittance.

Æsop. It is the most Expeditious Expedition I ever heard of; let us adjourn the Address, and receive the General's Message.

Fizle. Let him come in.

Enter Messenger.

Messenger. The Renown'd *Androboros* with a tender of his hearty Zeal and Affection sends this to the *Consistory*, the Senate being Discontinued.

[*Delivers a Letter.*

Fizle Reads.

RIGHT FRIGHTFUL AND FORMIDABLE, We Greet you Well, And by this Acquaint you, That for many Weighty Considerations Us thereunto moving, We have thought fit to adjourn the Intended Expedition to a more proper season, because we have, upon due and Mature Examination been fully convinc'd, that the Mulomachians,[36] our Reputed Enemies, are in very deed our good and faithful Friends and Allies, who, to remove all Doubts and Scruples, have freely offer'd to Consolidate Consistories with us, as also to divide with us the Commerce of the World, generously resigning and yeilding to us that of the two Poles, reserving to themselves only what may lie between e'm. They have likewise Condescended that we shall keep some Forts and Holds, which by the Fortune of the War they could not take from us, and have promis'd and engag'd to Raze and Demolish some Places in their Possession to our prejudice, so soon as more Convenient are built in their room and place. You are further to understand, to your Great satisfaction, that this is a Treaty Litteral and Spiritual, so that having two Handles it may be Executed with the greater Facility, or if need be, the One may Execute the other, and so it may Execute it self. Now these Concessions (tho' it be well known that

[36] The French in Canada.

I hate Boasting) having been obtain'd, in a great measure by the Terror of my Name and Arms, I expect your Thanks. And so we bid you heartily *Farewell.*

Androboros

Æsop. Buzzzzz, Hummmmm, Buzzzzz ———

Fizle. What Return shall we give to this Civil and Obliging Message?

Æsop. Return him his Letter.

Coxcomb. No, let us vote him Thanks, a Statue and a Triumph!

Enter Keeper.

Keeper. Be no surpriz'd, I have heard what you are about, and Cordially joyn with you in what you propose, in honour of the Valiant *Androboros,* Having received instructions from my Superiors to use that mighty Man according to his Deserts.

Æsop. What! Is our Keeper Mad too?

Keeper. In the Mean time, all Retire to your respective Apartments, until due Disposition be made for his Reception.

Exit, manent Fizle and *Æsop.*

Act Second, Scene Fourth.

<*Fiz.*> WHAT A MAN! I'th Dumps, because our Keeper let fall a word or two about Orders to use a certain great Man according to his deserts!

Æsop. I hope he has receiv'd the same Orders relating to you.

Fizle. There is more in this than you Imagine; I ever believ'd, that it would come to this at last.

Æsop. Why? What's the matter?

Fizle. The Keeper undoubtedly has receiv'd Orders to resign to *Androboros.*

Æsop. What then?

Fizle. What then! I'll tell you what then; Then My Brethren and I shall have our due, and you with yours be proud to lick the Dust off our Feet.

Æsop. Ha'nt ye your Allowence?

Fizle. What of that? That's no more then the Law gives us.

Æsop. And you would have more. Law or Custom makes an Inch to an Ell very fair allowance; you, it seems, want an Ell to an inch. I wish your Stint might be some how ascertain'd; but that, I doubt, cannot easily be compass'd. And whosoever, by giving hopes to find an end of your Craving will find himself deceiv'd, I'll tell you a Tale to this [*half a line missing*],

The Rats, a Tribe much better fed
  Then taught, that mortally abhor'd
To work, lov'd ease and eating, fled
  For shelter to a *Saxon* Lord,
    Who's Barns and Paunch were ever full,
    And nothing Empty but his Skull.

Here did they Revel at their ease,
  Far from the watchful Pusses Eye;
For he had banish't all that Race
  For th' Love they bore to liberty
    And Cleanliness, Things to his Nature
    As opposite as Fire to Water.

His steward put him oft in mind,
  That all his plenty only serv'd
To Fatten Vermin, whilst the Hind
  That Labour'd, and his Servants starv'd;
    And what was worse, th' Infirm and Poor
    Unfed, Unpity'd, ply'd his Door.

To this, the Churle reply'd at length,
  And they may all starve on for me,
The Rats eat not above a Tenth,
  These would Consume me one in Three,
    They are the Rats that would destroy me;
    The others cannot much annoy me.

The pamper'd Tribe familiar grown
  By this Indulgence, Lodg'd themselves
No more as heretofore they ad done,
  In holes and Corners, and on Shelves,
    But in his Robes, and in the upshot,
    They ate his very Heart and Guts out.

God beyt't ye. [*Exit Æsop.*

Fizle. Rats! a Dog! I'll Rat ye, ye Whorson Tale-Teller, you Vermin! a Son of a Whore ——— [*Exit Fizle.*

Act Third, Scene First.

Enter *Keeper, Deputy, Tom* and Servant.

Deputy. WITH ALL DUE Submission, Sir, give me leave to ask you what you mean by the splendid Reception you have promis'd to give to that Odd Man?

Keeper. Very Little besides Diversion. My Superiors, as I am inform'd, have Cloath'd him with Sham-Powers meerly to get rid of his Noise and Trouble; and since these must fall to my share, I'll humour him to keep him quiet.

Deputy. That is not to be hop'd for whilst he lives.

Tom. Persuade him that he is dead then.

Keeper and *Deputy.* Ha, Ha, Ha,

Tom. It is far from Impossible, however Extravagant you may think the Overture. If you'll be rul'd by me, I'll answer for the Success of what I propose, under any Penalties you please. I'm sure he has had the Art to Dream himself into Notions

every whit as Absurd. His Imagination is very ductile when 'tis heated, and by a Long Practice upon't, he has made it as susceptible of Impressions from Without, as it has been of these from Within. Do you but when he appears, behave your selves as if he were Invisible, and take no maner of Notice of what he shall say or do, and I'll answer for the rest. Here he comes, mind him not.

Enter *Androboros.*

Tom. I was not present, *Sir*, when he Expir'd, but arriv'd a few Minutes after.

Keeper, So suddenly too! I wish he may not have had foul play.

Androb. Your Servant, Gentlemen, I hope I do not Interrupt you; pray, who is it you speak of?

Tom. No, Sir, he dy'd of an uncommon Disease, The Physitians call it, a *Tympany in the Imagination,* occasion'd by a collection of much indigested Matter there, which for want of due Excretion, made a breach in the Pericrane, at which that great Soul took its flight.

Keeper. Had he made his Will?

Androboros. Pray, Gentlemen, who is it that's Dead?

Tom. I have not heard of any.

Androb. Cry mercy, I thought ———

Tom. Only about the time he Expir'd, he Cry'd, I leave This World, this Worthless World to My *Delamya, O Delamya!*

Androb. You Impudent Dog you, dare but to Profane that sacred Name with thy base breath, and I'll crush thee to Nothing.

Tom. Hark, did not you hear an odd Noise?

Deputy. Something like the Humming of a Bee.

Tom. Me thinks it sounded rather like the Breath of the Bung of an Empty Barrel.

Androb. You Sawcy Knave, Take that. [*Strikes him a Box o'th' Ear*

Tom. It was nothing but a Flea in my Ear. [*Scratching his Ear.*] And, so, (as I was saying,) with that Name in his Mouth he Expir'd.

Androb. Gentlemen, I am not to be made a May-Game; your betters shall be acquainted with your Conduct. [*Exit.*

Keeper. Run *Tom*, and allay or baulk his Fury. [*Exit Tom.* What d'ye think of *Tom's* Project, is it Not an Odd One?

Deputy. I hardly believe He'll succeed, but if he does, what then!

Keeper. Then We shall live at ease, he'll dream no more, when he thinks that he's dead. It is amazing that this Mans Visions, like Yawning, should be catching. The Inhabitants of this Tenement are not the only Dupes of his *Quixotism.*

Deputy. That Indeed is matter of Wonder; and if the Countenance given to Folly be not all Grimace, The World is as Mad as he.

Enter Tom.

Tom. I have Instructed the Porter, and the other Servants, and have proclaim'd to all, the General remains *Incognito,* until he makes his Publick Entry, and that

no notice is to be taken of him, more than if he were Absent, under the Pain of his highest Displeasure.

Keeper. So far all goes well, But you must Intrust *Solemn* and *Æsop* with your Plot.

Tom. I have already. The first is to be my Conjurer.

Keeper. Conjurer!

Tom. Yes, my Conjurer; To him alone, and that too but some times, he shall be visible, to all besides, a shadow, an Empty Name. Here they come.

Enter *Solemn* and *Æsop.*

Keeper. Gentlemen, you have your Q.

Solemn. Do you but keep your Countenance, leave the rest to us.
[*Chairs and a Table, they sit down.*

Enter *Androboros.*

Androb. Sure all the World is Mad, or have a mind to make me so; I try'd to get out, but the Porter lean't his Staff against my Nose, and belch't full in my Chops; a Culverine could not have done more suddain Execution than that Erruption of Barm and Tobacco Smoak.

Solemn. When is he to be Interr'd?

Tom. This Ev'ning, but is to lie in State here till then.

Androboros, I made a Shift to recover my self, and attempted the back passage; but in the Door of the Kitchin I was saluted with a Pale of <Foul> Water, which had like to have been succeeded by a Shovel of burning Coals, but that I made a speedy Retreat. Something's the matter, what e'er it is; I'll listen here and find it out.

Keeper. But why so suddainly? 'Tis strange so Great a Man should be bury'd with so little Ceremony.

Androb. Bury'd, said he!

Tom. It is done by the advice of Physitians, who have declar'd that his Disease was such as makes a man stink vilely after he is dead.

Keeper. The fair *Delamyal* how does she bear the Loss?

Tom. She's Inconsolable, ready to burst her sides.

Keeper. How! *Tom*? Yes, Sir, Excess of Joy makes some People Weep; Excess of Grief makes her <Laugh> Inordinately, and Cry out Incessantly, *Are these our promised Joys, O Androboros! One Grave shall hold us.* And then she laughs again.

Androb. *Androboros,* it seems then I'm dead; 'tis odd that I should not know it. I'll try that. [*Takes a Chair.*

Keeper. Poor Lady, she lov'd him well, I doubt she'll be as good as her Word.

Æsop. Who set this Empty Chair by me?

Solemn. Save me, ye Kinder Powers, and guard my Senses!

Keeper. What's the matter Man? What d'ye see?

Tom. It is but a Raving fit, the Effect of deep study: he is often taken so.

Solemn. No, my sense is temperate as yours. Look there, There ☞

Æsop. There is a Chair, What then? [*Shoving it with his Foot.*

Solemn. Have ye no Eyes? Can't you see?

Keeper. For my part I see nothing but what I use to see.

Solemn. Why there, in that Chair sits the Venerable Form of the deceas'd *Androboros,* in nothing differing from that Awful Figure he once made, but that you regard it not.

Keeper. Sure he Raves.

Æsop. That Chair. Why there's nothing in that Chair. There it lies.
[*Strikes down* Androboros, *Chair and all.*

Solemn. O! Offer it no Violence.

Androb. You Old Dog, I'll be Reveng'd. [*Goes off.*

Solemn. See how it Stalks off! With what Majestick Air, and how Stern a Brow! It Resents the Indignity offer'd. Ha, Ha, Ha.

All. Ha, Ha, Ha, Ha.

Tom. Now we have him; it begins to work, if I do not mistake his Looks.

Deputy. I had much ado to contain my self.

Keeper. What's next to be done?

Tom. Trust that to me; but be sure not to mind him, ev'n tho' he should be Outragious. To *Solemn* only he must be visible for some time. Have you got your Conjuring Tackle ready?

Solemn. I have. <T>hat will serve the turn. O here he comes again in very pensive Mood and doleful Dumps. All walk off, as if you saw him not; I'll remain alone. [*Exeunt* Keeper, Deputy, Tom *and* Æsop, *passing by* Androboros *without taking Notice of him.*

Act Third, Scene Second.

Solemn *at the Table with Books and Implements.*

Enter *Androboros.*

Androb. 'TIS STRANGE, Wondrous strange, I should take the whole to be a Trick, were it not that my best, my firmest Friends, who never could be Induc'd to practice upon me in this gross manner, behave themselves to my Face as if they saw me not. Whilst I sate at that Table, That only Raskal, *Solemn* saw me, and started and star'd as if he had seen a Ghost; The rest saw nothing. They were talking of my Disease, Death, Burial and latter Will, as of things certain, and of publick knowledge. I think I'm pretty sure that I am Alive, tho' it seems, I am singular in that belief. I See, I Feel, I Hear as I us'd to do, ev'n now I hear my own Voice as plain as can be; I have Thought and Reflection as usual. But, Alas! departed Spirits if they think at all, must think that they do think, that is, that they are not dead, ——— It may be so. ——— Ev'n that very Knave who but now could see me, sits musing by himself as if if I were not here. I Remember it was the Common Opinion that a Ghost that walks, could be seen but by One of a Company. But why should he be blind now? [*Walks nearer.*

Solemn. It must Portend some suddain Change i'th' State; For Ghosts of Note never walk but upon these solemn Errands.

Androb. He does not see me yet; I remember I was on th' other side when he saw me last. [*Goes to the other side.*

Solemn. If the poor Spirit is permitted once more to haunt these Walls, I'll question it, if my Courage fail me not; he may, perhaps, have something of Moment in Commission.

Androb. If you can't see me, can't you hear me, you old Dev'l you? [*Bawling.*

Solemn. How painful, yet unprofitable are all the deeper ways of Art? The Vulgar undisturb'd, Frequent the silent Shades, and quietly enjoy the pleasure of soft Recess or Balmy Slumbers, whilst I whom Science has rais'd so far above them, have not a peaceful hour. If at any time I would see into Futurity, I must take my *Talisman*, and then all Ghosts or Spectres which chance at that time to crowd the Ambient Air, become visible to me, and to me alone. Not dreaming of any search into the Intellectual World; but by meer Chance, I grasp'd my Talisman thus, when streight ——

[*Takes a Tobacco-stopper out of his Pocket. Starts up Wildly.*

Angels and all the Ministers of Grace, Defend me. Be thou a Spirit of Health, or Goblin Damn'd! Bring with thee Airs from Heav'n, or Blasts from Hell, Thou Com'st in such a Questionable Shape, I'll speak to Thee. Thanks Good Hamlet for this again, I'll [*Softly.*
call thee General. Valiant *Androboros*, O speak.

Androb. I tell you, ye Old Fool ——

Solemn. O speak, if ought of dire Import.

Androb. Why, I'll tell you, Sirrah ——

Solemn. <To> this our state disturbs thy sacred Shade, impart, O speak.

Androb. Let me speak then, and be hang'd ——

Solemn. For sure no common Cause could raise thee from thy silent Herse.

Androb. 'Owns! Can your Talisman make you See, and not make you Hear, You Old Conj'ring *Dog*, you?

Solemn. Its Lips Tremble, as if it would Speak, but this is not the time. Up, Up, my *Talisman*, and give thy Master and the Perturbed Spirit Quiet for a Season. —— [*Puts Up his Tobacco-stopper.*
Now all is well again. —— [*Sits Down.*
Sure something is Amiss, what-e'er it is.

<*Androb.*> Now he has lost Sight of Me again. Take out your what d'ye-call't once more, and may be I may tell you all.

Solemn. If I should impart this Odd Event to others, they'll not Credit it, and to show him in his Aerial Form, I dare not.

Androb. Can you show me to other Folks? I'm glad of that. You shall ——

Solemn. Lest the Odious Name of Conjurer should be fixt upon me, and I (such is the prevailing Ignorance and Envy of the Age) instead of being Reverenc'd for my Science be hang'd for a Wizzard.

Androb. Look ye, I'll answer for you.

Solemn. Some other time I'll venture further, Mean while 'tis fit that I retire and ruminate upon this odd Phoenomenon, and find out by my *Talismanick Art* some means to unsear its Lips. [*Exit.*

Androb. Unsear your Ears, ye Old Buzzard, I can speak, but you, it seems, can't hear. He's gone, a Pestilence go with him. I can't tell what to think of it; Am I bew'itch't, or am I really Dead, as they say? It cannot be. Why, is not that a Hand as plain as a Pike Staff? Is not this a Nose? Don't I feel? Yes surely, to my Cost; for my back Akes still with the bruise I got when that Villain *Æsop* Over-set my Chair ——— yet I remember to have heard the learned say, that it is the Soul alone that Feels, the Body is but a Senseless Mass. If I did not think, I should not feel; then Perhaps I only think I feel. Think! I know not what to think, or whether I think at all, if I am Alive or Dead, or whether I ever was alive or no. Sure all this cannot be a Dream; I wish it were, and that I were fairly awake. O here come my good Friends, *Fizle* and *Flip*. Now I shall know.

Enter *Fizle* and *Flip*

Fizle. You must take no Notice of him at all, before he makes his Publick Entry; He'll have it so, and you know his Humor. Poor *Tom* has been Whipt almost to Death by his Orders, for barely Saluting him.

Flip. That is a little Whimsical, by the by; me thinks he might be visible to his Friends.

Androb. What's that? Pray Gentlemen, let me ask you one Question, because I hear, That there is some Doubt my Visibility; D'ye see me? Am I Alive or Dead? What d'ye Think?

Fizle. I told you so, this he does to try our Obedience. Answer him Not.

Androb. Will neither of you Answer me?

Fizle. At six a Clock I'll meet you here again. Adue.

[*Exeunt severally, without Noticing him.*

Androb. They're Gone, and saw me not! Nay, then 'tis too True, I am Dead, as sure as I'm Alive; Dead, Dead as a Herring, and something worse too; for I am Condemn'd to Converse with no Body, but Old *Solemn*, who ever was a Hell upon Earth to me. Would I could change that Doom for any other. Could I but have the Company of my Fellow Ghosts, I should be in some measure Happy, but that is not my Lot, it seems. If the Old Conjurer can but unsear Lips, as he calls it, or uncork his own Ears, as I take it, I might perhaps prevail with him to Conjure me a little better Conversation than his own. It is Tormenting, that I must be oblig'd to him: but there is no Remedy; I'll Wheadle him with a Story of the other World, of which I know as little as he does; That may work upon him.

Enter Tom, *with a Broom Sweeping the Gallary.*

Tom. What a Clutter is here about the Earthing an Old Stinking Corps; Would he had Lain in State in some other place; but rest his Soul, such was his Will.

[*Sings.*

Whenas Old Nick-Nack *Rul'd this Land,*
A Doughty Blade he Wore.
Four Dozen <dragons> Hides he Tann'd.
Of Gyants eke Four Score.

Androb. I wonder if the Ghosts of other Man hear all the Vile Things that are said and Sung of them after their Death? [Tom *sweeps the Dust on him.*

Tom. *But now he's Dead, and laid in Clay.* ———
This Dust is most Abominably Salt, I must qualify't a little.
[*Drinks, and spurts it upon him.*
What a Plaguy Earthy Taste this same small Beer has got, all of a suddain.
[*Sings*

But now he's Dead and laid in Clay, ———

Androb. That's a Lye, for I a'n't Bury'd yet, by his own Confession.

Tom.

Alack, and Wo therefore,
The Gyants they may go to play,
The Dragons sleep and snore.

What a Carrion stink here is; the more I sweep the more it stinks.

Androb. *Solemn* can see me, but can't hear me; This Fellow can neither see me nor hear me; but he can smell me; I'll try if he can feel me.

Tom. *The Dragons sleep and snore.* ———
The stink Comes that way. [*Buts him on the Breast with the Broom.*
I'll Perfume the Air a little. [*Besprinkles him with the Bottle.*

Androb. Hold, Sirrah, hold. Well, if I were alive they durst not have us'd me thus; This Usage convinces me more than anything else. [*Exit.*

Tom. He has it, he has it; I doubt it will be a hard matter to perswade him to Life again.

Act Third, Scene Third.

Enter *Fizle* and *Flip.*

Fizle. We see, *Tom,* you are very busy. But if it be no Interruption, pray give us leave to ask you, In what manner the General is to make his Entry?

Tom. You have it.

Fizle. Nay, Answer us Directly.

Tom. I do, you have Leave.

Flip. Well then, In what manner is the General to make his Entry?

Tom. Ask him.

Fizle. Thank you for that; Ask him, and have our Curiosity answer'd as yours was. But we know that it depends in a great measure on the Keeper, and you of late are more in his Confidence than we.

Tom. If it depends upon the Keeper, He'll make his Entry by way of Exit? If upon himself, it is Problematical, and admits of several Solutions.

Flip. As how?

Tom. Either, *Hurry-Durry, Hum-Drum,* or *Blud and 'Owns.* Rest you Merry, Gentlemen. [*Exit.*

Fizle. We shall learn nothing from this Fellow; but so far we know, that the Keeper must assist at it; And from a broad by hints we have understood, that if he is destroy'd any how, so the General be not seen in't, He'll take that Trust upon himself; Then all will be Well. Now if we can but Contrive to have the Chair over

Loaded, plac'd Upon the Hatch over the Vault, and the Hatch Unbolted, or so weakly Barr'd, that its weight may sink him Down, we shall get Rid of him, and it will appear to the world to be the meer Effect of Chance.

Tom. Peeping. Are you there with your Bears? I shall be up with you. I'll go find out *Solemn*, and try to build on this Foundation of their own Laying.

[*Exit.*

Flip. This is Admirable, and cannot fail; Let's loose no time, but go about it streight; I'll get into the Vault, and Prepare the Bolt; do you take care to place the Chair. Here comes old *Solemn*; no more words, but *Mumm.* [*Exeunt.*

Enter *Solemn*, and *Tom.*

Solem. Are you sure that you heard distinctly? The Excess of the Villany makes it incredible!

Tom. Am I sure that I live? But if you doubt it, the very Tampering with the Chair will Convince you.

Solemn. Away then, acquaint the Keeper, and *Æsop*, leave the rest to me. One thing you must take care be Punctually Observ'd that is, That *Androboros* Friends be planted next to the Chair, by way of Precedency. Quick, Quick, be gone.

Tom. I fly. [*Exit.*

Solemn. When Malice becomes a Moral Virtue, that Couple must be sainted; if the Long Robes were made use of only to Cover the Personal Defects and Blemishes of those who wear 'em, much might be said in their Defence; but when they are worn or lent to Cover Daggers, and Poyson prepar'd for the Innocent, is there a Mortal so devoid of Humanity as to appear on their side? If, as the Philosophers speak, the Corruption of the best Things produces the Worst, the Abuse of Things Sacred must he Dev'lish. O! you are come in good time.

Enter *Æsop.*

Pray get all in order for this same Entry; Neglect not that part of the Ranking of them, which I, *by Tom*, recommended to you. I'll Equip the General, and dispose him for his Triumph: In the mean while do you Intertain 'em with a Tale, or how you please, until he comes.

Æsop. Dispatch then, for they grow Impatient. [*Exit Æsop.*

Enter *Androboros.*

Androb. I hope he has by this time found a way to unsear my Lips or his own Ears, no matter which.

Solemn. Here he comes pat. *Nick-Nack*, How dos't do? I'm glad to see thee Awake with all my heart.

Androb. Is the Dev'l in the Fellow? He can see me now without the help of his Gymcrack; not to mention your odd Familiarity. What d'ye mean by Awake? When was I asleep?

Solemn. Asleep! You have been so Time out of mind. You have been Walking asleep, Talking asleep, and Fighting asleep, I know not how long.

Androb. I'm glad it's no Worse; I Thought I was Dead, at least every body else seem'd to think so.

Solemn. Dead! No, No, No; it is all a Jest.

Androb. Why, you old Raskal, you, Did you not but now start at the sight of me, as if you had seen a Ghost?

Solemn. True, yet you are not actually Dead, but Invisible to all the World besides, and must continue so, so long as I shall think fitting.

Androb. aside. I ever thought this Fellow had the black Art. [*to him.*] I wish thou would'st change that Curse for any other. Canst thou not make thy self invisible to me, as thou hast done me to other Folks? So far I own I would be oblig'd to thee, and thank thee.

Solemn. If that will oblige you, 'tis done, Look but into this Tellescope, and in that instant I shall become invisible to you.

[*Looks into a hollow Cane*; Solemn *from the other End blows Snuff into his Eyes.*

It is done?

Androb. Villian, Dog, Raskal, I'm blind; Where are ye, ye Villian, Murderer?

Solemn. Here, This way, This way; You must see with your Ears, until I shall think fit to Unsear your Eyes, General; That is the bargain, if I remember right.

[*Exit Solemn,* Androb. *Groping his way after him.*

Act Third, Scene Fourth.

Curtain drawn, Discovers Keeper, Deputy, Tom, Æsop, Fizle, Flip, Coxcomb, Babilard, Mullegrub, *&c.*

Keeper. LET THE BLACK Gentlemen be Rank'd as they desire; I'll do all I can to please 'em.

Æsop. With all my Heart, Only I thought it bad Heraldry that these who are supported by the Chair, should support it.

Keeper. Another time you shall have your way; I'll have it so now; let the Rest observe their distance. [*Here they are rank't,* Fizle *and* Flip *next to the Chair.*

Æsop. I'll keep as distant as I can, that I may be at Ease; *Fizle's* Phiz always gives me the Chollick. I know not why he should be suffer'd to walk at Large, to the Detriment of his Majestys Leige People, whilst so many of his Species up and down the World are Insty'd, Inkennel'd, Impounded or Incloyster'd. Did you ever hear how that came about? I'll tell you, if you please.

Keeper. Come on.

Æsop. And First of the First,

Nature, which nothing leaves to Chance,
  Had dealt to Creatures of each Kind,
Provision for their Sustenance,
  To some her Bounty had Assign'd
    The Herb o'th' Fields, whilst others had
    The Spoils of Trees, but All were Fed.

The Grunting Kind obtain'd the last,
  A happy Lot; for every Wood

Afforded store of Nuts and Mast,
And *Joves* own Tree did Show'r down Food
Enough for all, could all his Store
Have kept that Herd from Craving more.

But they with Sloath and Plenty Cloy'd,
Wax'd Wanton, and with Tusks Profane,
First, all the sacred Trees Destroy'd,
Which fed 'em; Next invade the Plain,
Where harmless Flocks did graze, and <Spoil>
With Rav'nous Snouts the fertile Soil.

Jove hears the loud Complaints and Cry's
Of Suff'ring Flocks, and streight Ordains,
That hence-forth Hogs be pen't in Sty's.
And fed with Wash, and Husks, and Grains;
Where ever since th' Unhallow'd Race
Wallows in Fat and Filthyness.

Secondly, Beloved ———

Keeper. No, No, We have enough of the first. [*Noise within.* What Noise is that?

Androb. within. I'll have the Villian Hang'd; Dog, Raskal, Rogue, Scoundrel.

Æsop. By my Life, it is the General making his Entry; It seems he has got no Herald for this Triumph, that he thus Proclaims his own Titles.

[Enter *Solemn,* Androboros *following him.*

Solemn. Make way there, Make way; Room, Room for the General; This way, ——— This way ———

[Solemn *Steps aside,* Androboros *Runs blindly upon the Chair,* Fizle *and* Flip *Endeavouring to Stop him, Sink with Him.*

Fizle and *Flip.* Hold, Hold; Help! Help! Help!

Keeper. What's the meaning of this?

Solemn. 'Tis but a Trap of their Own laid for you, Sir, in which They Themselves are Caught.

Coxcomb. Let's be gone! There is no Safety here.

[*Coxcomb, Babilard, Mulligrub Sneaking off.*

Solemn. What! You are a making your Retreat; you need not fear, you are a sort of Vermin not worth the Bait; The others have their Deserts.

In former Ages virtuous Deeds
Rais'd Mortals to the blest Abodes,
But Hero's of the Modern Breed
And Saints go downward to the Gods.

[Exeunt.

Curtain Falls.

FINIS.

Reading Vogues at English Cathedral Libraries of the Eighteenth Century

By Paul Kaufman
University of Washington Library

PART IV

LAW, GOVERNMENT, TRADE

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Augustine, Anthony. Epitome juris pontificii. Rome. 1614?	1			1					
Barringon, Daines. More observations on the ancient statutes. 1766	2			1	1				
Bever, Thomas. History of the legal polity of the Roman state. 1781	1			1					
Blackstone, Sir William. Commentaries. 4v. Ox. 1766–9	35	1		17	8	5	2		
—— Essay on collateral consanguinity. Ox. 1750	3			3					
—— Magna Charta, etc. 1758	8			8					
—— Reports in the King's Bench. 2v. 1780	4			4					
Bohun, William. Law of tithes. 1730	3			3					
"Book of Statutes"	3			3					
Bracton, Henry de. De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliae. 1599	1			1					
Bullen, Sir Francis. Law relative to trials at *nisi prius*. 1767	3			3					
Burgh, James. Political disquisitions. 3v. 1774–5	1			1					
Burn, Richard. Justice of the peace and parish officer. 2v. 1755	5			5					
—— New law dictionary. 2v. 1792	1			1					
Burrow, Sir James. Reports of cases in the King's Bench. 4 parts. 1776	1			1					
Carleton, George. Jurisdiction regall, episcopall, papall. 1610	1						1		
Coke, Sir Edward. Institutes of the laws of England. 1719	2			2					
Corpus juris civilis. Ed. Julius Pacius. Geneva. 1580	1						1		
Cowell, John. Interpreter of law words. Camb. 1607	4	2	1				1		
—— Institutiones juris Anglicani. 1630	1	1							
Croke, Sir George. Reports of select cases in the courts of King's Bench and common pleas. 3v. 1657–61	1			1					
Domat, John. The civil law. Tr. William Stachan. 2v. 1720	2			2					
Fullwood, Francis. Leges Angliae.	1		1						
Godefroi, James. Opuscula juridica, etc. Geneva. 1654	1			1					
Goldast, Melchior. Politica imperialia. Frankfort. 1614	1					1			
Grotius, Hugo. De jure belli et pacis.	4		1	1		1	1		
Hale, Sir Matthew. Pleas of the crown. 1678	1			1					
Hawkins, William. Treatise of the pleas of the crown. 2v. 1787	1			1					
Hobbes, Thomas. Of civil law	1		1						

Law, Government, Trade, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Jacob, Giles. New law dictionary. 2v. 1797	2			2					
"Jurisprudentia philologica"	1					1			
"The whole office of the country justice"	1		1						
Justinian. "Novellae" (Institutes).	3		1	2					
—— Codex legum imperialium. 1627	3			2	1				
Lombard, William. Archaionomia [in Greek] sive de priscis Anglorum legibus. 1568	1	1							
Lambert, ———. Compleat justice.	1		1						
"Leges Anglo Saxonicae"	2			2					
Lewis, William. Commercium philosophico-technicum, or the philosophical commerce of the arts. 4 parts. 1763–6	1			1					
"The local statutes"	2			2					
Lolme, John Louis de. The constitution of England. 1775	4	1		3					
"London cases abridged"	1			1					
Lyndewood, William. Provincial constitutions of England. Ox. 1679	7	1		3	3				
Madox. Formulare Anglicanum. 1702	2		1				1		
Manley, Thomas. Cowell's *Terms of law,* continued as *The Interpreter* by Manley. 1701	1	1							
Millar, John. Historical view of the English government. 1787	3			3					
"Modus tenendi Parliamentum"	1			1					
Nalson, John. A true copy of the journal of the high court of justice for the trial of Charles I. 1684	1							1	
Nicolson, William. Leges marchiarum; or border laws. 1705	2			2					
Noy, Sir William. Reports of cases. 1656	1		1						
"Pandectae cum notis Godefroy"	2			2					
Petty, Sir William. Political arithmetic. 1691	1	1							
Pickering, Danby. Statutes at large.	20	4		6	5		5		
Plowden, Francis. Jura Anglorum. 1792	2			2					
Postlethwayt, Malachy. Universal dictionary of trade and commerce. 2v. 1751–6	1			1					
Proceedings of the house of commons.	7			7					
Proceedings of the House of Lords.	2			2					
Prynne, William. Substance of a speech in the Commons touching the king's answer. 1649	3					3			
"Reports of public records"	3		1			2			
"Reports of the record." 1800	1	1							
Puffendorf, Samuel. De jure naturae et gentium. 1672	10		1	1	8				
—— Law of nature and of nations. Tr. from Latin Kennet. 1703	1			1					
Reeves, John. History of English law. 2v. 1784–5	2			2					
Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum sub Hen. VIII et Eduardo VI. 1571	2	1					1		
"Rights of the kingdom"	1		1						
Ryley, William. Placita parliamentaria	1			1					
Rymer, Thomas. Foedera. 20v. 1704–35	31	1	3	16			11		
Salmon, Thomas. Abridgement of the state trials. 1737	1			1					
"Sandersons? opera juridica"	1			1					
Scobell, Henry. Collection of acts and ordinances 1640–56. 1658	1			1					
Selden, John. De jure naturali et gentium.	4	1	3						
—— Powers in Parliament in point of judicature. 1642	1					1			
—— De successionibus. 1636	2			1		1			

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Sharp, Granville. The law of retribution [against slavery]. 1776	1			1					
—— The law of liberty [addressed] to slave-holders. 1776	1			1					
Sheppard, William. Epitome of the common and statute laws of England. 1656	1		1						
—— Guide for justices. 1649	1		1						
Sherlock, William. The case of resistance of supreme powers. 1684	1		1						
Sidney, Algernon. Discourses concerning government. 2v. 1750	1			1					
Sigonius, Charles. De antiquo jure civium Romanorum. Paris. 1573	1			1					
—— De regno Italiae. Basle. 1575	2			2					
—— De republica Atheniensium. Bologna? 1564	1				1				
"State trials." 8v. 1730 (C)	22	2		20					
"Statutes of England"	31		22			9			
"Statutes later end of Queen Anne and King George first"	3						3		
Steuart, Sir James D. An inquiry into the principles of political economy. 2v. 1767	1		1						
Stillingfleet, Edward. Ecclesiastical cases. 2v. 1698, 1704	2							E	
Stubbes, Henry. Examination of Lord Bacon relative to the sweating sickness. 1671	1							I	
Sullivan, Francis S. Historical treatise on the feudal law. 1770	3			3					
Taxatio ecclesiastica circa 1291. 1802	1					1			
Taylor, John. Elements of civil law. 1754	2			1	1				
Les termes de la ley. 1641	2	2							
"Tryals of the traytors Garnet etc"	1		1						
Vaughan, Sir John. Reports and arguments. 1677	1		1						
Vegetius, F. Renatus. Rei militaris.	1						1		
Viner, Charles. General and compleat abridgment of law and equity. Aldershot. 23v. 1741–51	2			2					
Wake, William. The authority of Xian princes	2		1	1					
Whitelock, Bulstrode. Disquisitions on the government of England. 2v. 1766	1			1					
Wood, John. Institutes of ecclesiastical and civil polity. 1773	1			1					
Wood, Thomas. Some thoughts concerning the study of the laws of England. 1727	1						1		
—— Institutes of the laws of England. 1720	3			3					

MATHEMATICS

Brancker, Thomas. An introduction to algebra, out of High Dutch. 1668	3		3						
Euclid.	4		2	1				I	
—— "Data"	1						1		
Newton, Sir Isaac. Principia mathematica. 1687	2			1				I	
"Trigonometry"	1							I	
Wallis, John. "Operum mathemat."	1			1					
Wells, Edward. Young gentleman's arithmetic. 1713	1			1					
Wharton, Sir George. Kalendars.	2		1			1			
Wilkins, John. Mathematical magic. 1648	2		2						
Wingate, Edmund. Arithmetick made easy. 1630	1		1						

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
"L'academie des sciences"	6			6					
Adams, George. Lectures on natural philosophy. 5v. 1794	9			9					
Albin, Eleazar. Natural history of English insects. 1720	6			6					
—— Natural history of birds. 3v. 1731–40	3			3					
De alchimia opuscula [collection of nine tracts]. Frankfort. 1530–50	1						1		
Allian, Claudius. De natura animalium. 2v. 1744	1						1		
Angela, B. De fulgineo. Strasburg. 1650	1						1		
"Astronomy"	1			1					
Bacon, Francis. Sylva sylvarum. 1627	1					1			
Bedford, Arthur. Animadversions upon Sir Isaac Newton's chronology. 1728	1			1					
Birch, Thomas. History of the Royal Society. 4v. 1756–7	4			4					
Blasius, Gerard Leon. Anatome animalium. Amst. 1681	1							1	
Bochart, Samuel. Hierozoicon seu . . . de animalibus sacrae scripturae.	4		1	1		1	1		
Buffon, Georges Louis Le Clerc, Comte de. Histoire naturelle. Paris. 1770–77	22			22					
—— Supplement to the natural history. 1776	1			1					
—— Histoire naturelle des oiseaux. 3v. Paris. 1770–75	1			1					
Burnet, Thomas. Treatise on the earth. 2v. 1681–9	2		2						
Costard, George. History of astronomy. 1767	1					1			
"Sparsis Florum." [probably] Diecman, John. Dissertationis de sparsione florum.	1			1					
Edwards, George. History of birds. 4v. 1743–53	17			17					
—— Gleanings of natural history. 3v. 1758–63	2			2					
Ellis, John. Natural history of many curious and uncommon zoophytes. 1786	1						1		
Evelyn, John. Sylva. 1664	9			5			3	1	
—— Sylva. Ed. Hunter. 2v. 1776	4			4					
—— Terra. 1778	2		1				1		
Ferguson, James. Astronomy explained on Sir Isaac Newton's principles. 1756	4			4					
Forster, John Reinhold. Flora Americae Septentrionalis. 1771	1			1					
Fothergill, John. Hortus Uptoniensis; or a catalogue of stove and greenhouse plants. 1784	1						1		
Galileo. Due massime systeme del mondo.	2					2			
Gerarde, John. History of plants. 1633	2	1						1	
Gesner, Conrad. Annotationes in rei rusticae scriptores. Leipzig. 2v. 1735	1						1		
—— Historiae naturalis animalium. 4v. Zurich. 1551–87	2			1			1		
—— De piscibus et aquatilibus.	1						1		
—— "5 vols."	1			1					
Cilles, Peter. De vi et natura animalium. Lyon. 1533	1			1					
Goldsmith, Oliver. Survey of experimental philosophy. 2v. 1776	6			6					
—— History of the earth. 4v. 1774	34			34					
Grew, Nehemiah. Musaeum regalis societatis, or Catalogue of the rarities of Gresham College. 1681	2						2		

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	Ξ	P
—— Anatomy of vegetables. 1672	2		2						
—— Anatomy of plants. 1672	1		1						
Hamilton, Sir William. Observations on Mount Vesuvius and other volcanoes. 1773	17			17					
Heath, Robert. Astronomia accurata. 1760	1			1					
Heylin, Peter. Microcosmos, or description of the world. 1621	1			1					
Hill, Sir John. Natural history. 3v. 1748–52	5			5					
Jones, William. Natural philosophy. Ox. 1762	1	1							
Lavater, John Caspar. Essai sur la physiognomie. Tr. from German. 3v. Hague. 1781–6	13			13					
Leigh, Charles. Natural history of Lancashire Cheshire and the Peak. Ox. 1700	8		4	4					
Linnaean Society. Transactions.	1			1					
Linnaeus, Carl. Genera plantarum.	2			2					
Long, Roger. Treatise on astronomy. Camb. 1742–64	5			5					
Martin, Benjamin. Natural history of England. 1759	1			1					
Miller, Philip. Catalogue of plants?. 3v. 1759	4			4					
—— Figures of plants. 2v. 1755–60	3			3					
—— Illustration of the sexual system of Linnaeus' Genera plantarum. 2v. 1775–7	1			1					
Morton, John. Natural history of Northamptonshire. 1712	4			4					
Moufet, Thomas. Insectorum . . . theatrum. 1634	1		1						
Newton, Sir Isaac. Opera. Ed. Samuel Horsley. 5v. 1779–85	8			1	1	5	1		
—— Opticks. 1704	1	1							
—— Optical lectures . . . at Cambridge. Tr. from Latin. 1730	2			2					
Newton, John. Introduction to astronomy. 1678	1			1					
Nicholson, William. Introduction to natural philosophy. 2v. 1784	8			8					
Parkinson, John. A garden of flowers. 1629	3		3						
Pennant, Thomas. History of quadrupeds. 2v. 1781	3		3						
—— Arctic zoology. 2v. 1784–5	7			7					
—— British zoology. 4v. 1776–7	18			14			4		
—— Histoire naturelle des oiseaux par le Comte de Buffon. 1786	2			2					
Petavius, Dionysius. Uranologion. Paris. 1630	1					1			
"Plantarum ———"	1					1			
Plott, Robert. Natural history of Oxfordshire. 1679	5	2		1	1	1			
—— Natural history of Staffordshire. Ox. 1679	3			3					
Pluche, Antoine Noel de. Histoire du ciel. 2v. Paris. 1739	1						1		
Pomponius Mela. [De situ orbis]	1			1					
Pontoppidan, Eric. The natural history of Norway. 2v. 1755	3			3					
Ptolemaeus, Claudius. Magna constructio cum Theonis comm. Gr. Basle. 1538	1	1							
Ray, John. Historia plantarum generalis. 3v. 1686–1704	2			2					
"The royal astronomer"	1			1					
Smellie, William. Philosophy of natural history. 2v. 1790–99	7			7					
Sprat, Thomas. History of the Royal Society. 1667	5		2			3			
Turner, William. A new herbal. Cologne. 1568	1						1		
Watson, Richard. Chemical essays. 5v. 1757	11			11					
White, Gilbert. Natural history of Selborne. 1789	9			4		5			

Natural Philosophy, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Whitehurst, John. Original state and formation of the earth. 1778	9			3		6			
Willoughby, Francis. Ornithology. 1678	1	1							
Wright, Thomas. An original theory of the universe. 1750	1			1					

ARTS

Aldrich, Henry. Elementa architecturae civilis. Tr. into English. Ox. 1789	3			3					
Ames, Joseph. Typographical antiquities; or an historical account of printing in England, 1749	2			2					
"Architecture Britannica"?	1		1						
Beger, Lawrence. Thesaurus . . . gemmarum et numismatum Graecorum. 3v. 1696	1			1					
Bellori, John Peter. Columna Antoniana. 1679	2			2					
Bertoli, John Dominick. Columna Trajani.	2			2					
"A book of drawings"	1			1					
"A book of prints"	1			1					
Clarke, Charles. On coins. 1751	3					2		1	
"Collection of Italian prints 2 vol — Rudari"	1			1					
Cooke, William. Medallic history of imperial Rome. 2v. 1781	3			3					
Dallaway, James. Anecdotes of the arts in England. 1800	3	3							
Dibdin, Thomas Frognall. Typographical antiquities. Ed. Joseph Ames. 3v. 1810–16	4	3					1		
Disegni? "Originali d'excellenti pittorie."	1			1					
Ducarel, Andrew. Anglo-Gallic coins. 1757	2	2							
"An essay on the orders of arch."	1			1					
Guillim, John. Display of heraldry. 1724	5	2	1				2		
Jones, Inigo. Design of St. Paul's.	2				2				
Mediobarbus, Franciscus. Imperatorum Romanorum numismata. Milan. 1683	3	3							
Mantano, Baptista. Prints.	1			1					
Museum Florentine. 9v. 1732, etc.	11			11					
Museum Romanum	1			1					
Nelson, ———. Heraldry.	1						1		
Nollendius. Architectura di And. Palladio.	1							1	
Occon, Adolp. Imperatorum Romanorum numismata. 1601	2	2							
Orders of Greek architecture. 1768	1	1							
"Ornaments of churches considered"	1			1					
Palladio, Andrew. Architectura. Tr. with notes James Ware. 1738	1			1					
Patin, Charles. Imperatorum Romanorum numismata. 1671	2	2							
Recueil de divers veues en Paris, etc.	1	1							
Volume of prints, Dr. J. Bargrave [sic]	1	1							
"Prints of Raphael"	1			1					
"Supplement aux recherches sur l'origine, l'esprit & les ——— des arts"	1			1					
Roche, Peter de la. Essay on the orders of architecture. 1768	1			1					
Rubeis, John James de. Alixandri 7 papae & cardinalium effigies. 1658	12	12							
Spence, Joseph. Polymetis. 1755	29	2		9	4	14			

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	Ξ	P
Struvius, Burcardus. Biblioteca numismatum antiquorum. Jena. 1693	1			1					
Vaillant, John. Selectiora numismata Maximi Moduli. Paris. 1695	1	1							
—— Numismata aerea imperatorum. Paris. 1695	3	3							
Vignola, James Barozzi de. Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura. Amst. 1631	1			1					
Vitruvius, Marcus Pollio. De architectura. Ed. John de Laet.	2			2					
Walpole, Horace. Anecdotes of painting in England. 2v. 1762	20			20					
Wild, Charles. A series of views of . . . the cathedrals of Canterbury and York. 1809	1	1							
Wise, Francis. Nummorum antiquorum scriniis Bodleianis reconditorum catalogus. Ox. 1750	9	8					1		

MUSIC

Albicastro. Sonatas	1						1		
Arnold, Samuel. Collection of anthems. 4v. c 1786	4	2					1		1
Boyce, William. Cathedral music. 7v. 1760	10	6					4		
—— "Services" [same as foregoing?].	1				1				
Brossard, Sebastian de. La dictionnaire de musique. Amst. 1703	1			1					
Burney, Charles. General history of music. 4v. 1775–89	11			8	3				
—— Present state of music in France and Italy. 1771	6			6					
Croft and Walkley. Morning service	1						1		
Hawkins, Sir John. History of music. 5v. 1776	10	4					6		
Kircher, Athanasius. Musurgia universalis. 2v. Rome. 1650	1	1							
Marsini. Sonatas.	1						1		
Meibomius, Marcus. Antiquae musicae auctores septem. 2v. Amst. 1652	2			2					
Mergenned, ———. Harmonicks.	1				1				
Morley, Thomas. Plaine and easy introduction to practical music in form of a dialogue. 1597	1			1					
"A music book"	1		1						
"Pieces of old music"	1		1						
Principes de musique	1			1					
Ravenscroft, Thomas. Psalm tunes. 4 parts. 1621, etc.	1							1	
Reggio. "Musick"	1				1				
Vivaldi. Concerto.	1						1		

PHYSIC, ANATOMY, ETC

"Aelie a physick book."	1						1		
Averroes et alii. De rebus medicinis.	1						1		
Duret, Louis. Commentaire sur les cloaques d'Hippocrate. Paris. 1621	1							1	
Galen. Opera	1			1					
Havers, Clopton. [Works on anatomy.]	1		1						
Hippocrates. Aphorisms [or opera].	3			2		1			
Hippocratis et Galeni opera. ?13v. Paris. 1679	1			1					
Hodges, Nathaniel. De nupera peste. 1672	1					1			
Jones, William. Physiological disquisitions. 1781	1	1							
Jones, John. Mysteries of opium revealed. 1701	1							1	

Physic, Anatomy, etc, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Medical observations. Vol. 6.	1							1	
Pomet, Peter. History of drugs. Tr. from French. 1712	1			1					
Pugh, John. Treatise on the science of muscular motion. 1794	6			6					
Sydenham, Thomas. Observationes medicae. 1675	1							1	
Taminus et alii. De rebus medicinis.	1						1		
Wall, Martin. Medical tracts. Ox. 1780	1							1	
Willis, Thomas. Cerebri anatome. 1664	1					1			

HUSBANDRY, ETC

"Gardeners Her Septentrionale."	1			1					
Hartlib, Samuel. Husbandry.	1		1						
Miller, Philip. Gardeners' and florists' dictionary. 2v. 1724	4			4					
"Mystery of Gardening."	1							1	

MISCELLANEOUS

Acta eruditorum [for several years]	4			3		1			
"Adagia idest proverbiorum"	1								1
Annual register	20	20							
"Answer to Cook's reports"	1			1					
Antiquarian repertory; a miscellany. 1775, etc.	6			6					
"An apology for sundry proceedings"	1			1					
Arbuthnot, John. Table of the Grecian, etc. measures, etc. and coins. 1705	1			1					
Ars cogitandi	2		2						
Art of speaking	2		2						
Asiatic researches [periodical]. Calcutta. 1788, etc.	1			1					
Astle, Thomas. The origin and progress of writing. 1784	12		10	2					
"Adventure admirable"	1						1		
Asycough, Samuel. Catalogue of MSS . . . in the British Museum. 2v. 1782	2			2					
Bacci, Andrew. De vinis . . . Italiae. Rome. 1596	2			2					
Bail, Lewis.	1			1					
Balguy, Thomas. Discourses on various subjects. 1785	1			1					
Bancroft.	1					1			
Barranton?. "Improvements." Perhaps, John Shute Barringon, Miscellanea sacra; or a new method of considering the history of the apostles?	1		1						
Barton.	1		1						
Beattie, James. Essays on poetry and music, etc. Edin. 1776	8			6			2		
Bibliotheca critica. 5v. Amst. 1777	1			1					
Blackmore, Sir Richard. Essays on several subjects. 1716	1			1					
Blakiston?, John. "Commentary."	1			1					
Blith, Walter. On husbandry. 1652	1		1						
Blount, Sir Thomas. Censura celebrium authorum. 1690	1							1	
Boyle, Robert?	1		1						
Bray, Thomas. Bibliotheca parochialis. 1707	2			2					
Brerewood, Edward. Enquiries concerning the diversity of languages and religions. 1614	1						1		

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Buxtorf, John. Anticritica adversa Lud. Capellum. Basle. 1653	1	1							
Cambridge graduates. Camb. 1800	1	1							
Angeli Caninii hellenismus. Paris. 1578	1	1							
Carte, Thomas? ——— au voyage.	1				1				
Catalogue of English writers.	1		1						
A catalogue of the nobility of England	1		1						
Catalogi MSS Angliae & Hiberniae. Ox. 1697	1	1							
Causa Valeriana	1						1		
"Caxton"	1			1					
The class catalogue [of the library?].	2					1	1		
"The classical catalogue"	1			1					
"A collection of Art. Injunct — etc."	1			1					
Colomesius, Paul. Opuscula. Paris. 1668	1			1					
Columella. De re rustica. Paris. 1643 See Merula under Greek and Latin.	1						1		
Cotton, Sir Robert.	1					1			
Davies, Edward. Celtic researches. 1804	1						1		
Determination of the most excellent universities. 1531	1						1		
D'Herbelot, Bartholomew. Bibliothèque orientale.	1				1				
Dissertations historiques, et sur la Bible. Paris. 1711	1	1							
Dornford?, Josiah. Constitutions of the German empire. 3v. 1790	2			2					
Ducarel, Andrew. Repertory of the endowments of the vicarages in the diocese of Canterbury. 1763	1	1							
Dugdale, William. History of imbanking and draining. 1662	3	3							
Eden, Sir F. M. State of the poor. 3v. 1797	5			5					
Edinburgh transactions	3			3					
Encyclopedia Britannica. Edin. 10v. 1778	9			9					
"E. W. Tracts v. 3"	1		1						
Fiddes? for March 1739	1			1					
Sir John Floyer and Edward Baynard. The history of cold bathing. 1706	3	3							
Foster. Reports	3				3				
Franklin, Benjamin. "Works"	11			11					
Joannis Gersonii opera. 2v. Paris. 1606	1	1							
"Goldsmith's ———"	1			1					
Grotius, Hugo. Opera. 4v.? 1679	16	2		14					
—— Dissertations.	1		1						
Gruter, Jan. Florilegium magnum. 2v. Strasburg. 1624	1	1							
Harleian catalogue and "Biblioteca Harleiana"	4			3		1			
Harleian miscellany [same as "Biblioteca Harleiana" above?]	7			7					
Harris, ———? "Miscellanies"	2			2					
Harris, ———? Works "vol 3"	8			8					
Hawkins, ———? "byr [?] Script"	1			1					
Heylin, Peter. Historical and miscellaneous tracts. 1681	1			1					
Hickes, George. Controversial letters. 2v. 1710	1			1					
Histoire de l'académie des sciences.	1					1			
"Historie de l'academie" [same as above?]	1			1					
"History of W———?" 2v.	1			1					
Howard, John. Account of the principal lazarettos in Europe. 1789	8			8					
—— State of the prisons in England and Wales. Warrington. 1777, 1784	3			3					

Miscellaneous, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Howard, ———? "2 vols"	1			1					
Hyde, Thomas. De ludis orientalium. Ox. 1689–94	1			1					
Iconum insigniorum.	1						1		
Index expurgatorius. Cologne. 1598	1						1		
Irish academy.	1			1					
Jacobus sixtus.	1		1						
Jansenii [?] Augustianis [?]	2					2			
Johnson, ———? "the 8th vol"	2				2				
Johnson, Samuel. Works.	1			1					
Johnston, William. History of inventions and discoveries. Tr. from German of John Beckman. 3v. 1797	3			3					
Jortin, John. Tracts, philological, etc. 2v. 1790	6	3		2	1				
Journal des scavans	1						1		
King Charles. Works.	10	1	2	1	2	4			
King James. Works.	1						1		
Lalande, Le Français de Joseph Jérôme. On canals?	1			1					
Laurin?, ———? Dissertation	1			1					
Legenda nova.	1						1		
"Lettres de quelques Juifs"	1							1	
"Library of Merley"	4			4					
Lilly, William. Almanack	1		1						
Loftus, Smyth. Reply to Mr. Gibbon. Dublin. 1778	1	1							
Lux orientalis.	2		2						
Maittaire, Michael. Annales typographici. 5v. 1719–41	5			5					
Manchester society. Memoirs.	9			8			1		
"The manners of the age"	1			1					
Markham, Gervase. The way to wealth. 1653	1		1						
"Memoires de l'académie" or "de l'académie roial"	5			2		3			
Mercurius politicus. 6v.	1				1				
Merian, John Berbard. Histoire de l'académie [sometimes] des inscriptions. Various data: e.g. "1769" and "vol 25."	19			19					
Middendorpius, Jacob. De celebrioribus universi terrarum orbis academicis. Cologne. 1567	1						1		
"Miscellany, an old book"	1						1		
"Miscellane [sic]" or "Miscellanies No. 30"	2					2			
"Moers de sauvages." ?Lafidan.	2				2				
Volume of newspapers.	1		1						
Norris, Henry Handley. A practical exposition of . . . the British and foreign Bible society 1812	1	1							
Norris, John. A collection of miscellanies. 1687	1		1						
Nouvelles de la république des lettres.	1					1			
"Origin etc. of sacrifice"	1					1			
"Ouvrages des scavans 3 vols."	1							1	
Pamphlets. "vol 6," "vol 8"	2					2			
Patin, Guy. Letters. 6v.	2							2	
Peck, Francis. Desiderata curiosa. 2v. 1732	19	11		7			1		
Pererius, Benedictus. "in German."	1			1					
Petronius, Alexander. De victu Romanorum. 1581	1			1					
Pennant, Thomas. Works. 6v.	1			1					
Philosophical transactions.	207	18	75	58		35	21		
—— Abridged. Ed. Benjamin Motte, John Lowthorp, and Andrew Reid (from the beginning to 1732).	5	1		4					
Abstracts and returns of the population of Great Britain, 1801, 1811, etc.	5	3					2		
"Principles of a member of the Black List"	1								1

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	Ξ	P
Quenstedt, John Andrew.	1			1					
Raper, Matthew. Dissertation on the gypsies. 1787	5			5					
"Recherches de la Grèce"	1			1					
"Recueil des conferences"	1								1
"Registrum brevium"	1			1					
"Registrum honoris de Richmond"	1			1					
Rei nummoriae scriptores.	1			1					
Scacchus, F. Sacrorum elaeochrismaton. Rome. 1625	1				1				
Selby, ———. Letters	1		1						
Selden, John. No title.	1			1					
—— Opera. 3v. 1726	9			1	7			1	
—— Titles of honour. 1614	4			4					
Sexti libri distinctionum?	1				1				
"A volume of sermons by various hands"	1			1					
Sion college library catalogue. Ed. William Reading. 1724	1	1							
Smith, ———? Remains	1		1						
Spelman	1			1					
"The statutes of the College"	1			1					
Stockesii thesaurus	1		1						
"Tabb Dunelm"	1			1					
Theatrum Cometicum	1					1			
Thomasius, Christianus. Observationes. 11v. 1700	1	1							
Volume of tracts	1					1			
"Vol. of Miscellany Tracts"	7	7							
Tracts vol. 4	1		1						
"Various Tracts"	3			3					
"Vasi diversi &"	1			1					
La vie heureuse	1			1					
Wallis?, John? Works	1			1					
Watson	1			1					
Williams, ———? "Tracts 2 vols"	1			1					
Wright, Andrew. Court hand restored. 1776	2		2						
"Year Books"	1			1					

UNDETERMINED CLASSIFICATION

Nonarum Inquisitiones?	1						1		
Melmoth?	1					1			
Wood, ———. "Works."	1			1					
"Acta Lips"	3			3					
"Wotton"	1			1					
"Absorcade"?	1				1				
"Fre—art on Prietiay"	1		1						
"Mosaik ———"	1	1							
Harrington	1				1				
Rosa anglica.	1							1	
Oeuvres de Mr Plavreau.	1							1	
Filiu. Quaest. moral.	1				1				
Pottinger, P. Thesaurus	1								1
Paulis. de legat ——— Roman	1				1				
Naclautus, Jac. Opera. 2v in 1 Venice. 1567	1						1		
Jones, ———. "Originalis 2 vol"	1			1					
"Gestri opera"	1			1					
Dacherius, Lucas. "Spicilegium e v."	2			2					
Daniel, ——— Discourses.	1					1			
"Quadrant of ———"	1			1					
"Praelectiones of Derondon?"	1								1
"Wamford Sums 2 vols."	1				1				

Undetermined Classification, continued

	Total	C	Cr	D	G	W	Y	E	P
Hornius, ———	2			1			1		
Fasciculus tract gram[m]aticon	1				1				
"Etymolog. Magtii"	1			1					
Ericus? Lexicon	1			1					
Zuccnus	1				1				

MANUSCRIPTS *

Canterbury:

Cicero, Epistolae (from a church at Boulogne)
Lovejoy, George. Orationes. . . . Exercitia Scholastica
MS Vol, of Somner's papers
(Catalogi manscriptorum Angliae & Hiberniae. Ox. 1697)
Illuminated MS presented to Henry 7th by John Skelton Poet Laureate
Casaubon, Isaac. Ephemerides, f. MS. beginning in 1597

Carlisle:

Machel MSS

Durham:

MS Foundation of college at Durham by Cromwell, with a copy of a letter of his.
Rudd — Catalogue of the MSS [of the library?]
"Meli —— del Gro: Badista Bassus"
Mattheus & Marcus glossati
Mattheus & Joannes "
Mattheus "
4 Evangelia & 12 prophetae min
Copy of the Acts in the suit between the Archb of York and the Dean and Chapter of Durham
Dr. Bernard's Catalogue of MSS

Gloucester:

Lydgate MS
"Poems" MS

Winchester:

Manuscripts in the Cottonian library

York:

Torre, James, compiler, MS collection relating to the diocese of York
Hickes, John, MS on the Number of the Beast
Catalogus Librorum MSS um
Two MSS vol
MS Life of Cardinal Wolsey taken to Lambeth at request of the Archbishop of Canterbury by the Dean
MS St. Mary's Abbey 2v.
MS Joannis Gloss.
MS "Jo Mich Nagonii Poemata"

Exeter:

Ridson [Tristram] Heraldick MS

* No attempt has been made to compile a complete inventory of manuscripts borrowed. The total list is a brief one and not especially significant, consisting chiefly of documents of local import. The following is a representative selection.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

President, GILBERT W. CHAPMAN
First Vice-President, ROY E. LARSEN
Second Vice-President, JOHN M. SCHIFF
Secretary, BETHUEL M. WEBSTER
Treasurer, GRANT KEEHN
Assistant Treasurer, UNITED STATES TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK
Director, EDWARD G. FREEHAFER
MRS VINCENT ASTOR
C. WALLER BARRETT
MORRIS HADLEY
ARTHUR A. HOUGHTON, JR
DONALD F. HYDE
DEVEREUX C. JOSEPHS
MRS MILLICENT C. McINTOSH
NEWBOLD MORRIS
THOMAS L. PERKINS
ROLAND L. REDMOND
DAVID A. SHEPARD
FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN
NORMAN H. STROUSE
WALTER N. THAYER
MRS ARNOLD WHITRIDGE

THE MAYOR, THE COMPTROLLER, AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, *ex officio*

HONORARY TRUSTEE
ELIHU ROOT, JR

STAFF OFFICERS

DIRECTOR, Edward G. Freehafer
DEPUTY DIRECTOR, John Mackenzie Cory
ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR, James Wood Henderson (Acting)
CHIEF OF ACCOUNTING OFFICE, Mrs Angela M. Lyons
EXECUTIVE OFFICER, Bayard Schieffelin
CHIEF OF THE PERSONNEL OFFICE, Alan L. Heyneman
CHIEF OF THE PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICE, Miss Marion L. Simmons

REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

Central Building, Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street. Annex, 521 West 43rd Street
JAMES WOOD HENDERSON, Chief

EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT, Gilbert A. Cam
AMERICAN HISTORY AND GENEALOGY DIVISION, Gerald D. McDonald, Chief
ANNEX REFERENCE SERVICES, 521 West 43rd Street, Saro John Riccardi, Chief
ARENTS COLLECTIONS, John D. Gordan, Acting Chief
ART AND ARCHITECTURE DIVISION, Karl Kup, Chief
BERG COLLECTION, John D. Gordan, Chief
BOOK DELIVERY DIVISION, David C. Maclay, Chief
DANCE COLLECTION, Miss Genevieve Oswald, Curator
ECONOMICS DIVISION, John Fall, Chief
INFORMATION DIVISION, Archibald P. DeWeese, Chief
JEWISH DIVISION, Abraham Berger, Chief
MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, Robert W. Hill, Keeper of Manuscripts
MAP DIVISION, Gerard L. Alexander, Chief
MUSIC DIVISION, Philip L. Miller, Chief
ORIENTAL DIVISON, John L. Mish, Chief
PERIODICALS DIVISION, Barron M. Franz, Chief
PREPARATION DIVISION, Robert E. Kingery, Chief
PRINTS DIVISION, Karl Kup, Chief
RARE BOOK DIVISION, Lewis M. Stark, Chief
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY DIVISION, George S. Bonn, Chief
SLAVONIC DIVISION, John L. Mish, Chief
SPENCER COLLECTION, Karl Kup, Adviser
THEATRE COLLECTION, George Freedley, Curator

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

Headquarters: Donnell Library Center, 20 West 53rd Street, New York, N. Y. 10019
MRS JEAN ORTH GODFREY, Chief

ASSISTANT CHIEF, Miss Mary Dana
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES, Mrs Julia Brody, Coordinator
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT, Mrs Dorothy Homer
TECHNICAL SERVICES, Mrs Sydney G. Marcu, Coordinator
ADULT SERVICES, Miss Katherine L. O'Brien, Coordinator
CHILDREN'S SERVICES, Mrs Augusta Baker, Coordinator
YOUNG ADULT SERVICES, Miss Margaret Scoggin, Coordinator
MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES & RECORDS CENTER, James Katsaros, Administrator

Circulation Department, *continued*

List of Branches and Librarians

MANHATTAN

COORDINATOR, Miss Casindania Eaton

ASSISTANT COORDINATOR, Walter Roziewski

AGUILAR. 174 East 110th Street.
Miss Marie Ferrigno

BLOOMINGDALE REGIONAL. 150 West 100th Street.
Miss Erna Obermeier

CATHEDRAL. 564 Lexington Avenue.
Robert Powers

CENTRAL CHILDREN'S ROOM. Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street.
Miss Maria Cimino

CENTRAL CIRCULATION. Fifth Ave. & 42nd St.
Miss Mary C. Hatch

CHATHAM SQUARE. 33 East Broadway.
Miss Virginia Swift

COLUMBIA. Room 101, Butler Lib., Col. Univ.
John Slade

COLUMBUS. 742 Tenth Avenue.
Miss Eliza Perry

COUNTEE CULLEN REGIONAL. 104 West 136th Street.
Miss Esther Walls

DONNELL LIBRARY CENTER. 20 West 53rd Street.
Miss Loda Hopkins

EPIPHANY. 228 East 23rd Street.
Miss Regina Sludock

FIFTY-EIGHTH STREET. 127 East 58th Street.
Raymond Harris

FORT WASHINGTON REGIONAL. 535 West 179th Street.
Mrs Winifred Carruthers

GEORGE BRUCE. 518 West 125th Street.
Howard Rickert

HAMILTON FISH PARK. 415 East Houston St.
Mrs Mary Pieper

HAMILTON GRANGE. 503 West 145th Street.
Mrs Dorothy Pitman

HARLEM LIBRARY. 9 West 124th Street.
Mrs Rosa C. Brown

HUDSON PARK. 10 Seventh Avenue South.
Mrs Alice Vielehr

INWOOD REGIONAL. 4790 Broadway.
Miss Clara Rees

JACKSON SQUARE. 251 West 13th Street.
Miss Ruth Shinnamon

LIBRARY FOR THE BLIND. 166 Avenue of the Americas.
Miss Charlotte C. Harrison

MACOMB'S BRIDGE. 2650 Seventh Avenue.

MUHLENBERG. 209 West 23rd Street.
Miss Alice McQuaid

MUNICIPAL REFERENCE LIBRARY. 2230 Municipal Building.
Eugene Bockman

Public Health Division. 125 Worth Street. Room 224

MUSIC LIBRARY. 127 East 58th Street.
Mrs Catharine K. Miller

NATHAN STRAUS. 20 West 53rd Street.
Miss Elizabeth A. Boyle

NINETY-SIXTH STREET REGIONAL. 112 East 96th Street.
Miss Irene Patjens

115TH STREET. 203 West 115th Street.
Miss Anne Judge

125TH STREET. 224 East 125th Street.
Dale Middleton

OTTENDORFER. 135 Second Avenue.
Miss Mercy Kellogg

PICTURE COLLECTION. Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street.
Miss Romana Javitz

RIVERSIDE. 190 Amsterdam Avenue.
Miss Myrtle Reynolds

ST AGNES REGIONAL. 444 Amsterdam Ave.
Miss Dorothy Cobb

SCHOMBURG COLLECTION. 103 West 135th Street.
Mrs Jean Blackwell Hutson

SEWARD PARK. 192 East Broadway.
Miss Joan Treble

SIXTY-SEVENTH STREET. 328 East 67th St.
Mrs Margarethe Kortenbeutel Voorhis

TOMPKINS SQUARE REGIONAL. 331 East 10th Street.
Mrs Alice Alexander

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS. 1000 St Nicholas Avenue.
Mrs Regina M. Andrews

WEBSTER. 1465 York Avenue.
Miss Edna Thomson

YORKVILLE. 222 East 79th Street.
Miss Emily Davis

THE BRONX

COORDINATOR, Gerald Gold

ASSISTANT COORDINATOR, Miss Mary Barrett

ALLERTON. 2740 Barnes Avenue.
Miss Grace Iijima

BRONX BOOKMOBILES. 321 East 140th Street.
Mrs Mabel Bell

CASTLE HILL. 2220 Cincinnatus Avenue.
Philip Wolcoff

CITY ISLAND. 325 City Island Avenue.
Mrs Stella Webber

APRIL 1964

BULLETIN
OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

Les faintises du monde.

BULLETIN OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

VOLUME 68 APRIL 1964 NUMBER 4

CONTENTS

SIXTY-FOUR TREASURES; AN EXHIBITION FOR WORLD'S FAIR VISITORS 209

THE FIRST WESLEY HYMN BOOK BY MARTHA WINBURN ENGLAND 225

ACQUISITIONS DURING 1962–1963: RARE BOOK DIVISION BY LEWIS M. STARK 239

FACT AND SYMBOL IN "THE CHIMNEY SWEEPER" OF BLAKE'S *SONGS OF INNOCENCE* BY MARTIN K. NURMI 249

POSTSCRIPT: BLAKE AND CHARLES LAMB BY ROBERT H. HOPKINS 257

THE ARENTS COLLECTION OF BOOKS IN PARTS AND ASSOCIATED LITERATURE: A SUPPLEMENT TO THE CHECKLIST, 1957–1963 (PART II, CONCLUSION) BY PERRY O'NEIL 259

LATEST PUBLICATIONS NYPL 270

EXHIBITIONS IN THE CENTRAL BUILDING 274

On the cover: The title-page of a famous late fifteenth-century poem, *Les faintises du monde* by Guillaume Alexis (Paris, Jean Trepperel ca 1495); a unique copy of this edition recently acquired by the Library's Rare Book Division. See Mr Stark's report following.

Printed and published monthly except July and August, by The New York Public Library at Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10018. Subscription $3.00 a year, single numbers 30 cents.

Editor, DAVID V. ERDMAN; WILLIAM L. COAKLEY, *Editorial Assistant*

Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y. April, 1964. Volume 68. Number 4.

form p5 [lv-1-64 2m]

Sixty-Four Treasures

Foreword

IN HONOR of the 1964 World's Fair The New York Public Library is exhibiting sixty-four notable treasures from its various divisions and special collections. These have been selected to suggest to the many visitors coming to New York for the Fair, the breadth and diversity of the Library's holdings. Covering a span of nearly six hundred years, the manuscripts and printed books shown here illustrate the many ways in which the Library carries out its principal purpose — to serve the sciences and the humanities. They have been chosen as outstanding examples of literature, science and history, as well as of fine bookmaking, handsome binding and beautiful illustration.

One of the world's most far-reaching discoveries is set forth in the letter Christopher Columbus wrote to a Spanish court official, Luis de Santangel, upon his return from his great adventure. "In thirty-three days I passed over to the Indies with the fleet which the most illustrious King and Queen, our Lords, gave me: where I found very many islands peopled with inhabitants beyond number." This dramatic announcement was immediately put into print for the quickest possible distribution. How many copies were issued we do not know, but the only one that has survived is in this exhibition — "Americanum" number one, and one of the Library's greatest treasures.

Columbus's announcement had an incalculable impact on men's minds and led to the opening up of a New World for exploration and settlement. Other books and documents in this exhibition have had similar impact and significance: Copernicus's *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*, the foundation book of modern astronomy, published at Nuremberg in 1543; Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, Louvain, about 1516; Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, Madrid, 1605; and the *Declaration of Independence* in Jefferson's own hand.

The invention of printing itself is symbolized by its greatest monument, the *Gutenberg Bible*. The beauty of a great masterpiece of medieval calligraphy and illumination can be studied in the *Tickhill Psalter*, written in England between 1303 and 1314. Beautiful printing and illustration are combined in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of 1499, from the press of the great Venetian printer Aldus Manutius. These and the other treasures assembled here epitomize the richness of the printed and manuscript resources of this Library, one of the great research centers of the country.

Visitors to the Fair will see much of the newest technology and scientific discoveries, along with reminders of the past, such as the replica of Columbus's flagship, the *Santa Maria*. Visitors to the Library will find here the great achievements of the past, along with the results of modern scholarship. Together they furnish the foundations on which the future will be built, a future which Columbus and his contemporaries can hardly have imagined.

Sanjuroku Kasen. ↑

The Thirty-Six Immortal Poets. Scroll on paper. Japan, Kamakura period, ca. 1200.

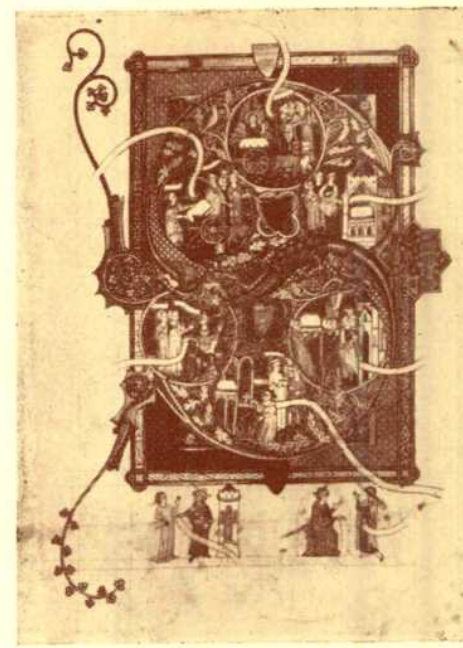
Written in the new script called *kana*, developed in the late Heian period and done with spirited brush strokes guided by a hand so entirely engrossed in beauty of form that the content is at times almost impossible to decipher. The placing of the columns of characters is so elegant that it suggests a whimsical musical commentary on the human forms below. The poets illustrated are Oshikochi no Mitsune (d. 907) and Isé (d. 939).

Spencer Collection

The Tickhill Psalter. Manuscript on vellum, written in England, ca. 1310.

This Psalter was written and at least partially illustrated and illuminated by one John Tickhill, prior of the Augustinian monastery of Worksop, near Nottingham, in central England, between the years 1303 and 1314. It is remarkable for its wealth of illustration and high standard of artistic work. During the eighteenth century, the manuscript came into the possession of the Kerr family, Earls of Ancram and Lothian. In 1932 it was sold in New York at auction, and acquired by the Library.

Spencer Collection ↓



Mahzor. Manuscript on vellum, ← Rhineland, ca. 1380.

The Mahzor is a collection of festival prayers according to the Ashkenazic (German) rite, used in Italian Jewish communities. This fourteenth-century manuscript, written on vellum with many illuminations, is in two volumes. The illumination shown here depicts the opening of the Gates of Mercy and contains a prayer for the Day of Atonement.

Each of the two volumes contains a postscript, dated at Padua, October 10, 1848, by Samuel David Luzzatto, the Italian Hebrew literary historian, listing the liturgical poems found in the text, some of which are not extant in any other collection.

Louis M. Rabinowitz Collection, Jewish Division

Wöchentlich Andacht zu Seligkayt. Illuminated manuscript on parchment. South Germany, early 15th century.

This devotional compilation, on seventeen leaves, is a combination of handwriting and printing. The sixty-nine illustrations show scenes from Biblical history and the life of Christ, together with portraits of the Saints. The printing of these woodcuts directly on the parchment and their subsequent hand-coloring are viewed by scholars as a transitional step between the medieval manuscript and the later printed book.

Manuscript Division

Ulrich von Richenthal.

The Chronicle of the Council of Constance. Manuscript on paper, South Germany, ca. 1450–1460.

This actual account by an eye witness, Ulrich von Richenthal, was written and illustrated by an artist of the Constance school, with over two hundred pen-and-ink sketches, colored by hand. It is the second-oldest known version of the Chronicle of the Council of Constance and was copied from a manuscript now lost. The manuscript represents the style of writing and illustration, typical of the books made for popular consumption, at a time when printing from movable type was already in existence.

Spencer Collection →

A "Girdle Book" Breviary. Manuscript on paper, South Germany, dated 1454. Bound into a leather pouch.

Manuscript breviaries for the use of the clergy were not uncommon in the fifteenth century, but a breviary bound into a leather pouch to be buttoned and carried in a belt or girdle is of great rarity. Not more than thirteen such "Girdle Books" are known to have survived. This breviary was written by Brother Sebaldus of the monastery of Kastl, near Eichstätt, Germany, and is dated 1454. It contains four single woodcuts of the early fifteenth century pasted onto the pages of the text for illustration.

Spencer Collection

Biblia. Mainz: Johann Gutenberg? 1455?

The so-called Gutenberg, or 42-line, Bible was the first large book, if not the first considerable piece of printing, executed in Europe from movable metal types. This copy, purchased for James Lenox at the Wilkes sale in London in March, 1847, was the first to be brought to this country.

Lenox Collection, Rare Book Division

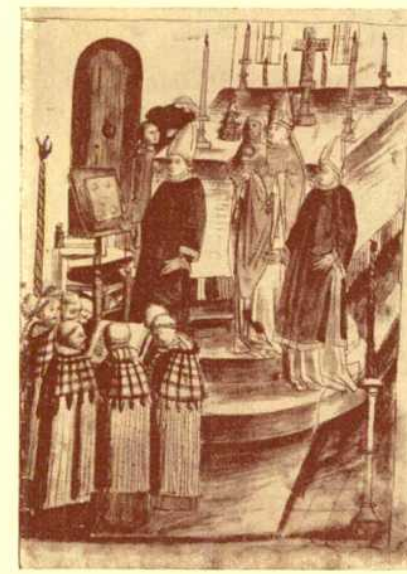
Claudius Ptolemy.

Geographia. Florence? Italy, ca. 1460.

Ptolemy was an eminent scientist who lived in Egypt at the beginning of the Christian era. Until the discoveries of the Columbian period, his geographical works were accepted as authoritative.

This manuscript is often referred to as the *Codex Ebnerianus*, after the name of a previous owner. The Library published a special edition from this text in 1932.

Manuscript Division



Richard Aungerville, known as Richard de Bury.

Philobiblon. Cologne: Printer of Augustinus' *De fide*, 1473.

The *Philobiblon* is the earliest published treatise on the love of books. Its author, living some hundred years before the invention of printing in Europe, brought together one of the greatest collections of manuscripts in fourteenth-century England. His famous treatise became the prototype of the many books on book-collecting which have appeared since this first edition was issued in 1473.

Rare Book Division. Bequest of Gabriel Wells

Jacob ben Asher.

The Four Pillars. Piove di Sacco, 1475.

The author of this code of Jewish law was a refugee from Germany who died in Toledo, Spain, before 1340. The printer of the book was a physician, Meshullam Cusi ben Moses Jacob, whose enthusiasm for the newly invented art is expressed in the following poem in the colophon:

Wisdom am I, and crown of all science,
Hidden am I, a mystery to all.
Without pen stroke, my imprint stands patent,
Without scribe, lo! a volume appears.

This is one of two recorded copies on vellum of the first Hebrew printed book.

Jewish Division

Dante Alighieri.
La Divina Comedia. Florence: Nicolo di Lorenzo, 1481.

Dante's principal work is here shown in the Florence edition, illustrated with copper engravings which have been attributed to Sandro Botticelli and to Baccio Baldini. Of the many illustrations planned, only nineteen were printed. Two of these were printed directly upon the pages of the first signature and seventeen were pasted into their designated spaces. The plan of illustrating the entire volume was abandoned.

Spencer Collection

Euclid.
Elementa geometriae. Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, 1482.

Euclid's contribution to mathematics was his systematic and logical expression of the geometrical knowledge extant in his day. Very little is known about his life, but so well did he organize his "Elements" that the work has been used without any important changes from about 300 B.C. to the present day. This is the first printed edition. It contains the Latin translation of Johannes Campanus (fl. ca. 1260).

Parsons Collection, Science and Technology Division

Geoffroy de La Tour-Landry.
The Book of the Knight of the Tower. Westminster: William Caxton, 1484.

"The booke whiche the knyght of the Toure made to the enseygnement and techyng of his doughters" is the title used by Caxton in the colophon of this fourteenth-century treatise on the education and conduct of women. It is one of the rarest of the books translated and published by England's first printer. This is one of four perfect copies known and the only one located outside of England.

The two chapter headings shown here read in modernized English: "How no woman ought to wrangle or brawl with folk which be brainless"; and "How no good woman ought to answer to her husband when he is angry."

Lenox Collection, Rare Book Division

Bible. Bohemian. Prague: Jan Kamp, 1488.

This work, known as the Prague Bible, is the earliest complete Bible in Czech. The text follows an old version revised by John Huss. Only a few copies of this edition are extant.

Lenox Collection, Rare Book Division

Triod Tzvetnaya. The Floral Triodion or Pentecostarion, ca. 1491.

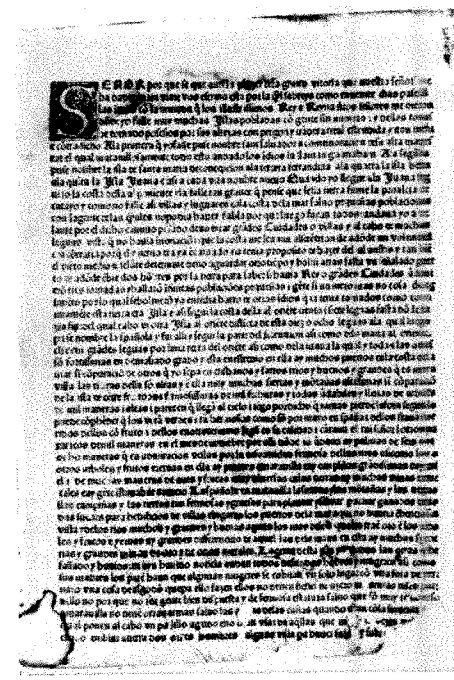
A liturgical work of the Eastern Orthodox Church, this volume is believed to have been printed in Cracow by Schweidpolt Fiol (Viol) in 1491. This is the initial date in the history of printing from Cyrillic type. Only four other copies are known.

Rare Book Division

Christopher Columbus.
Letter to Luis de Santangel, 15 Feb. 1493. Barcelona: Pedro Posa, 1493.

Unknown until its discovery in Spain about 1889, this so-called "Spanish folio" edition is the first printing of Columbus's epoch-making announcement of his discovery of a New World. This is the only copy known.

Rare Book Division



Francesco de Colonna.

Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1499.

The *Hypnerotomachia* by Venice's great printer, Aldus Manutius, has been called the most perfect book of the fifteenth century and a masterpiece of the classical period of Venetian book illustration. Its woodcuts have been attributed to Bellini, Montagna, Cima, and Carpaccio. This copy is printed on vellum.

Spencer Collection

Aesop's Fables. Manuscript on vellum. Northern Italy, ca. 1500.

This splendid manuscript is written in Greek and illuminated with innumerable miniatures in the style of Florentine book illumination of the late Renaissance.

Spencer Collection

Martin Waldseemüller.

Cosmographiae introductio. St. Dié: Gualtherus Lud, April 25, 1507.

The name "America" was first applied to the New World in "this small book of far-reaching consequence." Miss Margaret B. Stillwell, in her *Incunabula and Americana*, translates the famous passage:

"But now that these parts have been more extensively examined, and another fourth part has been discovered by Americus Vespuccius . . . I do not see why we should rightly refuse to name it America . . . after its discoverer Americus, a man of sagacious mind, since both Europe and Asia took their names from women."

Lenox Collection, Rare Book Division

Diego Columbus.

Letter to King Ferdinand of Spain, July 19, 1511, signed "el Almirante."

Diego was the older of the two sons of Christopher Columbus and inherited the noble title "Admiral of the Indies" upon the death of his father in 1506. In this letter Diego proposes another exploratory expedition toward the "new world"; it is the earliest of his letters owned by the Library.

Manuscript Division

Sir Thomas More.

Libellus vere aureus . . . de optimo reip. statu, deque noua Insula Vtopiae . . . nunc primum editus. [Louvain, 1516?]

More's account of the ideal commonwealth, Utopia, was first written in Latin and published in Louvain, probably in 1516, in the edition shown here, which was overseen by the great scholar Erasmus. It gave the world a new word and ideas that are still revolutionary.

Berg Collection

La Conquista del Peru. Seville: Bartolomé Perez, April, 1534.

The dramatic story of Pizarro's conquest of Peru is told here by one of his followers who returned to Spain shortly after the treacherous execution of Atahualpa, the last Inca ruler, whose meeting with the conquistadors is pictured on the title page. This is the second printed account of the conquest so far known, and the copy shown is one of only two recorded.

Lenox Collection, Rare Book Division

Gerardus Mercator.

Cordiform Map of the World, 1538.

Mercator's "Orbis imago" is probably the second map produced by the great cartographer and inventor of the famous Mercator projection. It is the earliest dated map to apply the name America to both continents. Only one other copy is known.

Lenox Collection, Rare Book Division

Nicolaus Copernicus.

De revolutionibus orbium coelestium. Norimbergae: Johannes Petreius, 1543.

Here, in the foundation book of modern astronomy, of which this copy is a first edition, the heliocentric theory of the universe was first given full expression and supported by mathematical calculations. Its publication led to the gradual abandonment of the geocentric theory which held that the earth was stationary and that the sun and stars revolved around it.

Rare Book Division

Juan de Zumárraga, Bishop of Mexico.

Dotrina breve. Mexico: En casa de Juan Cromberger, 1543.

In 1539, just one hundred years before the beginning of printing in this country, Juan Cromberger of Seville sent to Mexico his associate, Juan Pablos, to set up a printing press in that newly conquered country. Bishop Zumárraga's treatise on Catholic doctrine is the fourth recorded publication of this first printing press to be established in the New World. The copy shown is of the first issue, of which there are seven located copies.

Rare Book Division. Gift of Robert Lenox Kennedy

Roman Catholic Church. Liturgy and ritual.

Ordinarivm sacri ordinis heremitarū sancti Augustini. Mexico: Juan Pablos, 1556.

The Ordinarium contains the portions of the Mass which do not change from day to day. This one, for Augustinian use, includes the first music printed in the New World. Only two other copies are recorded: one in the British Museum and the other in the William H. Scheide Collection, Princeton, New Jersey.

Rare Book Division

André Thevet.

Les singularitez de la France antarctique. Paris: Héritiers de Maurice de la Porte, 1557.

The first edition of this famous work on Brazil is a superlatively rare book, of which apparently only three other copies are recorded. It contains the first published account of the cigar and its use by the natives; it is also the second published work relating to Canada, and records Cartier's description of pipe-smoking among the Indians there.

Arents Tobacco Collection

John Foxe.

Actes and Monuments of these Latter and Perillous Dayes, Touching Matters of the Church. London: By J. Day, 1563.

This history of the Christian Church, popularly known as "Foxe's Book of Martyrs," was first written in Latin and published at Strasbourg. The first English edition, printed in 1563, was literally read to pieces, despite its length. Only two perfect copies, of which this is one, are supposed to exist.

Berg Collection

A Ryght Pithy, Pleasaunt and Merie Comedie: Intytuled Gammer Gurtons Nedle . . . Made by Mr. S. Mr. of Art. London: By T. Colwell, 1575.

Considered the first regular comedy in English dramatic literature, *Gammer Gurton's Needle* was published in 1575. Mr. S., Master of Arts, is now believed to have been William Stevenson of Christ's College, Cambridge. Only seven copies of this, the first, edition are now known.

Berg Collection

Baltazarini da Belgiojoso.

Balet comique de la Royne. Paris: Le Roy, Ballard & Patisson, 1582.

This is the first ballet ever to be printed, and contains vocal music in score as well as dances. The ballet was presented at the wedding of the Duc de Joyeuse and Mlle de Vaudemont in 1581. The copy on display was once the property of Ben Jonson.

Drexel Collection, Dance Collection

Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina.

Hymni totius anni. Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1589.

A remarkably fresh copy of the four voice parts of this work by Palestrina, containing forty-five hymns for the entire church year. It was apparently first published in Rome the same year, but as a large folio volume intended for choir use, rather than in part books, as shown here. These have survived in original condition.

Music Division

Anthony Chute.

Tabaco. London: Adam Islip, 1595.

Only one other copy is known of this first English work entirely on the subject of tobacco. For long no copy of this book was seen

by bibliographers, and many writers on the subject did not know of its existence.
Arents Tobacco Collection

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra.

El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Qvixote de la Mancha. Madrid: Por Juan de la Cuesta, 1605. →

Don Quixote may be read as a burlesque of the chivalric romances of the sixteenth century or as a satire on political and ecclesiastical abuses. It may also be read for pleasure, as one of the great narratives of fiction. This is a copy of the first edition.
Berg Collection

Samuel de Champlain.

Les voyages du sieur de Champlain. Paris: Jean Berjon, 1613.

The first edition of Champlain's account of his four voyages to America during the years from 1604 to 1613 is one of the great landmarks of Canadian history. It gives detailed information concerning Indian manners and customs, and includes among its illustrations a rare map showing Champlain's explorations southward along the coast of New Brunswick and New England. This is the first map to picture the coastline of New England with approximate accuracy. The Library's copy was formerly in the collection of Prince Eugene of Savoy.
Lenox Collection, Rare Book Division

Robert Hole.

Parthenia In-Violata, or Maydenmusicke for the Virginalls and Bassviol. London: J. Pyper, ca. 1614.

A companion volume, *Parthenia,* which appeared in 1611, was the "first musicke that ever was printed for the virginalls." The title of the book listed here was a pun upon the Greek "Parthenos" (virgin) and "In-Violata" (set for the viol to accompany the virginal); both were popular instruments of the period. This is the only known copy of the work.
Drexel Collection, Music Division

James I, King of England.

The Workes. London: Robert Barker and John Bill, 1616.

The first folio edition of the works of tobacco's greatest enemy includes his famous "A Counterblaste to Tobacco." This copy was bound for his wife, Anne of Denmark, and has her arms and monogram on the sides. Books from her library are extremely rare.
Arents Tobacco Collection

EL INGENIOSO
HIDALGO DON QVIXOTE DE LA MANCHA,
Compuesto por Miguel de Cervantes Saauedra.
DIRIGIDO AL DVQVE DE BEJAR,
Marques de Gibraleon, Conde de Benalcazar, y Bañares, Vizconde de la Puebla de Alcozer, Señor de las villas de Capilla, Curiel, y Burguillos.
Año, 1605.
CON PRIVILEGIO,
EN MADRID, Por Iuan de la Cuesta.
Vendese en casa de Francisco de Robles, librero del Rey nuestro señor.

William Shakespeare.

Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. London: By I. Iaggard, and E. Blount, 1623. →

The first collected edition of Shakespeare's plays, known as the first folio, was brought together by two actors, John Heminge and Henry Condell. Both men were associates of Shakespeare at the Globe Theatre and were mentioned in his will. Though not of great rarity, the first folio is beyond doubt the best-known and most important work in English literature. And its fame happily illustrates Shakespeare's own lines:

> "Not marble nor the gilded monuments
> Of princes shall outlive this powerful rhyme."

Rare Book Division. Bequest of Mary Stillman Harkness

Captain John Smith.

The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England and the Summer Isles. London: M. Sparkes, 1624.

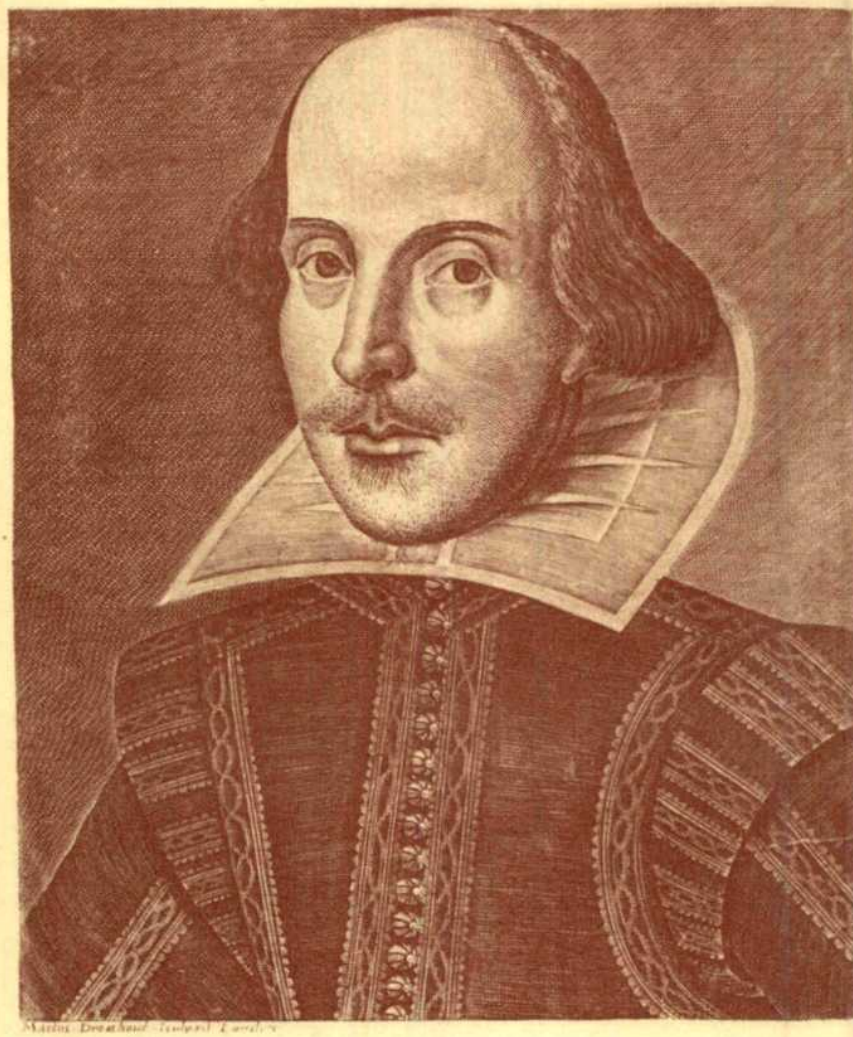
King James I's copy, shown here, is of the first edition, first issue, with the 1624 date on the title page, the rare portrait of the Duchess of Richmond, to whom the book is dedicated, and the four maps in the earliest state known with this book.
Arents Tobacco Collection

Mr. WILLIAM

SHAKESPEARES

COMEDIES, HISTORIES, & TRAGEDIES.

Publiſhed according to the True Originall Copies.



LONDON

Printed by Iſaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount. 1623.

Lope Felix de Vega Carpio.

El Brasil Restituido. Madrid, 1625.

De Vega is regarded as one of Spain's greatest poets and the founder of Spanish drama. He completed and signed this manuscript (possibly the only surviving original of one of his plays) just ten years before his death.

Manuscript Division

Bible. O.T. Psalms.

The Whole Booke of Davids Psalmes. London: Printed by T. C. for the Company of Sationers [sic] 1635.

Seventeenth-century embroidered bindings so remarkably well preserved as this one are great rarities. This example, done on satin, is worked with colored silks, gold and silver thread, sequins and seed pearls. The symbolical figure of Faith appears on the front cover and that of Hope on the back. The initials "S E" on the front cover are no doubt those of the original owner.

Spencer Collection

John Milton.

A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634. London: For H. Robinson, 1637.

Milton undertook to write *Comus* at the invitation of the composer, Henry Lawes, who supplied the music. It was played before the Lord President of Wales. This first edition of the poet's first separate publication is probably the rarest of his works.

Berg Collection

Bible. O.T. Psalms.

The Whole Book of Psalmes Faithfully Translated into English Metre. Cambridge, Mass.: Imprinted by Stephen Daye, 1640.

The famous "Bay Psalm Book" was so called from the fact that these hopelessly unpoetical versions of the Psalms were the work of the chief divines of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, including such prominent figures as Richard Mather, Thomas Welde and John Eliot. It has the distinction of being the first book printed in what is now the United States. This is one of eleven known copies.

Lenox Collection, Rare Book Division

Nicholas Comberford.

The South Part of Virginia, now the North Part of Carolina. 1657.

The very clear rendition of the area adjacent to Cape Hatteras is particularly significant for the light it sheds on contemporaneous place names and for its pertinence to the use of "Carolina." The only other copy of this manuscript map is in the Maritime Museum in Greenwich, England. Comberford, a London map-maker, placed his signature and the date 1657 at the left, just above the compass rose.

Manuscript Division

Bible. English. 1680.

The Holy Bible. Oxford: Printed at the Theater, 1680.

The splendid seventeenth-century binding displayed here was executed by Roger Bartlett of Oxford, one of the finest binders of the period. Bartlett had moved to Oxford from London after the Great Fire of 1666. Very few of his bindings were done in black leather. Moreover, this example is one of the largest and most elaborately tooled of any of those identified as his work.

Spencer Collection

New York City.

The Dongan Charter. April 27, 1686.

Governor Thomas Dongan signed and placed his seal on this charter which confirmed the rights and powers of the Corporation of the City to carry on the municipal government. This is the first of a succession of New York City charters upon which the government of our city is based. Owing to calendar changes in the middle of the eighteenth century, the date now corresponds to May 7th.

Owned by the Corporation of the City of New York, it has been deposited in the custody of The New York Public Library since 1899.

Manuscript Division

Joseph Penso.

Confusion de confusiones. Amsterdam, 1688.

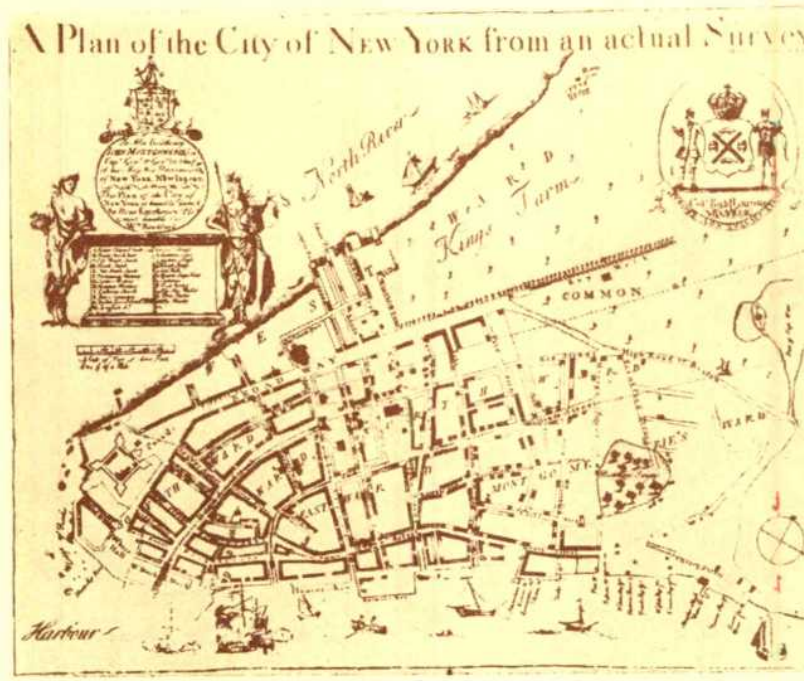
The operations of the Amsterdam Bourse are discussed in this amusingly titled book, written in the form of a dialogue. It is considered to be the earliest published work on stock-exchange practice. This is one of perhaps a half-dozen known copies.

Rare Book Division

New York Colony.

The Laws & Acts. New York: William Bradford, 1694.

Within a year after Bradford had established New York's first printing press, he issued the first compilation of the laws of the



colony. It is one of his most important early publications, and was probably completed in January, 1694, although sections of it had been printed in 1693. This is one of nine recorded copies.

Lenox Collection, Rare Book Division

The New-York Gazette. No. 48. Sept. 26 – Oct. 3, 1726. New York: William Bradford, 1726.

William Bradford issued the first number of New York's first newspaper on November 8, 1725, judging by the date of the earliest issue located. It was published for nineteen years, being discontinued in 1744, probably with the issue for November 19th. The issue shown has been chosen to represent the Library's important holdings of eighteenth-century American newspapers.

Rare Book Division. Gift of Alexander Maitland

The New-England Primer Enlarged. Boston: S. Kneeland & T. Green, 1727.

The "New England Primer," with its combination of rhymed alphabet, speller, moral lessons and catechism, is perhaps the most famous children's book ever published. It is known that there were printings of the Primer as early as the 1680s, but no copies have survived of any edition earlier than that of 1727, of which this is the only known copy.

Rare Book Division

James Lyne. ↑

A Plan of the City of New York From an Actual Survey made by James Lyne. New York: William Bradford, 1731.

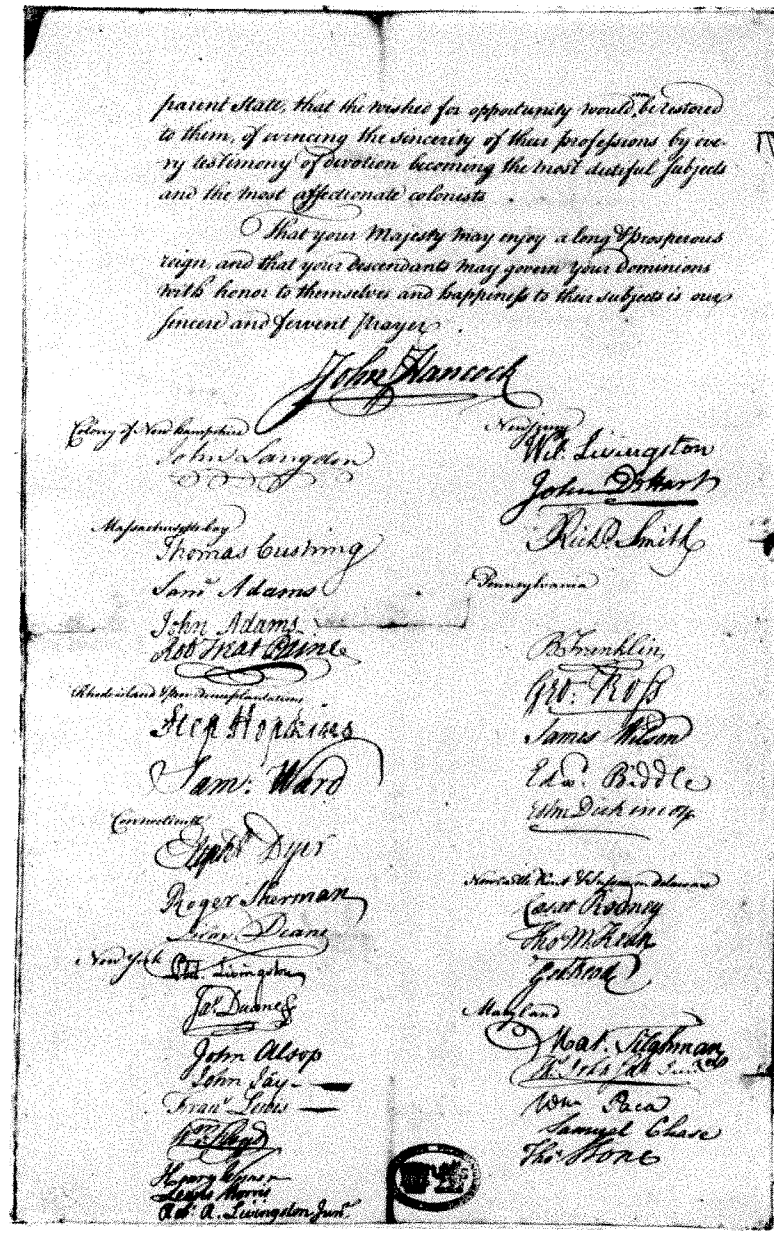
The "Bradford map," so called from the name of its publisher, is the first plan of New York to be printed here and one of the earliest examples of engraving on copper executed in New York. This copy is one of three known.

Rare Book Division

The Royal American Magazine, or Universal Repository of Instruction and Amusement. Boston: Joseph Greenleaf, 1774–1775.

The *Royal American Magazine* was an important step in the development of American publishing, since it is generally considered the ancestor of today's picture magazines. It was edited and printed by Isaiah Thomas and Joseph Greenleaf from 1774 to 1775, when it was discontinued. It contained serialized "true confession" stories, music, and even a "directory of love." During its short but exciting life, it ran twenty-two engravings by Paul Revere and Joseph Callender, the best talent available. (*See cover.*)

Spencer Collection



parent State, that the wished for opportunity would be restored to them, of evincing the sincerity of their professions by every testimony of devotion becoming the most dutiful subjects and the most affectionate colonists.

That your Majesty may enjoy a long & prosperous reign, and that your descendants may govern your dominions with honor to themselves and happiness to their subjects is our sincere and fervent prayer.

John Hancock

Colony of New Hampshire
John Langdon

Massachusetts bay
Thomas Cushing
Sam. Adams
John Adams
Rob. Treat Paine

Rhode Island & Providence plantations
Step. Hopkins
Sam. Ward

Connecticut
Eliph. Dyer
Roger Sherman
Silas Deane

New York
Phil. Livingston
Jas. Duane
John Alsop
John Jay
Frau. Lewis
Wm. Floyd
Henry Wisner
Lewis Morris
Rob. R. Livingston Jun.

New Jersey
Wil. Livingston
John Dickart
Rich. Smith

Pennsylvania
B. Franklin
Geo. Ross
James Wilson
Edw. Biddle
Wm. Dickinson

New Castle Kent & Sussex on Delaware
Caesar Rodney
Tho. M. Kean
Geo. Read

Maryland
Mat. Tilghman
Wm. Paca
Samuel Chase
Tho. Stone

The Olive Branch Petition. Manuscript, 1775.

This petition to George III of England was signed by the members of the Continental Congress on July 8, 1775. It was sent to the King in a final hope of heading off the American Revolution by having him direct his ministers to repeal the acts restricting colonial trade and to cease trying to collect taxes by force of arms.

It is called "The Olive Branch Petition" because of a letter written by John Adams at the time this document was being drafted, saying that the general wish of the populace was "to keep open the door of reconciliation, to hold the sword in one hand and the olive branch in the other."

The petition was delivered by hand to the British Secretary of State for the Colonies late in August, 1775, and by September 1st, the colonists' agents were told there would be no royal answer to it. In the following July, the Declaration of Independence was issued.

Manuscript Division. Gift of Lucius Wilmerding

A Declaration by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA in General Congress assembled.

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature & of nature's god entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with inherent & inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, & the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying it's foundation on such principles & organising it's powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety & happiness. prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light & transient causes, and accordingly all experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer [illegible] evils, [illegible] themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. but when a long train of abuses & usurpations, begun at a distinguished period & pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government & to provide new guards for their future security. such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; & such is now the necessity which constrains them to expunge their former systems of government. the history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of unremitting injuries & usurpations, among which appears no solitary fact to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest; but all have in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. to prove this let facts be submitted to a candid world, for the truth of which we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood.

he has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome & necessary for the public good.

he has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate & pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; & when so suspended, he has neglected utterly to attend to them.

he has refused to pass other laws for the accomodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them & formidable to tyrants only:

Declaration of Independence. Philadelphia, July, 1776.

This manuscript, in the handwriting of Thomas Jefferson, is one of the five drafts or fair copies he made of the Declaration of Independence. Dr. Thomas A. Emmet gathered into a volume on the inception of the Declaration, in which this manuscript is bound, at least one letter or signature by each man who signed that historic document.

Manuscript Division

Declaration of Independence. New York: John Holt [1776]

This is the first New York printing of the Declaration of Independence, ordered by the State Convention meeting at White Plains, July 9, 1776. The only other known copy of this broadside is in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Museum, San Marino, California. A copy once owned by the New York State Library was destroyed in the disastrous fire at the State Capitol in 1911.

Rare Book Division

Constitution of the United States of America. Bill of Rights. September 25, 1789.

Attested copies of the twelve Articles of amendment to the Constitution as proposed by the Congress were sent out by that body, probably one to each state. Except for the first two Articles, they were ratified by the required number of states by December 15, 1791, and thus became the first ten amendments. They have since been known as "The Bill of Rights."

Manuscript Division

Kitagawa Utamaro.
O-Ume. Color woodcut. Japan, ca. 1794.

From the series Jitsu Kurabe Iro no Minakami. This title as it is written reads simply "An Array of Passionate Lovers," but the characters can be pronounced in a more poetic way, giving them the somewhat deeper meaning "The Fountains of Love, a Contest (or Comparison) of Faithfulness." In each sheet of the series are two famous lovers.

Here the girl, O-Ume, in red and pink, sits with bowed head; the man beside her, Kumenosuke, is robed in black and grey. The impression and condition are very fine and in composition and massing of color the print is a masterpiece.

Ledoux Collection, Prints Division

George Washington.
Farewell Address. Philadelphia, 1796.

This manuscript, entirely in the handwriting of President Washington, is the final version which he delivered in person to the Philadelphia printer, David Claypoole. It was published September 19, 1796, in *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*. The Library published the history of the Farewell Address, with facsimiles and transliterations, in 1935.

Manuscript Division

Charles Lamb.
A Farewell to Tobacco. Autograph manuscript, ca. 1805.

Lamb's "Farewell to Tobacco" is the most famous smoking poem, by one of the most-beloved literary smokers. Lamb, of course, never gave up tobacco. He is reported to have said that he wished to draw his last breath through a pipe and exhale it in a pun. We can agree with Hazlitt that these lines in tribute to the "friendliest of plants" have rarely been surpassed in quaint wit.

Arents Tobacco Collection

Francis Scott Key.
The Star Spangled Banner. Baltimore, 1814.

Shortly after the British bombardment of Fort McHenry at Baltimore in September, 1814, this first sheet-music edition of our national anthem was published. The words were set to an old English tune entitled "To Anacreon in Heaven."

Music Division →

Edgar Allan Poe.
The Murders in the Rue Morgue, and The Man that Was Used Up. Philadelphia: W. H. Graham, 1843. (The Prose Romances of Edgar A. Poe. Uniform Serial Edition. No. 1)

In 1843, when his fortunes were at a low ebb, Poe attempted to win a popular success by the publication of his stories in a cheap series. Number 1 — and apparently the only number — of "The Prose Romances" is the first edition of one of his greatest thrillers, *The Murders in the Rue Morgue*, which had previously appeared in magazine form. But even at 12½ cents a copy, the venture was a failure. Only ten of the pamphlets have survived, and possibly no other is in such pristine condition.

Berg Collection

Charles Dickens.
A Christmas Carol. London: Bradbury and Evans, 1849.

Between 1858 and 1868 Dickens went on four prolonged tours, including a visit to the United States, on which he gave public readings from his stories. This copy of *A Christmas Carol*, one of his most popular readings, he prepared for use by inlaying the leaves, writing directions and transition passages in the margins, and marking omissions in the text.

Berg Collection

THE

STAR SPANGLED BANNER

A PARIOTIC SONG.

Baltimore. Printed and Sold at CARRS Music Store 36 Baltimore Street.

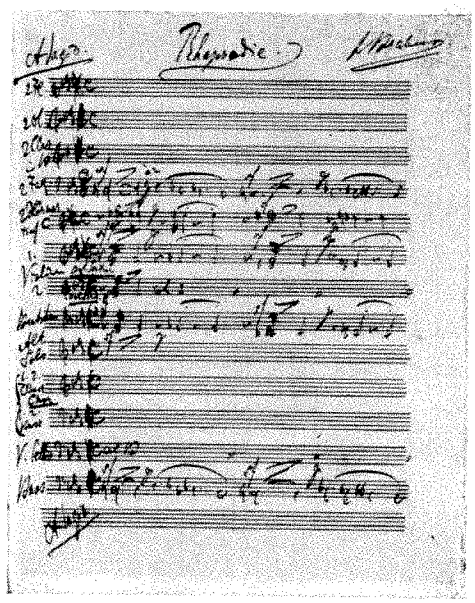
Air, Anacreon in Heaven.

Con Spirito

O! say can you see by the dawn's early light, What so proudly we hail'd at the twilight's last gleaming, Whose broad stripes & bright stars thro' the perilous fight, O'er the ramparts we watch'd, were so gallantly streaming, And the Rocket's red glare, the Bombs bursting in air, Gave proof through the night that our

(Adap.d & Arr.d by T.C.)

(Tssb.)



Johannes Brahms. ↑

Rhapsody for Contralto, Male Chorus and Orchestra. Opus 53. Manuscript on paper, 1869.

One of Brahms' most famous compositions for voice is the "Alto Rhapsody," shown here in an autograph manuscript by the composer. The text is taken from Goethe's *Harzreise im Winter*. Brahms completed the composition in the autumn of 1869.

Paul Wittgenstein Collection, Music Division

Walt Whitman.

Leaves of Grass. Brooklyn, N. Y., 1855.

Probably the most important copy of *Leaves of Grass* is the one shown here — Whitman's own copy of the second issue of the first edition in its original paper covers, one of only three such copies known to have survived. Pasted or pinned to the blank fly-leaves are the original manuscripts of seven variant Introductions intended for later editions of the work. These were written and worked over at various times between 1855 and May 31, 1870, the date of Whitman's fifty-first birthday. The texts never appeared during Whitman's lifetime, as the book was packed away and lost sight of for over twenty years, coming to light, as Horace Traubel has recorded on the front cover, after Whitman's death.

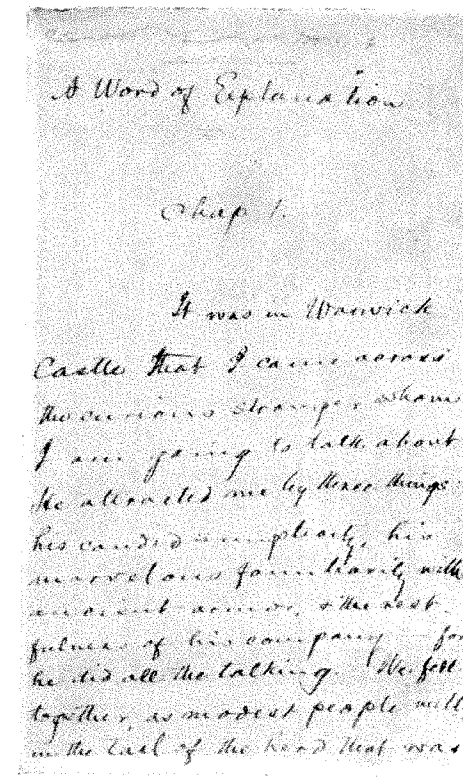
Oscar Lion Collection, Rare Book Division

Samuel Langhorne Clemens.

The Manuscript of *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court.*

While reading Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, Clemens was inspired to mix medieval romance and nineteenth-century knowledge and ideas — an inspiration which produced the humor of *A Connecticut Yankee*. Because of the way it both burlesques and attacks social abuses, the novel has been compared to *Don Quixote*.

Berg Collection ↓



A Word of Explanation

Chap 1.

It was in Warwick Castle that I came across the curious stranger whom I am going to talk about. He attracted me by three things: his candid simplicity, his marvelous familiarity with ancient armor, & the restfulness of his company — for he did all the talking. We fell together, as modest people will, in the tail of the herd that was

The First Wesley Hymn Book

By MARTHA WINBURN ENGLAND
Queens College

I

A SMALL VOLUME in the Rare Book Division of The New York Public Library is a bibliographical item interesting for its rarity. It is also a souvenir, a memento of the passions and problems of a crucial time in a great life. *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns* was compiled by John Wesley during his stay in Georgia and published in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1737.

Wesley's *Georgia Journal* tells of the making of the book, and of life as lived by an Oxford don lately turned pioneer. Biographers take pleasure in associating the various hymns with the particular triumphs and disappointments of that rigorous life, and the *Collection* itself played a part in determining his fate in the New World. The book is the first significant publication of either of the famous brothers. And, apart from its bibliographical and biographical interest, it has importance in the history of the English hymn as a literary genre.

On October 14 1735 John and Charles Wesley boarded the *Simmonds* to sail with Governor Oglethorpe as missionary clergymen sent out by the Church of England to the colonies. Aboard were twenty-six members of the Moravian Brotherhood, on their way to join others of their sect who had earlier colonized in North America. The sect had broken from the governance and discipline of the Lutheran church; from the persecutions that resulted, they had been given refuge on the estate of Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf in Bohemia, in a settlement called Herrnhuth.

Wesley's journal for October 17 records, "I began to learn German, in order to converse with the Moravians." [1] On the 20th he began to teach English to three of the group. From the 21st on he joined them in their daily religious services conducted in German. On the 27th he notes: "began Gesang-Buch." By January he conversed and read easily in German.

They landed February 6 1736. The next day he met Spangenberg, pastor of the Moravians in Georgia. In March he began his correspondence with

1 *The Journal of John Wesley*, ed Nehemiah Curnock et al, 11 vols (1960) I 110. The eleventh volume is in preparation.

M Tiddeman
May 29 1751

A

COLLECTION

OF

PSALMS

AND

HYMNS.

CHARLES-TOWN,
Printed by LEWIS TIMOTHY. 1737.

The fly-leaf and title-page (exact size) of John Wesley's *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns* (Charleston, S C 1737). *Rare Book Division*

Zinzendorf, quoting in his first letter a hymn by the Count which he later translated.[2]

March 24 he moved on to the third section of *Das Gesang Buch.* May 2 he began the study of formal grammar in German. May 10 he set down plans for the formation of societies in Savannah and Frederica in which song was to play as large a part as it played in Moravian services.

Some Spanish Jews lived in his parish, and on Monday June 18 he started to learn Spanish so he could converse with them, Dr Nunes being his chief instructor. On Friday of that week he "Sung Spanish verses," possibly the Spanish version of Psalm LXIII which he published in his own translation in his second collection in 1738.[3] From July 5, he often noted: "Singing George Herbert." He was testing the hymn versions of *The Temple* and testing his translations, singing them with friends, at meetings of the societies, and alone.

Part of the time he had a housekeeper to aid in entertaining his many official guests, but part of the time he kept his own house, made his garden, fished for food for the guests. Storms on sea and land, journeys in fierce heat and cold through primitive land on foot, boat trips when water and food gave out, death-watches in time of epidemics were part of life. If he became ill, his cures were fasting and the felling of trees. He performed marriages, baptized babies, buried the dead, conducted his work as secretary to Governor Oglethorpe, his preaching, his conferences with the Indians, the state correspondence and his own.

He learned John Byrom's method of short-hand, abandoning his private cipher so Charles could read his diaries. He read Italian, worked intensively in Spanish, taught French, Greek, German, Hebrew, human anatomy, church history, canon law. He read Latin with the other divines, played on the flute, read Milton, Watts, Herbert, wrote a French grammar, an English grammar, a German grammar, a German dictionary, a book of prayers, a book of catechisms, some of his best known sermons, condensations from his endless reading of learned tomes in many languages, much of which material he later published. Bewildered by his love affair, he coped with women, petty politics, deep questions of theology and practical problems of missionary life.

Travels on foot were pretext for doctrinal discussions: "conversed. . . . Walked together; bemired. Lost; return . . . bemired. Lost; prayed; found

2 James T[aft] Hatfield, "John Wesley's Translations of German Hymns," *PMLA* XI No 2 (1896) 1–29. Mr Hatfield discovered the letter in the archives at Herrnhuth.

3 *The Poetical Works of John and Charles Wesley* ed G[eorge] Osborn, 13 vols (1868–72) I 174. See also note II 38. Cited as *Osborn.*

way. Lost prayed; found way; lost again. Walking; tired. Lay down by a wood; slept sound." [4] His polyglot ministry went on as he conducted services in German, English, French, Spanish and Italian. Interpreting for foreign envoys was part of his state duties. He wrote his hymns, only momentarily deterred when the ink froze in the bottle, and wrote his *Georgia Journal*, subject of reams of praise and denunciation. He could parcel out even this life and record it hour by hour so methodically that there was time for everything, including what seems the teaching schedule of a one-man university faculty. But something worked like leaven within him, like the leaven hid in the three measures of meal, and he ejaculated, "O Discipline! where art thou to be found?" [5]

Charles Wesley was not involved in the work of hymnody. He left Georgia July 26 1736 to return to England and John accompanied him as far as Charleston. The diary does not mention it, but he may at this time have made preliminary arrangements with the printer Lewis Timothy to print the hymn collection. The book was not in proof until April of the next year.[6]

A Collection of Psalms and Hymns was in use soon after April 1737 in meetings of the societies. His hymn writing continued; he was preparing a second volume. On June 19 1737 his book was first used in a service of the Church of England. August 9 a warrant was issued for his arrest and he was haled into court on twelve charges, the first three being: he "deviates from the principles and regulations of the Established Church, in many particulars inconsistent with the happiness and prosperity of this Colony, as —

"Prima, by inverting the order and method of the Liturgy,

"2. By changing or altering such passages as he thinks proper in the versions of Psalms publicly authorized to be sung in church.

"3. By introducing into the church and service at the altar compositions of psalms and hymns not inspected or authorized by any proper judicature; . . . etc." [7]

The major cause of his accusers' wrath was "The Case of Sophy," Sophy being a very young lady whom John Wesley did not marry, who, upon being convinced that he did not want to marry her, had married a Mr Williams. Wesley, because of ecclesiastical reasons perhaps not unmixed with unpastoral annoyance at some of her actions, refused to give her the Holy Communion; whereupon her relatives, acting on motives perhaps not

[4] *Journal* I 268.
[5] *Journal* I 271.
[6] *Journal* I 349. Entry for April 18 1737.
[7] *Journal* I 385.

unmixed with human considerations, brought the twelve charges against him. Eleven of the charges were ecclesiastical, and these he refused to answer in a civil court. The twelfth charge, an allegation of slander, he made every effort to bring to trial. Failing in all his attempts to compel his enemies to prove the charge in court or retract it, he took counsel with his friends and decided to return to England. He sailed from Charleston aboard the *Samuel* on December 24 1737 and arrived in England on February 1 1738.

In 1738 he published another book with the same title, like the American collection anonymous, and like it divided into three sections, hymns for Sunday (suited to general worship), for Wednesday and Friday (confession and humiliation), and for Saturday (praise to God especially considered as the Creator of the Universe). The organization based on the ancient way of offices may indicate a hope that the Established Church would accept hymnody. If so (and this is not necessarily true, for books of devotion had this organization), he was disappointed, for the Anglican Church did not really welcome hymnody before about the middle of the nineteenth century. All later Wesley hymn books were prepared for use outside the sanctuary.

In 1739 he and Charles published under their own names the first joint product, *Hymns and Sacred Songs*, many times expanded and reissued.

In 1741 they used the same title of John's first two books for a joint publication. *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns* by John and Charles Wesley had a second edition in 1743, and the many subsequent editions were numbered consecutively without regard for the two earlier books published by John alone.

And so when George Osborn edited the poetical works of the two brothers (13 vols; 1868–1872), he puzzled over a brief autobiographical account written by John Wesley on March 15 1740 for insertion in a new and enlarged edition of Wood's *Athenae Oxoniensis*, which states that he published "a Collection of Psalms and Hymns in 1736." The American publication was completely unknown. The collection of 1738 is very rare, only two copies being known to exist, one at Didsbury College in Bristol, one in Lambeth Palace. Wesley did not mention two collections, and Osborn concluded that Wesley had made a mistake (as indeed he had), and that the entry referred to the 1738 collection. His edition of the poems, therefore, makes no mention of a publication before 1738.

In 1882 a copy of the first collection was found in a London book store. A few months later Osborn issued a reprint with his preface giving some analysis of the contents of the book and a provenance and history of the volume. This is supposed to have been Wesley's own copy, for no other is known to

have reached London. Since 1936 it has been in the Methodist archives in London.

A second copy of the book came into the possession of Alexander Maitland, grand-nephew of James Lenox, whose collection formed the nucleus of The New York Public Library's Rare Book Division. Mr Maitland gave the book to the Library in 1899. The last page was accidentally left blank by the printer, the catch-word appearing on the previous page 73. The book is endorsed, "M. Tiddeman, May 20, 17—," possibly 1791.

II

Table of Contents

1

Psalms and Hymns for Sunday

1 Psalm XXXIII [Watts] [8]
2 Psalm XLVI [9]
3 Psalm XLVII [Watts]
4 Psalm C [Watts]
5 Psalm CXIII [Samuel Wesley the Elder]
6 Psalm CXV [Samuel Wesley the Elder]
7 Psalm CXVI [Samuel Wesley the Elder]
8 Psalm CXVII [Samuel Wesley the Elder]
9 Psalm CXLVI [Watts]
10 Psalm CXLVII [Watts]
11 Hymn to God the Father [Samuel Wesley the Younger]
12 Hymn to God the Son [Samuel Wesley the Younger]
13 Hymn to God the Holy-Ghost [Samuel Wesley the Younger]
14 Hymn to the Trinity [Samuel Wesley the Younger]
15 God's Eternity [Watts, Hymns, Bk II no 17] [10]
16 From the German [of Ernest Lange, "O Gott, du tieffe sonder grundl" *Das Gesang-Buch der Herrnhuth* (1731), no 16. Also in *Evangelischer Liederschatz*, ed A. Knapp (1865), no 1. Wesley's translation in a slightly altered version is in Osborn I 143]

[8] Isaac Watts, *The Psalms of David Imitated in the Language of the New Testament* (1719). All psalm versions by Watts are from this book.

[9] I cannot identify the source of this psalm, nor of Psalm CIV, no 5, section III. The copy of Osborn's reprint in the Union Theological Seminary Library (p 4) has a penciled note: "J. Broughton?" The writings of Broughton are not available to me.

[10] Isaac Watts, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* 2nd ed (1709). The second edition was enlarged. All Watts's hymns are located in this volume by number.

17 Hymn to Christ [Austin, Hymn 31] [11]
18 Adoption [Watts, Hymns, Bk I no 64]
19 The Christian Race [Watts, Hymns, Bk I no 48]
20 Praise [George Herbert. Wesley's adaptation, Osborn I 102]
21 Christ's Humiliation and Exaltation [Watts, Hymns, Bk I no 63]
22 Hymn to the Holy-Ghost [Austin, Hymn 35]
23 The Offices of Christ [Watts, Hymns, Bk II no 132]
24 Hymn for Sunday [Austin, Hymn 1]
25 Triumph over Death [Watts, Hymns, Bk II no 110]
26 From the German [of Zinzendorf, "Reiner Braut'gam meiner Seele," *Das Gesang-Buch*, no 982, Knapp, no 1830. Wesley's translation, Osborn I 107]
27 Thanksgiving for God's Particular Providence [Joseph Addison, *Spectator* no 453. "When all thy mercies, O my God"]
28 A Morning Hymn [Watts, Hymns, Bk I no 81]
29 Heaven Begun on Earth [Watts, Hymns, Bk II no 30]
30 The Names of Christ [Watts, Hymns, Bk I no 149]
31 Solomon's Song, Ch 2 Ver 8 &c [Watts, Hymns, Bk I no 69]
32 Verse 14, &c [Watts, Hymns, Bk I no 70]
33 Sincere Praise [Watts, *Horae Lyricae*, Bk I 23rd poem (the songs are not numbered)]
34 O ye Spirits and Souls of the Righteous, bless ye the Lord [Austin, Hymn 37]
35 The Shortness of Life [Watts, Hymns, Bk II no 58]
36 Christ our Wisdom, &c [Watts, Hymns, Bk I no 97]
37 Gloria Patri [Watts, Hymns, Bk III no 26]
38 Hymn to Christ [Austin, Hymn 30]
39 Prayer ["Prayer II," Herbert. Wesley's adaptation, Osborn I 124]
40 From the German [of J. A. Freylinghausen, "Wer ist wohl, wie du." *Das Gesang-Buch*, no 42. Knapp, no 268. Wesley's translation, Osborn I 161]

2

Psalms and Hymns for Wednesday and Friday

1 Psalm XXXVIII [Watts]
2 Psalm LI [Watts]

[11] John Austin, *Devotions in the Antient Way of Offices* 2nd ed (1672). Austin's book was first published in Paris in 1668. It had four editions in the Roman form, and was twice altered for Anglican use. Wesley used the Anglican version made by Lady Susannah Hopton, and published with a preface by George Hickes D.D. It is often referred to as "Hickes' Reformed Devotions." It "hath not left out, or altered anything" in Austin's book "but some few Sentences, and Expressions, which hinder'd those Offices from being introduc'd into the Closets, and Oratories, of the more devout Sons, and Daughters of the Church of England." Austin's first edition contained 39 hymns, his third 43. Hickes gives 40.

3 Psalm XC [Watts, L. M.]
4 Psalm XC [Watts, C. M., second part] [12]
5 A Thought in Affliction [13]
6 On the Crucifixion [Samuel Wesley the Younger]
7 Discipline [Herbert. Wesley's adaptation, Osborn I 69]
8 On the Crucifixion [Samuel Wesley the Elder]
9 A Sinner's Prayer [made up from two poems by Herbert, "Complaining" and "Grieve not the Holy Spirit." Correctly separated in later publications into two poems, Herbert's titles restored; see Osborn I 43 and 63]
10 Judgment [Joseph Addison, *Spectator*, no 513. "When rising from the Bed of Death"]
11 Christ's Compassion to the Tempted [Watts, Hymns, Bk I no 125]
12 Frailty [Herbert. Wesley's adaptation, Osborn I 37]
13 Unfruitfulness [Watts, Hymns, Bk II no 165]
14 From the German [of C. F. Richter, "Stilles Lamm und Friede-Fürst." *Das Gesang-Buch*, no 989; Knapp, no 1665. Wesley's translation, Osborn I 129]
15 Faith in Christ [Watts, Hymns, Bk II no 90]
16 Longing [Herbert. Wesley's adaptation Osborn I 66]
17 Salvation by Grace [Watts, Hymns, Bk I no 111]
18 Inconstancy [3 of the 12 stanzas of Austin, Hymn 4, slightly altered. A quatrain by John Wesley is added. This, beginning "Guide Thou, my Lord, guide Thou my Course," is thought to be the only original work in this book by John Wesley]
19 Christ our Righteousness [Watts, Hymns, Bk I no 98]
20 From the German [of C. F. Richter, "Hier legt mein Sinn sich vor dir nieder," *Das Gesang-Buch*, no 1037; Knapp, no 1612. Wesley's translation, Osborn I 85]

3

Psalms and Hymns for Saturday

1 Psalm XIX [Watts, S. M.]
2 The same [Joseph Addison, *Spectator*, no 465]
3 The same [Watts, old 113th]
4 Psalm LXV [Watts, L. M. second part]
5 Psalm CIV [9]
6 Psalm CXIV [Watts]
7 Psalm CXLVIII [Watts, S. M.]
8 Universal Praise [Austin, Hymn 6]

[12] Any modern compiler of a hymn book would have chosen Watts's Psalm XC, L.M., first part, in preference to the two sections Wesley chose; it is "O God, our help in ages past," a song which has become almost a second national anthem for England, Canada, and the United States.

[13] Printed by Osborn II 4 as possibly by Wesley. Osborn is dubious, and Louis Benson apparently does not accept it as Wesley's; see *The English Hymn* (1960) p 226.

9 Sun, Moon and Stars, Praise ye the Lord [Watts, *Horae Lyricae*, Bk I 21st song]

10 Eupolis's Hymn to the Creator [Samuel Wesley the Elder] [14]

III

The predominance of the lyrics of Isaac Watts — 35 of the 70 songs being his — does not indicate that Wesley in the wilds of Georgia lacked other material; thirty-six of the 76 songs in his second collection published in England were from Watts. Although Watts had predecessors in the writing of the English hymn, and wrote in response to a demand for hymnody which had existed among Dissenting congregations for some time,[15] his claim to the title, the Father of English Hymnody, is secure. His "grand design" for the renovation of congregational singing was published in two books, *The Psalms of David Imitated*, and *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*. His versions of the psalms were not translations, but imitations which rendered them in Christian terminology and placed the supposed speaker in Britain and in circumstances appropriate to that day, as Samuel Johnson rendered Juvenal's satire in his poem *London*. The hymns were in three divisions, the first book being based on specific scriptures for congregations who wished to sing only songs written in this manner, the second book being free-composed hymns, the third book being hymns to be sung at the Lord's Supper and doxologies. Wesley drew on all these types of songs. Watts published also another volume of poems, *Horae Lyricae*, with lyrics on similar religious subjects and in hymn meters, but using metaphoric interpretations of the scriptures too "bold" for ordinary congregational use.

There was a peculiar oneness of spirit between the most celebrated Dissenter of the day and the High Church Wesleys. Both Charles and John set out for eternity with Watts hymns on their lips. Even in discussions of predestination and election, the Arminian Wesleys drew the writings of the Calvinist Watts over to their side.[16] For certain types of hymns Watts has never been surpassed in English, and Wesley hymnody counted on him

[14] John Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology* (1957) II 1256 assigns the major part of this poem to the daughter Mehitabel. John Wesley elsewhere assigned it entirely to his father, however. He closed this book with it; he and Charles opened their first joint publication with it. See Osborn I 1 for that version and notes. In the collection of 1737 John altered it from the original meter to DLM. Some notes on Addison's hymns and his relation to Watts are given by Julian I 16–19.

[15] Benson, 19–107; Julian I 343–350.

[16] Journal II 473. John Wesley's selections from Watts's writings were published as *Serious Consideration Concerning the Doctrines of Election and Reprobation Extracted from a Late Author*, 6th ed (1813). Much of this material is found in Robert Southey's *Life of Watts*, often bound in copies of *Horae Lyricae*.

for those types. His clear and perspicuous statements of classic Christian doctrine set in poetic style suited to the taste of the Age of Reason and Common Sense were always part of their public song and private devotions. Before the brothers brought out their first joint hymnal, they visited Dr Watts and the three "walked and sang" together.[17] His vision of the majesty of God and his consecration to that vision are the refined gold of Calvinism. By his advocacy of hymns he flouted an opinion (never a dogma) of Calvin, but in his songs is the insignia of Calvin's personal crest: a hand reaching up, in the palm a burning heart, with the words, "I give thee all." In him was a wide and deep religious toleration, learned, he said, from John Locke. *Joy* is his key word, and "Joy to the world" perhaps his best-known song. From his free-composed hymns Wesley chose for this first collection a song now sung in the South to a tune that might stretch even Dr Watts's concept of sacred joy: "Come ye that love the Lord, and let your joys be known," merriest of the church's come-all-ye's, and gay as the street ballads on which it was modeled. And, in this book foretelling a hymnody that would come from Charles, and would place greater reliance on image and symbol, John boldly chose two songs from *Horae Lyricae.*

The collection of 1737 emphasizes the fact that John, not Charles, took the lead in hymnody. His use of writings from his father and his older brother testifies to the powerful cohesion of the family group, but it was not a cohesion without controversy. The father was dead, but the brother lived until 1739. His aversion to Watts's psalmody and to his urging of the use of spontaneous prayer in church services is a matter of record,[18] as is his impatience with the Methodist tendencies of his two younger brothers.[19] As private devotions the writings of the Roman Catholic John Austin and the Whig Addison might be acceptable, but any variation of the service of the Established Church would have seemed disreputable to him, and this collection with its robust eclecticism must have seemed a strange amalgam for a Wesley to offer to the Church.

In compiling his collection, Wesley was searching for a quality which is not prominent in Watts, a warmth of subjective emotional expression which Charles was soon to give him in rich supply. At this time he sought the

17 *Journal* II 82.

18 Samuel Wesley, M.A. Jun., *Poems on Several Occasions* ed James Nichols (1862) 356–358. Two satiric poems addressed to Watts, "On the Forms of Prayer," "Upon Altering the Psalms to Apply Them to a Christian State."

19 James T. Lightwood, "A Note on Samuel Wesley," *Wesley Historical Society Proceedings* II (1898) 55–56. Lightwood (who is the authority on hymn tunes) cites a letter in the Bodleian Library; he does not give the name of the addressee.

quality from two sources, George Herbert and the German hymns. The tides of taste, moving by their own inexplicable laws, turned against Herbert early in the century. *The Temple*, which had been sanctuary indeed for all factions in the wars of the seventeenth century, had a thirteenth edition in 1709, and was not reissued for ninety years. Canon Hutchinson, editor of Herbert, says that Wesley more than any other man helped fill the gap during the lean years.[20] His hymn versions of Herbert went through many editions. He included Herbert in collections for devotional reading, two of the poems in strange form labeled "Anacreontick." Canon Hutchinson thought them John's contrivances; but one is surely the work of his brother Samuel, for it appears in his collected poems,[21] and the other is almost certainly his also. In 1753 Wesley published Walton's *Life of Herbert* in his popular series *A Christian Library*, and in 1773 published in that series the only considerable body of Herbert's poetry to appear in its original form during the ninety-year period. That the hymn alterations do not suit our poetic taste is beside the point; Herbert unaltered did not suit the taste of 1737. John, a realist could recognize a trend, but the history of his own publications of Herbert shows where his preference lay. He moved toward the original poems, and led many followers with him, back to the favorite poet of that remarkable mother of his. Popular for a time, Wesley's hymn adaptations of Herbert went out of use in John's lifetime. Charles Wesley's hymns supplied the needed quality, and Herbert was returned to his proper place in the secret heart. No attempt to make Herbert "choral" has been successful, not even Ralph Vaughan Williams' freer anthem forms. Perhaps the most unmistakable individual voice in English poetry, Herbert is not choric, but the superlative of solo. That his voice is able to speak for all kinds and conditions of men is his miracle, but it is not a miracle that lies within the genre of the hymn. Alteration was necessary to bring the poems within the hymn genre. The first five of Wesley's 47 adaptations appeared in this book, and the many subsequent publications at least kept the name before the public.

When church services were put into the vernacular at the time of the Reformation, the churches under Luther's influence sang hymns. The Gregorian reformation of church music in the sixth century, which confined singing to clerical choirs, was never carried out in Germany as strictly as

[20] F. E. Hutchinson, "John Wesley and George Herbert," *London Quarterly and Holborn Review* (October 1936) 439–455.

[21] S. Wesley, 224. Cf John Wesley, *A Collection of Moral and Sacred Poems* 3 vols (1744) III 86, 139.

in other places, and there was an intermittent tradition of congregational singing. Luther fostered hymnody; the songs increased during the Golden Age of German hymnody until, when Bach began to arrange them into his chorales, all of which are arranged from popular hymns, there were at least 8,427 hymns in print for him to draw on,[22] including the work of Paul Gerhardt, called by Albert Schweitzer the king of hymnwriters.[23]

Calvin found no tradition of congregational song; and he had to battle another "tradition" of court singing of sacred texts mingled with material which can more accurately be called licentious than popular. He feared to leave so important an aspect of ecclesiastical conduct to the discretion of the generality of the clergy at that time, and he restricted congregational singing to the 150 canonical psalms, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, a few New Testament canticles (if indeed these were sung in church; liturgiologists are undecided), and the fourth century Te Deum. These were set in rhymed stanzaic form, a mnemonic aid to congregations in which few could read. Using the best artists available, he produced in the Geneva Psalter a work of grave and impressive beauty, surpassing in richness and metrical subtlety any English authorized version. For England followed Calvin in this matter. Early attempts to introduce Lutheran principles of hymnody by Myles Coverdale in England and the Wedderburns in Scotland were suppressed. When Watts published *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* in 1707, with few exceptions, Anglican and Dissenter alike sang metrical psalms. From this ruling arose the charges brought against Wesley for his use of hymns and unauthorized psalm versions.

Watts had heard of the singing in Germany, and he invoked it as an inspiration in his revolutionizing of English church music, but he could not read German, and Germanic studies in England were nonexistent in 1737 when John Wesley introduced into English the first influence of German hymnody.[24] His German hymns were soon in use in all congregations that allowed the use of hymns, were adopted as hymnody was adopted, and remain in wide popular use and high critical esteem. When Coleridge and Carlyle (himself a bringer-in of Lutheran hymnody) focused attention on Germanic studies, the reputation of Wesley's translations reached new

22 Stainton de B. Taylor, *The Chorale Preludes of J. S. Bach* (1944), p 3.

23 Albert Schweitzer, *Johann Sebastian Bach* 2 vols (1944) I 12.

24 Twenty-nine hymns were published. Another was printed only in the *Journal* I 299, identified *Journal* II 6 by Dr Henry Bett. Dr Frank Baker, *Representative Verse of Charles Wesley* (1962) 4–5, discusses the possibility of Charles's authorship of a translation of J. Scheffler's "Dich, Jesu, loben wir," usually attributed to John Wesley. J. T. Hatfield's essay noted above is an excellent discussion of the German hymns.

heights. Emerson and Holmes declared "Thou hidden love of God" the finest hymn in the English language. Henry Ward Beecher so far exaggerated the German influence as to say that German hymnody was "the fountain in which Charles Wesley was baptized." The statement appears in the preface (page v) to his *Plymouth Collection* (1855), a hymn book which marks the extreme departure of a devout Calvinist from Calvin's position on church music, for it embraces many writings from lay authors who held themselves responsible to speak the truth as they felt it, but responsible to no dogmatic authority.

And the collection of 1737 is perhaps most important in its revelation of the duties of an editor of hymn books as viewed by this greatest of all such editors. John Wesley altered almost every lyric in the book. He compressed Watts into even more succinct form. Watts's Psalm C, for example, appears here as it usually is seen in modern hymnals, stanzas 1 and 4 omitted, stanza 2 altered to bestow upon one of Watts's most popular songs a purely Wesley title, "Before Jehovah's awful throne." Zinzendorf's hymn, placed beside its original, can be recognized with difficulty.

From its inception, the English hymn as a genre has operated on a principle of diction which is peculiar to itself. The rule is: If you don't like it, change it. Hymns are partly in the oral tradition, in that their true purpose is not fulfilled unless they are vocalized. They are not, however, altered by oral transmission, as ballads were, for the text of the hymn exists before the eyes. Alteration is done by editors to suit current needs and taste. Often it is done very badly, but the rule remains in force, for hymns must be altered. There are today certain figures of speech which do not edify modern congregations, however they may be authenticated by the King James Version. The late Bernard L. Manning was both a devotee and a purist, yet he said some lines by Watts could make him cringe.[25] The lines made no one cringe when they were written; no offense was intended.

The Father of English Hymnody blessed his infant genre at birth with this characteristic of mutability.

> If any Expression occurs to the Reader that savours of an Opinion different from his own, yet he may observe these are generally such as are capable of an extensive Sense, and may be us'd with a charitable Latitude. Tho' I don't pretend this is the properest Method to write Treatises of Divinity which are to be read in private; yet I think 'tis most agreeable, that what is provided for publick Worship shou'd give to sincere Consciences as little Vexation and Disturbance as possible. How-

[25] Bernard Lord Manning, *The Hymns of Wesley and Watts* (1960) 86.

> ever, where any unpleasing Word is found, he that leads the Worship may substitute a better.

Wesley, in the preface of the definitive collection of Wesley hymns in 1780, asked that his brother's verses be not thus altered. He meant to pay tribute to his brother's stature as poet and theologian. But Charles Wesley was a greater poet than even his brother knew. His is a work which the world will not let die, and which the world will not let alone. Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* lists 17 variants of "Jesu, Lover of my soul," and mentions many more. C. D. Hardcote, writing in 1898, said he listed 157 variant versions of the song from books in his own library.

Almost every application of this rule causes distress to some member of a congregation, but even purists agree that some things must be changed. The result of insistence upon absolute purity of text would be to end one of the lives of some great hymns, and relegate them to rare book rooms, where the pure texts live another, quieter life. Editors can refer to them there, and the process of change includes restoration as well as elision. Editors in the future may restore the references to worms and the bowels of compassion which are vexation and disturbance to the delicacy of this not especially delicate age we live in, but they will remove the unpredictable offenses which may arise in future generations.

This rule makes possible what the collection of 1737 demonstrates: the usefulness of material from many shades of religious opinion. Watts marked the genre as author, Wesley marked it as editor, with a catholicity of spirit which can be seen in hymnals, where songs written by Quakers and songs from synagogues, from Unitarians and Roman Catholics, Greek hymns from antiquity and folk songs from central Europe attain harmony. It is an in-joke among hymnologists that the hymns of Watts and the Wesleys reformed the Reformation. John Wesley was the greatest of all hymn editors, and the collection of 1737 is the first in-gathering of his catholic spirit.

Acquisitions During 1962-1963: Rare Book Division

By Lewis M. Stark, *Chief*

DURING the fiscal year from July 1 1962 to June 30 1963, the Rare Book Division added 470 items to its shelves. This figure includes books, pamphlets, broadsides, and some single issues of newspapers. Some of the more noteworthy acquisitions are described below.

GIFTS

The most extensive gift received during the year under review was a collection of books by and about John Masefield, presented to the Library by Walter Beinecke, Jr. The collection comprises 195 books and pamphlets, of which 130 are first editions. The remaining 65 volumes are books which Masefield edited or to which he contributed prefaces or introductions. The gift also includes twenty-two autograph letters and postal cards. Since it was not required to keep the collection together, it has been divided between the Rare Book Division and the Berg Collection. Some thirty of the first editions are limited, signed printings and seventeen are presentation copies. The most interesting single volume is a copy of the first edition of Masefield's first book, *Salt Water Ballads* (1902), which contains a three and a half-page poem inscribed by the author on the front fly-leaves.

A welcome addition to our Bunyan holdings is the seventh edition of *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* (London, Robert Ponder 1692), the gift of Mrs Wally Jason.

As in the past, proprietors of private presses have sent to the Division many of their current publications. Mr Joseph Ishill of the Oriole Press presented fifteen pieces, including a set, limited to 100 copies, of Mrs Ishill's *Collected Works*, issued in eight pamphlets boxed together. Mr and Mrs H. Dunscomb Colt presented two recent books by Mrs Colt, both issued by their Two Horse Press in London: *Hidden Houses of New York* (1960), one of 150 copies printed; and *The Life of the Christ Child* (1962), one of 50 copies. Mr Duncan H. Olmsted, co-author of a "Check List of 'Leaf Books'" in the Summer and Fall 1961 issues of the *Quarterly News-Letter of the Book Club of California*, gave the Division a copy of his *Bartolomeus Zanni, Printer at Venice 1486–1518* (Berkeley, Tamalpais Press 1962). The Library's copy is no VI of fifteen copies (of an edition of 135), containing two original leaves from Jacobus de Varagine's *Legendario de Sancti* (Venice 1503): folios 52 and 53, with woodcuts illustrating the lives of Saint Matthias the Apostle and Saint Thomas Aquinas.

The Division's collection of the books, catalogues and reports issued by The Grolier Club has been completed by the generous gift of a scarce catalogue not included in the regular check lists of the Club's publications: *A Short Hand-List of English Plays, Masques, and Pageants, from the time of Queen Elizabeth to the Restoration. Printed, but not published, for the use of the Publication Committee of The Grolier Club. New-York, December, 1893.* Also from the Club came

a complete set of the catalogues of exhibitions held in various Italian libraries in honor of the Club's already famous *Iter Italicum* in May 1962.

The year's most unusual gift came from Mrs James Eads Switzer in memory of her late father, Robert Hewitt of Ardsley-on-Hudson. This is a special copy of *The Lincoln Centennial Medal* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons 1908), published by Mr Hewitt who had commissioned Jules Edouard Roiné to design the medal included in each copy of the book. Copies of the regular edition contain the medal in bronze. The copy presented by Mrs Switzer contains medal no 1 in silver. The book is bound in dark green morocco elaborately gilt-tooled, with the flag of Italy inlaid in the inside front cover and the United States flag in the inside back cover. The volume is protected by a red morocco case, lined with white moiré, with a silver plaque mounted on the front cover, stating that "the wood encasing the medal . . . was part of the weather-boards on the house in Springfield, Illinois, occupied from 1844 to 1861 by Abraham Lincoln." It had been intended that Mr and Mrs Switzer, while on their wedding trip abroad early in 1909, would present the book as a gift from Mr Hewitt to King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy, who, like Mr Hewitt, was a collector of medals and their literature. Completion of the volume was unavoidably delayed and the presentation never took place.

INCUNABULA

Ten incunabula were acquired during the year on the Trust Fund of Lathrop Colgate Harper. Of these the rarest is an edition of *Les faintises du monde* by Guillaume Alexis, a famous late fifteenth-century poem, formerly attributed to Pierre Gringore. This popular poem was printed at least sixteen times between 1486 and 1500, but each of the recorded editions is known by only one example. This is also apparently true of the copy acquired by the Library, which is of an edition not described by the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*. It was printed in Paris by Jean Trepperel the elder, about 1495, a small quarto of sixteen leaves, with thirty lines to a full page of text. It resembles very closely an edition printed by Trepperel which is listed by the *Gesamtkatalog* under no 1247, but there are enough typographical differences to indicate clearly that it is another printing.

The Library's copy was formerly owned by two famous French collectors: Baron La Roche Lacarelle (*Catalogue*, 1888, no 165) and Comte Raoul Lignerolles (*Catalogue*, 1894–95, no 866). It has the modern bookplate of René Choppin and is in a binding of red levant morocco, gilt, by Trautz-Bauzonnet. Curiously enough, this copy is mentioned in the *Oeuvres Poétiques de Guillaume Alexis*, edited by Arthur Piaget and Émile Picot (Paris 1896), but they list it incorrectly under their edition "O" of *Les faintises du monde* (v 1, p 67). That edition is an entirely different printing of only twelve leaves, with thirty-eight lines to the page. The Library's recently acquired edition and a previously unrecorded printing described by Dr Curt F. Bühler of the Pierpont Morgan Library in the 1961 *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, are the only fifteenth-century editions of *Les faintises du monde* at present located in this country.

A virtually pristine copy of an important early astronomical text is a significant addition to the Library's extensive resources in this field. The book is the first edition of Guido Bonatti's *Decem tractatus astronomiae*, published at Augsburg by Erhard Ratdolt in 1491. Bonatti, a leading Italian astronomer and astrologer

of the thirteenth century is mentioned in Dante's *Divina Commedia.* His writings are characterized by Lynn Thorndike in his *History of Magic and Experimental Science* as "the most important astrological and astronomical work produced in Latin in the thirteenth century." The first edition of his *Decem tractatus* is illustrated with many astrological woodcuts and diagrams. The Library's copy, complete with the rarely found "Registrum," is in a beautifully preserved contemporary binding of wooden boards with blind-stamped pigskin spine and with two engraved clasps fastening in opposite directions. According to the *Gesamtkatalog,* the 14-leaf "Registrum" was probably printed later than the book itself, which might well account for its being found in only a few copies.

Another significant *editio princeps* is the Cologne ca 1472 printing of the well-known *Secreta secretorum.* According to Thorndike, this is the "most widely influential upon the medieval mind of all the spurious works attributed to Aristotle." The book, one of the most popular of the Middle Ages, is a compilation from various sources and probably attained its present form by the seventh or eighth century A D. Some of its sections, such as the "Liber de instructione principum" and the "De conservanda sanitate" were later issued separately as popular tracts in several languages. The Library's copy of the rare first edition is a very fine one, unpressed and with wide margins, with some contemporary manuscript signature marks still present. It is rubricated throughout.

To the Library's collection of editions of the *De situ orbis* of Pomponius Mela has been added the Venice 1478 edition printed by Franciscus Renner. This is the fourth edition of this famous work, written during the first century A D and generally regarded as the first geographical text-book of the Roman world. Renner's edition is a handsomely printed volume with white floriated initials on black backgrounds and with the general title and the separate caption-titles for the three books of the text printed in red.

A work of interest to the student of fifteenth-century customs and social orders is the *Regimen rusticorum,* by Werner Rolevinck (1425–1502), best known for his historical chronicle *Fasciculus temporum.* The *Regimen rusticorum* is a treatise on the moral and religious rules governing the lives of farmers and other "rustics." This year the Division acquired a fine, rubricated copy of the very scarce first edition, printed in Cologne by Arnold Therhoernen about 1472. No other copy has been reported to the *Third Census.* Another Rolevinck first edition acquired this year is his *Paradisus conscientiae,* published also at Cologne by Arnold Therhoernen in 1475.

Four other fifteenth-century acquisitions are listed briefly here. The earliest is the *editio princeps* of St Augustine's *De disciplina Christiana,* published by Ulrich Zell in Cologne about 1470. Next in date is Livy's *Historiae Romanae decades,* edited by Lucas Porrus and published at Treviso by Joannes Rubeus Vercellensis in 1485. The Library's copy was formerly in the collection of the Strozzi family of Florence and bears their coat-of-arms on the spine, as well as the signature of a Joannes Baptista Strozzi. A publication of the following year is a history of a member of the famous Sforza family of Milan, Giovanni Simonetta's *Commentarii rerum gestarum Francisci Sfortiae,* published in that city by Antonius Zarotus in 1486. The last of the year's fifteenth-century acquisitions is a 1500 edition of the *Comoediae* of Plautus, edited by Joannes Baptista Pius and published in Milan by Uldericus Scinzenzeler. This is at present the Library's only fifteenth-century edition of these plays.

THE RENAISSANCE

The most unusual, and probably rarest, of the year's Renaissance acquisitions is a copy printed on vellum of the *Covtvmes Generales et Particvlieres du Baillage de Vermandois,* issued at Rheims in 1557 by Nicolas Bacquenois, the second printer in that city. This handsome folio volume, purchased on the William J. Gaynor Memorial Fund, is ruled in red and decorated with many beautiful ornamental initials. It is a notable addition to the Division's collection of early statutes, as well as being the earliest Rheims imprint at present in the Library. This compilation includes the ordinances of Laon, Rheims, Châlons, Noyon, Saint Quentin, Richemont and Coucy, each with a separate title-page, except for the last two places named.

In 1516, one year after the death of Francesco Mario Grapaldi, the fifth edition of his well-known *De Partibus Aedium* was published at Parma. This early study of Roman domestic architecture was first issued in that city about 1494, to be followed soon after by two other Parma editions (1501 and 1506) and one published in Strassburg in 1508. To the 1516 edition was added a long section (f 135–265), comprising nearly half the volume and containing an alphabetically arranged explanation of the terms used in the main body of the text. Grapaldi's work is often referred to as the earliest dictionary of architectural terms. In this edition the title-page is illustrated with a large woodcut portrait, presumably of Grapaldi, within an architectural frame. The Library's copy of this important Renaissance text was at one time in the library of the Jesuit college in Ferrara.

One of the most famous early sixteenth-century travelers was Lodovico de Varthema, whose travels to the East were undertaken only four years after Vasco da Gama had opened up the sea-route to India. Between 1502 and 1508 Varthema traveled through the Arabian desert to Mecca; then on to Persia and along the Indian coast to Ceylon, Bengal and Pegu; and thence to the Malay Peninsula and the islands of Sumatra, Java, the Moluccas and "Borneï." On his return trip he visited Ethiopia. His account of these hazardous wanderings, under the title *Itinerario,* was first published at Rome in 1510, two years after his return to his native country. Fifty years later, Garcia da Orta, a Spaniard in Portuguese employ in the Far East, cast doubts on the veracity of some of Varthema's story and, for many years, later scholars echoed Orta's doubts. However, modern investigators, notably Sir Richard Temple, have concluded that Varthema's account of his travels can be relied upon and that he was maligned by his early detractors.

The *Itinerario* was an immediate popular success and was very soon translated from the original Italian into Latin, German, and Spanish. In 1556 a French edition appeared; in 1563 it was translated into Dutch; and in 1577 Richard Eden published his English translation as part of his *History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies.* Editions in Latin and German were published in the early years of the seventeenth century and Dutch editions appeared as late as 1654 and 1655. Several editions, beginning with that of Venice 1520, include a supplement containing Juan Díaz's account of Juan de Grijalva's expedition to Yucatan in 1518.

The Library for many years has owned a number of editions of the *Itinerario,* most of them in the Lenox and Maitland Collections, beginning with the first edition of 1510 and extending to the Dutch translation by "F. S.," published at Utrecht in 1655. This year we acquired on the Maitland Fund the third edition

of the original Italian version, published at Venice in 1518. It is an attractive small octavo volume, printed in double columns, with the title in red and black above a woodcut depicting Varthema tracing his long voyage on a globe. Through a window in the background is seen a caravel with sails bellying in the wind.

An interesting contemporary account of a severe volcanic eruption is to be found in Simone Porzio's *De conflagratione Agri Puteolani,* published probably at Naples in 1538. This pamphlet describes the destruction caused by violent eruptions and earthquakes in the Pozzuoli region west of Naples in September 1538. The title-page is illustrated with a crude but graphic woodcut showing the formation of a new volcano, the *Monte Nuovo,* on the night of September 29. This cut was reproduced on the cover of the Library's *Bulletin* for March 1963, soon after the pamphlet was acquired.

Another of the year's accessions which has furnished incidental illustrations for the *Bulletin* is Lodovico Dolce's *Dialogo . . . nel quale si ragiona del modo di accrescere e conseruar la memoria,* Venice 1562. This work on artificial memory is illustrated with numerous woodcuts, among them a series of every-day objects which, by their shape, suggest or resemble in outline the letters of the alphabet. Some of these have been used as tailpieces in several recent issues of the *Bulletin.*

A contemporary history of twelfth-century England which did not appear in print until four hundred years after it was written is William of Newburgh's *Rerum Anglicarum Libri Quinque,* Antwerp 1567. William of Newburgh spent almost his entire life (1136–1198?) in an Augustinian priory at Newburgh in Yorkshire. Much of his knowledge of the events of his own time was probably acquired from communication with members of neighboring monasteries of the Cistercian Order which, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography,* "played a foremost part in the ecclesiastical, political, and social history of England and of all western Europe." The copy of William's history acquired this year carries the bookplate of the Honorable Charles Townshend (1725–1767), Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose name was given to the hated tax acts imposed on the American colonies, which led to the formation of anti-importation associations in this country and to widespread rioting.

Mention has been made earlier in this section of a dictionary of Roman architectural terms, Gripaldi's *De Partibus Aedium.* Also acquired this year was the first edition of another early dictionary, *Syntagma per literarum ordinem de cibariorum facultate,* by the eleventh-century Byzantine encyclopedist Simeon Seth, published in Basel in 1538. This alphabetical listing of various foods, with their dietary and medicinal properties, contains the original Greek text as well as the translation into Latin by Lilio Gregorio Giraldi. The volume is not illustrated but the first page of the Greek and Latin texts is each decorated with an appropriate historiated initial, one showing the infant Bacchus with his grapes and the other, two men in a boat, one of whom is pulling in a large fish.

This year a gap was filled in the Division's collection of literary tributes to the Battle of Lepanto on October 7 1571, in which the fleets of the Holy League under Don John of Austria defeated the opposing Turkish forces. Most of our collection was brought together by Sir William Stirling-Maxwell and acquired by the Library in 1958. Many of the pamphlets are Italian poems celebrating the victory. The new acquisition is a Strassburg publication of 1572 containing three pieces: *De Victoria Christianorum ad Echinadas, Oratio,* by Giovanni Battista Rasario, and

two letters on the battle by the Protestant educator Johann Sturm, who had sent a copy of Rasario's oration to Ludwig Wittgenstein, a friend in Germany.

The Division's holdings of sixteenth-century Italian literature were strengthened by the acquisition of a number of first editions. A selection is listed briefly here:

BOCCACCIO, GIOVANNI.
Amorosa Visione . . . [Mediolani] In Aedibus Zannotti Castellionei, 1521.

DOLCE, LODOVICO.
Primaleone, Figlivolo Di Palmerino . . . In Venetia, Appresso Gio. Battista et Marchio Sessa Fratelli, MDLXII.

A romance of chivalry in *ottava rima*, decorated with a wood-engraved headpiece at the beginning of each canto and a series of historiated initials depicting animals and mythological subjects.

FIRENZUOLA, AGNOLO.
I Lvcidi Comedia . . . [In Fiorenza apresso Bernardo Giunti] MDXLIX.

A five-act prose comedy based on the *Menaechmi* of Plautus.

GELLI, GIOVANNI BATTISTA.
La Circe . . . In Firenze [Appresso Lorenzo Torrentino] MDXLIX.

A satire on human nature in ten dialogues between Ulysses, Circe and various animals representing human characteristics. This popular work was translated into English by Henry Iden as early as 1557.

GIRALDI CINTIO, GIOVANNI BATTISTA.
Epitia Tragedia . . . In Venetia, Appresso Giulio Cesare Cagnacini. M D LXXXIII.

A verse tragedy based on one of the author's own stories in his *Hecatommithi*.

——— Le Fiamme . . . In Vinegia appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari. MDXLVIII.

——— Selene. Tragedia . . . In Venetia, Appresso Giulio Cesare Cagnacini. M D LXXXIII.

GRAZZINI, ANTONIO FRANCESCO, *called Il Lasca.*
La Gelosia. Comedia . . . In Firenze [Stampata in casa de Giunti] MDLI.

This prose play, performed in Florence during the Carnival of 1550, was the first of Grazzini's dramas to be published.

——— La Spiritata, Commedia . . . In Fiorenza appresso i Giunti 1561.

A five-act play in prose, "recited" during the Carnival of 1560 in Bologna and Florence.

GROTO, LUIGI.
Il Thesoro. Comedia Nova . . . Nuouamente stampata. In Venetia. Appresso Fabio, & Agostin Zopini Fratelli. M D LXXXIII.

Although the dedication to Alfonso d'Este is dated 1580, no earlier printing of this play has been recorded, in spite of the ambiguous "nuovamente stampata" on the title-page.

POGGI, BELTRANO.
La Cangenia. Tragicomedia . . . In Fiorenza Appresso i Giunti. MDLXI.

——— La Inventione Della Croce Di Giesv Christo, Descritta in versi Sciolti, e in stile Comico, & Tragico . . . In Fiorenza appresso i Giunti. MDLXI.

TRISSINO, GIOVANNI GIORGIO.
Rime Del Trissinω. [Stampata in Vicenza per Tωlωmeω Ianiculω, Del'annω M D XXIX]

Printed in the reformed spelling advocated by Trissino.

UDINE, ERCOLE.
La Psiche Di Hercole Vdine, Con una breue Allegoria Del Molto R.P. D. Angelo Grillo . . . In Venetia, Presso Gio. Battista Giotti. 1599.

This poetic treatment of the Cupid and Psyche legend is in eight cantos, each illustrated with a full-page etching by Giovanni Valleio who was also responsible for the etched title-page.

AMERICANA

To the Division's Americana, its chief subject area, numerous additions were made during the year under review. Two of them, acquired on the Maitland Fund, fall within the group of pre–1551 Americana, in which the Library's collection is particularly strong. The earlier is a 1536 edition of Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim's *De incertitudine & vanitate scientiarum declamatio inuectiua,* published probably at Cologne. The work, not recorded by Henry Harrisse in his *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima,* contains a reference to the discoveries of the Spaniards and the Portuguese in the New World. The Division's collection now includes eight pre–1551 editions. An important gap still to be filled is the first edition of 1530.

Because of the references to America, several early works on the treatment of syphilis by the use of South American guaiac are included in the Division's collection of "earliest Americana," even though medicine is not a field in which the Library collects. This year we secured a scarce edition of Alfonso Ferri's *De ligni sancti . . . libri quatuor,* published in Paris by Vivant Gaultherot in 1543. In addition to the Ferri text, which had first appeared in 1537, this 16mo "pocket" edition includes Girolamo Fracastoro's famous poem *Syphilis, sive Morbus Gallicus,* first published 1530, from which the disease took its name.

The book also has interest because of its binding and provenance. It is bound in contemporary calf, both covers blind-stamped with a central panel containing two medallion portrait heads between Renaissance columns, the whole within a decorated frame signed at the foot with the initials "M D," probably those of Martin Dature, an early sixteenth-century English binder. The same design appears on another volume in the Rare Book Division, on covers laid down on a nineteenth-century binding by Hayday encasing a copy of Tyndale's *New Testament* of 1536 (STC 2835), in the Lenox Collection. This design appears to be identical with one described under no 161 in E. P. Goldschmidt's *Gothic and Renaissance Bookbindings.* On the Ferri title page is the dated signature "W Lambarde 1588" and above it, in the same hand, the name "Georgij Multõ." George Multon was the father-in-law of William Lambarde, the historian of Kent, and the book would appear to have been a gift from Multon to his son-in-law. Early in this century it belonged to F. William Cock, M D, who has noted in the book that it was "bought at the dispersal of Lambarde's library at Sevenoaks Sep^{t}. 1902."

A period of South American history that is well-documented in the Division's holdings of contemporary publications is the Dutch conquest of Brazil, from 1624 to 1654. Seldom in recent years have items published during that thirty years found their way to our shelves. This year, however, the Ford Fund enabled us to acquire a rare pamphlet published in Lisbon in 1654, toward the end of the war, giving an account of the recapture by the Portuguese of several places held by the Dutch. The pamphlet, ascribed by Portuguese authorities to João de Medeiros Correia, has a caption-title only: *Breve Relaçam dos Vltimos Svccessos da Gverra do Brasil, restituiçaõ da cidade Mauricia, Fortalezas do Recife de Pernambuco, & mais praças que os Olandeses occupauaõ naquelle Estado.* The text includes the articles of surrender under which the various towns and forts changed hands. In 1899 it was reprinted in the *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro,* v XX, p [167]–185, together with other rare accounts of the Dutch war.

Among the many bloody engagements of the French and Indian War, one of the best-known is the Battle of Lake George, fought on September 8 1755, two months after the disastrous defeat of General Braddock in Pennsylvania. Before the end of the year Samuel Blodget, a sutler with the English forces under Sir William Johnson, and later to become well-known as a New Hampshire merchant, canal-builder and judge, designed and published in Boston *A Prospective Plan of the Battle fought near Lake George on the 8th of September 1755.* This plan, part map and part view, was engraved by Thomas Johnston and has the distinction of being the first historical print engraved in this country. It was accompanied by an eight-page explanatory pamphlet under the same title, "containing a full, tho' short, history of that important affair." In February 1756 both the plan and its

accompanying pamphlet were reprinted in London. Now called "A Prospective View," the re-engraved print was the work of Thomas Jefferys.

For many years the Library owned a copy of the Boston engraving of the battle, but without Blodget's accompanying text. In 1930 a copy of the pamphlet, with an imperfect copy of the engraving bound in, was received in the Phelps Stokes Collection of American Historical Prints. This year it was our good fortune to be able to acquire a fine impression of the London engraving. Since both the Boston and London engravings are rare, it is probable that this is one of the few libraries where originals of both versions of this famous print can be studied side by side. It is hoped, of course, that it will someday be possible to complete this quartet of rarities by acquiring the London edition of Blodget's pamphlet.

In several recent reports of accessions attention has been called to the scarcity of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century West Indies imprints. This year's additions to the Division included several publications from that area. The most substantial piece is Jamaican: the *Proceedings of the Honourable House of Assembly Relative to the Maroons: Including the Correspondence Between the Right Honourable Lord Balcarres and the Honourable Major-General Walpole, during the Maroon Rebellion,* printed at St Jago de la Vega by Alexander Aikman, printer to the Assembly, in 1796. Later the same year these proceedings were published in London with an introductory account of the rebellion by Bryan Edwards. Two copies of the London edition have long been in the Library. It is a much commoner book than the original Jamaica edition, recently acquired on the Ford Fund.

A considerably later, but very scarce Jamaica publication, also purchased on the Ford Fund, is *The Loyalist; a political, moral and religious periodical,* published at Montego-Bay in fifty numbers, from October 22 1834 to September 30 1835. The Library's file is complete in one volume, an uncut copy in what appear to be contemporary blue boards, rebacked. This periodical, largely political in nature, is not recorded by Sabin, nor by the *Union List of Serials,* the National Union Catalog, or by Frank Cundall's bibliographies of Jamaica printing.

The press in Haiti was represented in this year's acquisitions by two Cap imprints by the "Imprimerie Royale," published in 1767, three years after the establishment of the press there. These are two legal briefs concerning the division of the estate of Laurent Dureau, deceased in 1745, each issued with a caption-title only and an undated colophon. One is entitled *Mémoire pour Messire Jean-François de Cantineau . . . & Dame Marie-Laurence Dureau . . . & Charles-Laurent Aveline . . . appellans. . . . Contre Écuyer Claude Collet . . . & Dame Marie-Élizabeth Dureau . . . intimé & défendans. . . .* It is signed by a lawyer Dumoulin, otherwise unidentified. This is also the case with the other brief, signed by one Behagnon and captioned: *Mémoire servant de réponse pour Messire Claude Collet . . . & Dame Marie-Elizabeth Dureau. . . . Contre Messire Jean-François de Cantineau, & Dame Marie-Laurence Dureau.*

Four early Martinique taxation documents acquired this year were printed in Saint-Pierre by Pierre Richard, the royal printer. The earliest, dated May 21 1762, is an *Extrait des Registres du Conseil Supérieur de la Martinique,* imposing a poll tax to help defray the expenses of billeting troops. An *Extrait des Registres du Conseil d'Etat. Du vingt-cinq Février 1764* imposes taxes for the year to meet the "dépenses indispensables à cette Colonie." It is accompanied by a folio broadside with its own imprint, headed: *La Martinique. Tableau de l'Imposition pour*

l'année mil sept cent soixante-quatre. An *Ordonnance Additionnelle, Concernant l'Imposition sur la Martinique, la Guadeloupe & dépendances, pour l'année 1772* places a tax on coffee and a poll tax on slaves. The fourth item is a one-leaf *Communication donnée par Monsieur l'Intendant, à la colonie,* dated and signed: "A Saint-Pierre, le 28 Février 1777. Signé, le Président Tas' 'cher." This document is a summary of the taxation and deficits from 1772 through 1776.

An interesting addition to our Santo Domingo imprints and to the printed sources for the troubled history of that island is a broadside declaration by Léger-Félicité Sonthonax, one of the civil commissioners sent by the French Revolutionary government to Santo Domingo "to restore order and tranquillity" and to carry out a decree of 1791 abolishing Negro slavery. It is headed: *Commission Civile. Au Nom de la République . . . A tous les Français de Saint-Domingue,* and is dated "à Saint-Marc, le 5 novembre 1793," where it was printed by François Lamothe. It is occupied largely with a denunciation of Adrien-Nicolas Lasalle, commandant of the western province, and ends with assurances that the "bonnet of liberty" has been set up in all public places in the western and southern towns of the colony and that the interests of the planters will be protected, as well as the "absolute liberty" of the slaves. The Library's copy of this document must have been treated with care from the day it was issued. It is in virtually mint condition.

A few other acquisitions of pre-1800 Americana which deserve special mention are listed briefly here, in chronological order:

ZURITA, FERDINANDO.

Theologicarvm De Indis Qvæstionvm, Enchiridion primum . . . Madriti. Apud Querinum Gerardum. Anno. 1586.

The first edition of a manual for the guidance of priests and missionaries among the Indians of Mexico. It deals not only with theological questions, but with many aspects of daily life. On the lower edges of the Library's copy is the brand of the Convento de Atlixco, Puebla.

LE PREMIER RECVEIL, Contenant Les Choses Plvs Memorables Advenves sous La Ligue, Tant en Françe [*sic*], Angleterre, qu'autres lieux . . . [n p] M D. LXXXX.

This collection of pieces previously published separately relates largely to the Guise faction in France, in opposition to the Huguenots and Henry of Navarre. It is of special interest to a collection of Americana since the last item is Walter Bigges's *Le Voyage de Messiere* [sic] *Francois Drake Chevalier, aux Indes Occidentales, l'an M. D. LXXXV. Auquel les villes de S. Iago, S. Domingo, S. Augustino & Cartagena ont esté prises,* reprinted from the French edition published two years earlier at Leyden. The present edition was not known to Sabin.

KIRCHMAYER, GEORG KASPAR, *praeses.*

. . . Disputatio geographico-historica. De origine, aditu atque fama gentium Americanarum . . . Justus Gotofredus Rabnerus . . . respondens . . . Wittebergæ, Ex Officinâ Typographicâ Johannis Haken, Anno M DC LIX.

PEÑA MONTENEGRO, ALONSO DE LA.

Itinerario para parochos de Indios, en qve se tratan las materias mas particulares, tocantes a ellos, para su buena administracion. . . . En Madrid, Por Joseph Fernandez de Buendia, año M. DC. LXVIII.

The first edition of an important work on the organization of South America in relation to the Catholic Church, including laws governing the relations of the priests with the Indians.

PARRA, JACINTO DE.

Rosa Lavreada entre los Santos. . . . En Madrid: Por Domingo Garcia Morrás . . . Año de 1670.

In the reports for 1959/60 and 1960/61 mention was made of the acquisition of four works on St Rose of Lima, two published in 1668, the year following her beatification, and two in 1669. Parra's *Rosa Lavreada* is a welcome addition to our growing collection concerning the first American saint. It is a compilation of the ceremonial proceedings, sermons and orations attendant on the beatification, summarized glowingly on the title-page: "Epitalamios sacros de la Corte, Aclamaciones de España, Aplavsos de Roma, Congratvlaciones festivas del clero, y religiones." The work is recorded by several bibliographers, including Sabin, Palau, Medina and Leclerc, but only Medina mentions the full-page portrait of the Saint, engraved by Diego de Obregón in 1669, which is present in the Library's copy.

CORRO Y SEGARRA, JUAN DEL.

Forma del nvevo beneficio de metales de plata . . . [Lima 1676]

Dated at end: Potosi, y Junio 24. de 1676. años. Sabin records a different printing of this pamphlet on the improved metallurgy of silver. Neither Sabin nor Medina (who had apparently not seen a copy) mentions the table, present in this copy, giving a "Resvmen del beneficio ordinario y del nuevo."

A LETTER from Jamaica, to a Friend in London, concerning Kid-Napping. [London? 1682?]

A rare broadside, signed: T. M. and dated: Jamaica, Decemb. 30. 1681, concerning the kidnapping of Children who were then sent to the West Indies as servants or even sold into slavery. Appended to the letter is a list of names of ten boys whom the writer thought might have been "spirited away," as well as eight others who had died; two who had been sold and two who had been set free. This broadside is not recorded by Sabin; Wing lists copies in the Bodleian and Cambridge University Libraries.

A FULL ACCOUNT of the Actions of the late Famous Pyrate, Capt. Kidd . . . By a Person of Quality. Dublin: Re-printed for Matthew Gunn, 1701.

Reprinted from the London edition of the same year, which has a variant title: "A Full Account of the Proceedings in Relation to Capt. Kidd." The present copy of the Dublin edition is a fine one, uncut, and with the original blank leaf at the end.

NEDERLANDSCH HERVORMDEKERK.

Berigt en Onderrigtinge, nopens en aan de Colonie en Kerke van Pensylvanien . . . [Amsterdam? 1730?]

At a meeting of the Synod of South Holland of the Dutch Reformed Church, held in Breda in 1730, attention was called to appeals from the German Reformed Church of the Palatinate to help the German emigrants in Pennsylvania, particularly at Shibbagh, near Philadelphia. This rare pamphlet was evidently issued to arouse interest in furthering this cause. It contains an account of the establishment of the Reformed Church in the colony, followed by a suggested plan of organization of the German congregations under the auspices of the Dutch church.

BARREDA, FRANCISCO DE.

Puntual, veridica, topographica descripcion, del famoso puerto, y ciudad de San Christoval de la Habana, en la Isla de Cuba . . . En Sevilla, en la Imprenta de D. Joseph Navarro y Armijo [1740?]

A scarce early description of Havana, recorded by Palau only from Leclerc's 1878 *Bibliotheca Americana* and by Medina from a catalogue of the Leipzig bookseller Hiersemann. The pamphlet was apparently unknown to Sabin.

SPAIN. COURTS. JUNTA DE GENERALES.

Cargos que el Fiscal de S. M. produce contra todos los comprehendidos en esta Causa, por lo resultante de ella. [Madrid 1764]

The "causa" referred to in the caption-title of this document is the trial of eleven Spanish civil officials and military leaders involved in the surrender of Havana to the British in 1762. The document is a collection of the detailed charges against these men, drawn up by the Fiscal, Manuel de Craywinckel, and signed by him and by members of the Junta in Madrid, March 2 1764. The Junta ordered that a printed copy be delivered to each of the accused. The total number printed was presumably small. The trial proceedings and the defense statements were also printed. In the DIVISION's report for 1961/62 it was announced that eight of the defense documents had been acquired, relating to five of the defendants named in the present "cargos."

LOUISIANA (SPANISH COLONY). STATUTES.

[Real cédula para Luisiana y Floridas] [Madrid? 1793?]

Binder's title. The text begins: No siendo posible, que los vecinos de la Luisiana puedan en las actuales circunstancias hacer sus expediciones á los Puertos de Francia. . .

This royal decree, dated at Aranjuez, June 9 1793, permits the inhabitants of Louisiana and the Floridas to trade with all friendly nations of Europe and America under certain specified conditions. It appears to be previously unrecorded.

Fact and Symbol in "The Chimney Sweeper" of Blake's *Songs of Innocence*

By MARTIN K. NURMI
Kent State University, Ohio

A READER of William Blake's two chimney sweeper songs needs little more information concerning eighteenth-century London "climbing boys" than the songs provide, in order to grasp their general humanitarian and symbolic significance. Yet familiarity with some additional details does, I think, help us see more clearly Blake's indictment of a society that allows children to be subjected to almost unbelievably wretched conditions, and it also gives more force and point to the symbolism. For in the songs Blake does not really describe the living and working conditions of the sweeps; he presupposes a knowledge of them. Writing at the time of the passage of the "Chimney Sweepers' Act" of 1788, when newspapers and reformers like Jonas Hanway were publicizing the treatment of the sweeps, Blake could depend on his readers' being aware of the facts in a way that modern readers are not. And he can therefore express his deep outrage obliquely and ironically, through the understated discourse of boys who, in the symbolic context of *Songs of Innocence & of Experience*, have somehow learned to preserve their humanity in circumstances that are all but completely dehumanizing. The details of chimney sweeping, which these notes will briefly review, do not, to be sure, reveal the poems in a new light. But a more sharply delineated picture of the lives of the sweeps than Blake's speakers in the poems can give strengthens our awareness of the ironic disparity between the tone of the boys' discourse and the conditions they allude to; it helps us to see some of the imagery of the poems a little more vividly, and it sets some badly needed limits on symbolic interpretations of the poems.

As any reader of *Oliver Twist* is aware, the boys were indeed boys, the smaller the better. When Blake's sweep of *Innocence* says,

> When my mother died I was very young,
> And my father sold me while yet my tongue
> Could scarcely cry " 'weep! 'weep! 'weep! 'weep!" [1]

he is not exaggerating. Although the usual age at which children became

[1] Blake, *Complete Writings*, ed Sir Geoffrey Keynes (London 1957) 117. All quotations from Blake are from this text.

sweeps, or apprentices, was six or seven, some did so at five or even four.[2] And the word "sold" is to be taken quite literally. Unlike the usual apprenticeship, in which the fee is paid to the master, binding children — both boys and girls [3] — to a master sweep usually brought a payment ranging from twenty shillings to five guineas from the master to the parent, if there was one, or to whoever had the child at the time.[4] Ostensibly the child was apprenticed for seven years, after which he was usually too large to go up small chimneys; but after his apprenticeship he was by no means assured of a living as a journeyman, since there was not enough work to go around. Often he was left to the parish to support, not only because work was scarce but because he was physically unable to work. Chimney sweeping left children with kneecaps twisted and spines and ankles deformed,[5] from crawling up chimneys as small as nine or even seven inches in diameter,[6] with "chimney sweep's cancer" of the scrotum resulting from the constant irritation of the soot,[7] with respiratory ailments,[8] and eye inflammations.[9]

Their living and working conditions were almost incredibly wretched. Although some masters took reasonably good care of their sweeps, most, to judge from evidence given before parliamentary committees and other contemporary sources,[10] kept them worse than animals. Sweeps arose literally "in the dark" and worked until about noon, when they "cried the streets" for more business until it was time to return, carrying heavy bags of soot, to the cellars and attics where they slept, often not on mattresses or even straw but on the bags of soot they had swept.[11] When Blake's sweep says "in soot

[2] Jonas Hanway, *A Sentimental History of Chimney Sweepers in London and Westminster. . . .* (London 1785) 25; "Extracts from Minutes of Evidence" taken before a Committee of the House of Commons, in June 1817, reprinted in *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend, and Climbing Boy's Album*, arranged by James Montgomery (London 1824) 169–184. References to the minutes reprinted in this volume will hereafter be given as *CSF* with a page number.

[3] Hanway 53–54; *CSF* 102, 170, 211, 228.

[4] Hanway 25; *CSF* 169, 182. Small boys fetched a higher fee. Children were sometimes stolen and sold; see *CSF* 219.

[5] *CSF* 188, 200.

[6] *CSF* 170, 233.

[7] *CSF* 170, 199, 228.

[8] *CSF* 202.

[9] *CSF* 201.

[10] See, for instance, the reports issued annually by the Society for Superseding the Necessity of Climbing Boys which extracted reports of newsworthy abuses from the papers. A good bibliography of contemporary accounts of climbing boys and chimney sweeping in general may be found in George L. Phillips, *England's Climbing Boys: A History of the Long Struggle to Abolish Child Labor in Chimney-Sweeping*. Publication No 5 of the Kress Library of Business and Economics (Cambridge 1949).

[11] *CSF* 172; Society for the Superseding of the Necessity of Climbing Boys, etc, *Report*, 1826, p 5.

I sleep," he is not talking metaphorically. Soot is his element day and night. Nor was there much relief from it, even temporarily, for sweeps often went without washing for six months.

Little Tom Dacre cried when they shaved his head but not the ordinary child's tears that come from fear of the unknown. As the older sweep's remark makes clear, Tom's haircut is a ritual one, like those given prison or the army, and he is aware of it. Tears will be common in his new life for awhile. The children did cry when forced, by fire,[12] slaps, proddings with poles, or by the pricking of the bottoms of their feet with pins,[13] to go up small chimneys. Because the chimneys were very narrow where small boys were used, climbing had to be accomplished by inching one's way up using knees and elbows, which at first became raw and bled but in about six months, after "the sores," developed a thick sole.[14] The most frightening aspect of climbing was going into a confined dark space, uncertain what would happen in the curves, where boys sometimes got stuck and suffocated.[15] To Tom Dacre, the new sweep, unaccustomed as yet to being shut up in a narrow black space but aware of the real possibility of death, a dream of being locked up in a coffin of black is more natural than symbolic. And a boy spending his days squeezed in sooty chimneys, being cleansed only when he was taken outside to be swept off, spending his nights sleeping on soot, would quite naturally dream wishfully of leaping, laughing, running, and being able to "wash in a river, and shine in the sun."

Tom's dreaming of sweeps sporting "naked & white," while it serves Blake's symbolic purpose in the *Songs*, also has a more specific significance. Nakedness is not here merely a symbol of Innocence. In dreaming of it Tom is making a connection between his dream imagery and his ordinary life. For sweeps often went up chimneys naked,[16] since clothes took up needed room, and bare skin, though it would bruise and scratch, did not catch on the rough plaster inside the chimney, and of course did not cost anything to replace. Protective clothing of leather had been used earlier in the century but was abandoned because the heat from the fires that were sometimes kept going while boys were in chimneys would parch and spoil the leather.[17] Naked immersion in soot, therefore, is Tom's normal state now, and naked white cleanliness is its natural opposite.

12 *CSF* 210; see also *Oliver Twist*, chapter III.
13 *CSF* 187, 208–209, 227.
14 *CSF* 186.
15 Several accounts are given in the Society for Superseding, etc, *Report* of 1826.
16 Hanway 53–54; *CSF* 194.
17 Hanway 101, 102. Children did not sweep in Germany, and the men sweeps wore leather suits like those used now by scuba divers.

The sweeps were not simply children who were forced to clean chimneys. Tom's ritual haircut changes him into a different, somehow subhuman creature.[18] Even Charles Lamb, who was sympathetic with the sweeps, could not help regarding them as beings not quite the same as other people.[19] And Thomas Hood, despite his sympathies for the laboring poor, remarked with a callous detachment, in defending the practice of using children for sweeps, that it was just as natural for these creatures to make their call as it was for sparrows to chirp.[20] When Blake's sweep of *Experience* says that his parents have gone off to church, it is significant that *he* does not go: the sweeps were not welcome, if an anecdote told by Jonas Hanway is indicative of a common attitude:

> As an instance in what manner these poor children are treated, I remember an anecdote of a little band of them, who had the fortune to be supplied with Sundays clothing: their faces, however, proclaimed them *chimney-sweepers*. Curiosity, or information that the churches were houses of God, carried them within the gates of a church; but alas! they were driven out by the beadle, with this taunt, "What have chimney sweepers to do in a church?" [21]

Blake's songs are not merely humanitarian poems, like those which Lamb characterized as being "colour'd by fiction," published in James Montgomery's *The Chimney Sweeper's Friend and Climbing Boy's Album*, where "The Chimney Sweeper" of *Innocence* was first reprinted.[22] To Lamb, who unsuccessfully "batter'd [his] brains . . . for a few verses" for the album, Blake's poem was "the flower of the set." [23] "The Chimney Sweeper" belongs only superficially in the genre of sad stories of little sweeps, for Blake deals with particular social evils symbolically in the comprehensive "prophetic" context of Innocence and Experience. But if this prophetic context of "the Two Contrary States of the Human Soul" reveals a larger meaning in the plight of the sweeps than can be seen naturalistically, we must nevertheless see the sweeps with as much harsh particularity as possible, not only to restore a factual context for Blake's allusive imagery to work in, but also to grasp them clearly enough as symbols. A symbolic interpretation of these songs that does not keep the cruel facts firmly in view is in danger of going badly astray.

18 Becoming a chimney sweep "cuts them off from all society," says W. Tooke; see *CSF* 175.

19 "The Praise of Chimney-Sweepers."

20 "The Sweep's Complaint."

21 Hanway 35.

22 The poem was sent to James Montgomery, the "arranger," by Lamb. See *The Letters of Charles Lamb & Mary Lamb*, ed E. V. Lucas (New Haven 1935) II 424–427.

23 Ibid.

The black skin of the sweep of *Innocence* is indeed, as Northrop Frye suggests, a symbolic "modulation" of the black skin of the African,[24] but it is a mistake to take the sweep as being too closely analogous in all respects to the Little Black Boy, as, for instance, Robert F. Gleckner does:

> He sleeps in soot instead of the earthly mother's bosom or lap. But just as the mother shields the child from the intense beams of God's love until he is able to bear them alone, so the sweeper's soot is ironically his shield.[25]

A reading such as this is possible only if one takes a rather generalized view of the sweep's condition, for it is hard to imagine what the sweep's soot shields him from, ironically or otherwise. The dark pigment of the African's skin enables him to bear the beams of God's love, symbolized as sunbeams, and, in showing his closeness to God, Blake ironically reveals the clouded vision of the dominant white society which has enslaved him.[26] But the sweeps do not need protection from the beams of love, symbolically or naturally. Naturally, they do not see the sun, and symbolically they are far worse off than the Black Boy, since their humanity has been all but completely obscured. They live in a world of unrelieved blackness, rising in the dark, spending their days enclosed in black chimneys, and sleeping on bags of soot.

The difference between the blackness of the African and that of the sweeps is literally the difference between day and night, between eventual light and unrelieved darkness. The Negro boy is able to look forward to the day when he will be like the English boy — not "white," to be sure, but freed of his "black cloud"; the sweeps, who were white, are now black and, unless an angel releases them, will presumably stay that way. Blake uses blackness ironically in "The Little Black Boy" and "The Chimney Sweeper," but the irony twists in a different direction in each. In the former, white society feels that it can enslave and hence dehumanize the Negro because of the blackness of his skin, which then becomes symbolic of his inferiority in the eyes of the whites, and also of his oppression. But a naturalistic fact about dark skin, its ability to withstand the sun's heat, allows Blake to manipulate the symbol to show the Negro boy, from the perspective of humanity, as superior to his oppressors. Naturalistic fact allows no positive reversal of blackness in "The Chimney Sweeper." The irony here is that the white victims of oppression are turned black and become, in the eyes of

24 *Fearful Symmetry* (Princeton 1947) 212.

25 Robert F. Gleckner, *The Piper and the Bard* (Detroit 1959) 108–109.

26 Gleckner's analysis of "The Little Black Boy" is excellent; see also Jacob H. Adler, "Symbol and Meaning in *The Little Black Boy*," *MLN* LXXII (1957) 412–415.

their oppressors, what they seem to be: creatures so different as to have no claims on humanity.

Although the sweep is like the Negro boy a slave and like him black, the Negro boy can envision a release from his slavery and blackness because his mother's wise teaching has enabled him to see life so comprehensively that he can feel tender now toward the English boy while he waits for the cloud of white supremacy to vanish. The hope held out to the sweep is much fainter. All the older sweep can tell Tom Dacre is that if his hair is shaved off the soot won't spoil it. This consolation could, perhaps, be taken as offering a hope of Tom's actually regaining his Innocence, his imaginative vision, but if so it is not very much to go on. It is more a counsel of endurance than of hope: if your outward appearance of Innocence is completely gone, you will be better able to survive in the world of Experience. In being shorn of his lamb-like hair and being plunged into a world of death and blackness, Tom has been stripped of all the Innocence that Experience can strip him of.[27]

Both poems are of course *Songs of Innocence*, belonging to that complex stratum of songs showing Innocence or imaginative perception of reality dwelling with bitter knowledge gained in the world of Experience. And part of the wonder of "The Chimney Sweeper" is that Blake can make us feel this Innocence as being alive even in the midst of such bitter oppression. But the imagery in which Innocence is represented, derived largely from the modest wishes of a little boy who would like to be liberated from black chimneys to wash in a river and run about in the warm sunshine, does not allow us to forget the realistic context, which even a symbolic view of the sweep's dream should not ignore.

The only hope actually held out to the boy in his dream is vague and distant, expressed by the angel in the language of a kind but stuffy adult:

> And the angel told Tom, if he'd be a good boy,
> He'd have God for his father, & never want joy.

Tom's wish to have God for his father is natural enough, since his real father sold him into his present condition.[28] But when is this to be? Being "a good

[27] According to Gleckner, "the white hair cannot be spoiled because it is not there substantially; yet to the imagination the hair *is* there, unspoiled and in a sense protected" (p 109).

[28] The poem does not say that Tom's father sold him, but parents were usually the ones who sold children. The speaker of the poem was sold by his father. Cp. "The Song of the Poor Little Sweep," which closely parallels this passage: An orphan sweep says, "The *gentleman* said *I'd a father in heaven,* / Whose care never slumber'd, whose eye cannot sleep. . . . ," CSF 254. This sweep too is filled with gladness, but in a much more conventional way.

boy" in Tom's situation can mean little more than being a good sweep and staying out of trouble, but he must find what consolation he can even in an admonition like this, which makes him feel that someone, if only in a dream, cares about him. Since no one will really come with a bright key to release him into the sunshine, he must, in order to endure, find in the angel's words a private meaning of more immediate hope than they actually hold out.

The moral appended by the older sweep, "So if all do their duty they need not fear harm," puts another conventional construction on the matter. Doing one's duty here means primarly going up chimneys without having to be forced, and the "harm" is the very real punishment given boys who would not climb. Joseph Wicksteed has suggested that doing one's duty means the dreaming of dreams.[29] I think this interpretation passes too easily over the facts. But the line could be taken to mean that if one adapts as well as possible to the present inhuman condition, sustained by such glimpses of Innocence as are possible, in dreams, then one may be able to keep from losing one's humanity altogether. In any case, there is nothing else that can be done.

If the facts of Tom Dacre's condition make the poem affecting in a way that limits critical ingenuity, I do not think the poem loses very much by that. It does not become sentimental; the speakers' understatements prevent it. Nor does it become simple; the tension between Innocence and Experience, on the contrary, becomes, when fleshed out, more compellingly complex than ever.[30]

POSTSCRIPT ON LEGISLATION

THE CONDITIONS of climbing boys began to be publicized in 1780. In June and December of that year a committee organized by Jonas Hanway and others sent out appeals to all masters who could be located for better treatment of sweeps.[31] Another committee was formed in 1783 and yet another in 1788, which was instrumental in securing the passage of "An Act for the better regulation of chimney sweepers, and their Apprentices" (28 George III, c. 48). The act stipulated that a churchwarden or overseer of the poor, with the approval of two justices, could bind a boy of eight or older; that masters could have no more than six apprentices; that boys would not be let out for hire to other masters; and included in the indenture forms further stipulations that masters must provide "competent and sufficient meat, drink, washing, lodging, apparel"; provide working clothes and at least once a year, clothes to be worn when not working; "at least once a week . . . cause the . . . apprentice to be thoroughly washed and cleansed from soot and dirt"; require the apprentice to attend church

29 *Blake's Innocence and Experience* (London 1928) 109–110.

30 I am grateful to Professor John E. Grant for valuable critical suggestions.

31 Hanway 59–67.

and "permit and allow him to receive the benefit of any other religious instruction," when the apprentice would not wear his working dress; limit the hours at which apprentices would call the streets; and, finally, the forms stipulated that the master or other persons delegated by him could not "require or force him the said apprentice to climb or go up any chimney which shall be actually on fire, nor make use of any violent or improper means to force him to climb or go up any such chimney."

The act of 1788 helped a little, but it was weak and difficult to enforce.[32] Abuses continued. What was needed was an act prohibiting the use of climbing boys (and girls) altogether. Machines of various kinds were demonstrated during the next eighty-seven years, as efforts to gain the needed legislation continued.[33] Bills were passed in the Commons in 1804, 1818, 1819, the latter two as the result of a good deal of distressing testimony in committee hearings; but the Lords, for a variety of reasons, among them that of ostensibly not wanting to infringe upon property rights by dictating the kinds of chimneys that would be needed for effective mechanical sweeping, regularly defeated them. Bills regulating the trade were finally passed by both houses in 1834 (4 and 5 Guilielmi, c. 35), in 1840 (3 and 4 Victoria, c. 85), in 1864 (28 Victoria, c. 377). But it was not until 1875, when a bill introduced by Lord Shaftesbury was passed (38 and 39 Victoria, c. 70), that the practice of sending children up chimneys was at last made illegal.

[32] See the Report of the Society for Superseding, etc, 1826, p 9. See also David Porter, *Considerations of the Present State of Chimney Sweepers* (London 1792).

[33] See B. M. F[orster], "An Account of Some Attempts which have been made at different Periods to benefit the Condition of Chimney-Sweepers," *The Philanthropist,* v (1815) 341–342. A very full account of later efforts is to be found in Phillips.

Postscript: Blake and Charles Lamb

By Robert H. Hopkins
Lehigh University

PROFESSOR NURMI'S interpretation of Blake's poem in terms of the actual conditions of chimney sweeping adds a new dimension to our understanding. I should like to suggest that a similar approach to Charles Lamb's "The Praise of Chimney-Sweepers: A May-Day Effusion" (May 1822) might show that the essay is less whimsical than commonly assumed, that specific passages also presuppose readers to be familiar with the working condition of sweeps, and that Lamb was also using irony to remind his readers of society's inhuman exploitation of sweeps. If Lamb was unable to contribute verses to James Montgomery's album — as Nurmi notes, Lamb did send Montgomery Blake's poem — possibly it was because Lamb was incapable of writing banal sentimental verse and because he had already had his say in "The Praise of Chimney-Sweepers."

In his "On the Genius and Character of Hogarth" (1811) Lamb deplored the shallow interpretation of Hogarth as merely laughable and felt that the first response of laughter should be followed by moral afterthought. If Lamb's own artistry embodies his critical principle of comic moralism, his allusion in "The Praise of Chimney-Sweepers" to Hogarth's *March to Finchley* ought to be examined. On a winter walk Elia slips on the ice in front of a young sweep who stands there grinning until tears of laughter work themselves out at "the corners of his poor red eyes, red from many a previous weeping and soot-inflamed." Elia's comparison of the sweep to the one in Hogarth's painting should cause us to look at Hogarth's sweep with the acute perception called for by Lamb. If, as Elia remarks, the sweep's grin "hath absolutely no malice in it," the sweep's arm reaching out with an empty hat for some milk being stolen from a maid by a soldier is a graphic commentary on his plight. On the same side of the print a baby also reaches out, not for milk, but for some gin being offered to a soldier by a woman. Of course Hogarth is not suggesting that the sweep should have the stolen milk or the infant the gin. The two parallel arms of the young reaching out empty-handed, the sardonic coupling of the infant and the gin, the privation of the sweep, are tragic incongruities of innocence in a ruthless, corrupted adult world of experience. Elia's analogy may be more ironically intended than past readers have realized.

In 1817 a House of Commons committee headed by Henry Gray Bennet had investigated the conditions of child labor in chimney sweeping and had issued a *Report* that was widely distributed. Elia's reference to the "soot-inflamed" eyes of the sweep (an occupational hazard) becomes corrosive in view of medical testimony in the *Report* that such inflammation often led to weakness of sight. In another paragraph Elia's seemingly whimsical fondness for a "fine set of teeth," his comparison of the "rosy lips" of ladies to "a casket presumably holding such jewels," and his suggestion that only sweeps should be allowed to display their teeth ostentatiously, are more than allusions to the blackness of the sweep's soot-lined face that by contrast highlights the whiteness of his teeth. Medical testimony in the *Report* verified that cancer of the lips (and of the scrotum) was another occupational hazard of chimney-sweeping. This passage in Lamb's essay takes on the corrosive Swiftian insinuation of "A Modest Proposal": the fine ladies and fine gentlemen of London society need hardly worry about cancer of the lips but what about the sweeps?

Other allusions in this essay take on new meanings when read in the historical context of Lamb's age. Elia's casual allusion to the abductions of infants who would later be sold as apprentices to master sweeps is substantiated by testimony in the *Report*. Even Lamb's lengthy description of Jem White's annual banquet for sweeps for the last third of the essay, sometimes viewed as Lamb's love of character portrayal detracting from the essay's structural coherence, may be conceived of as rhetorically functional in the light of testimony in the *Report* that most of the money given by the upper classes to the sweeps in the May-Day parade ended up in the pockets of the adult master sweeps. Instead of the patronizing, abstract moneyed charity of the upper class that by legislative default had refused to ameliorate the conditions of the sweeps, Jem White practices personal charity by presiding at the banquet as headwaiter.

The Arents Collection of Books in Parts and Associated Literature

A Supplement to the Checklist, 1957–1963

By PERRY O'NEIL
Arents Collections

PART II (*Conclusion*)

73 Loudon, Jane Wells (Webb). *The Ladies' Flower-garden of Ornamental Annuals.* London, William Smith 1839–1840.

16 parts, issued monthly; 4to; paper wrappers with engraved vignette. 48 colored lithographic plates.

Nissen: n 1234.

74 Low, David. *Illustrations of the Breeds of the Domestic Animals of the British Islands; Consisting of Coloured Lithographic Prints of the Horse, the Ox, the Sheep, the Goat, the Hog, from a Series of Oil Paintings Executed for the Agricultural Museum of the University of Edinburgh, by Mr.* [W.] *Shiels, of the Royal Scotch Academy; and Drawn on Stone, from Coloured Drawings by Mr.* [William] *Nicholson, R. S. A. from the Original Paintings. With Descriptive Memoirs. By David Low.* London, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman 1840–1841.

14 parts, issued bi-monthly; folio; paper wrappers. 56 colored lithographs, drawn by Mr Nicholson, from paintings by Mr Shiels. Drawn on stone and printed by Fairland.

Tooley: *cf* n 307.

75 Lytton, Edward Robert Bulwer-Lytton, First Earl of. *Glenaveril; or, the Metamorphoses. A Poem in Six Books.* New York, D. Appleton and Company 1885.

6 parts in 4, issued monthly; 8vo; paper wrappers.

76 Malton, Thomas. *Malton's Oxford.* London, T. Bensley 1802–1804.

4 parts, issued irregularly; folio; purple paper wrappers with printed oval labels. 24 colored aquatint plates. The 4 parts were all that were issued prior to Malton's death in 1804. 6 plates for a contemplated Part 5 were left in etched outline only. These plates are not present in the Arents set.

Abbey, *Scenery*: n 272. Krieg: *cf* Vol 2, p 9. Upcott: *cf* Vol 3, p 1109.

77 [Manchester, Rev. L. C.] *Art Work of Lowell and Vicinity.* Chicago, W. H. Parish Publishing Co 1893.

12 parts, issued irregularly; folio; paper wrappers. Illustrated with numerous photographs of Lowell, Massachusetts, and its environs. Historical sketch by Reverend L. C. Manchester.

78 *Masaniello, the Fisherman King of Naples. A Tale.* London, George Pierce [1845?]

3 parts, issued weekly; 8vo; paper wrappers. Numerous steel engravings and woodcuts, some signed W. Watkins and C. H. Wall. Engraved title-page. The work has been attributed to J. la Cecilia, and refers to Tommaso Aniello of Amalfi, called Masaniello.

Sadleir, *XIX Century Fiction*: Vol 2, p 50.

79 Maxwell, William H. *The Fortunes of Hector O'Halloran, and His Man Mark Antony O'Toole.* London, Richard Bentley 1842–1843.

3 parts in 1; 8vo; no wrappers. Incomplete. I folded color platee by Isaac Robert and 4 by Richard Doyle. See original checklist for a duplicate set as well as a description of the American part issue.

80 Mayhew, Henry. *The World's Show. 1851, or the Adventures of Mr. and Mrs. Sandboys and Family, Who Came up to London, to "Enjoy Themselves," and to See the Great Exhibition.* London, David Bogue 1851.

8 parts, issued monthly; 8vo; paper wrappers. Woodcut title-page, like the wrappers; and 10 etched illustrations by George Cruikshank. With the bookplates of Samuel Henry Austen and Reuben Jay Flick. See the original checklist for a duplicate set.

81 Meyer, Hermann Julius. *Meyer's Universum.* New York, Hermann J. Meyer 1852.

12 parts, issued bi-weekly; oblong 4to; engraved paper wrappers. 48 steel engravings from drawings by various artists.

82 Meyerhof, Max, and Georgy P. Sobhy. *The Abridged Version of "The Book of Simple Drugs" of Ahmad Ibn Muhammad al-Ghâfiqî, by Gregorius Abu'l-Farag (Barhebraeus). Edited from the Only Two Known Manuscripts with an English Translation, Commentary and Indices by M. Meyerhof and G. P. Sobhy.* Cairo, Al-Ettemad Printing Press 1932–1933.

3 parts, issued irregularly; 8vo; paper wrappers. This is Publication Number 4 of the Faculty of Medicine of the Egyptian University. At the end of Part 2 and in Part 3 is a facsimile in Arabic of the text of al-Ghâfiqî's book.

83 Milton, John. *Milton's Paradise Lost. Illustrated by Gustave Doré. Edited with Notes and a Life of Milton by Robert Vaughan, D.D.* New York, Cassell, Petter and Galpin 1866.

17 parts, issued irregularly; large 4to; printed paper wrappers. 51 full-page engravings by Gustave Doré.

84 Monkhouse, Sir William Cosmo. *The Works of Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A. Illustrated by Forty-four Steel Engravings and About Two Hundred Woodcuts from Sketches in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen, with a History of His Art-life by Cosmo Monkhouse.* London, Virtue and Co [*ca* 1880]

12 parts, issued irregularly; folio; paper wrappers with engraving. 2 engraved title-pages, 55 steel engravings and 156 woodcuts reproducing the paintings, drawings and studies of the animal painter. The work was also issued in 24 parts.

85 Monkhouse, Sir William Cosmo. *The Turner Gallery. A Series of One Hundred and Twenty Engravings from the Works of the Late J. M. W. Turner, R.A. The Descriptive Text by W. Cosmo Monkhouse.* New York, D. Appleton and Co [1878–1879?]

40 parts, issued irregularly; folio; engraved paper wrappers in color. 120 steel engravings by numerous British engravers, from paintings by Joseph Mallord William Turner. Engraved title-page and portrait of Turner.

86 Nicholson, Renton. *Dombey and Daughter: A Moral Fiction.* London, Thomas Farris [1850?]

3 parts, issued irregularly; 8vo; paper wrappers illustrated with a large woodcut. Numerous text illustrations.

87 Parke, Walter. *The Comic History of London, from the Earliest Period.* London, Boys of England Office [*ca* 1885]

12 parts, issued weekly; 8vo; no covers. Title-page used as cover of last part. Numerous woodcut illustrations.

88 Piccioli, Antonio. *L'Antotrofia Ossia la Coltivazione d'Fiori.* Firenze, V. Batelli e Figlia 1834–1835.

12 parts, issued monthly covering each month of the year; 4to; printed paper wrappers, the month printed on the spine. 72 engraved and hand-colored plates of flowers. Parts contained in cloth-and-board folding cases, issued by the publisher, with small printed paper labels.

89 Ponce, Nicolas. *Description des Bains de Titus, ou Collection des Peintures Trouvées dans les Ruines des Thermes de cet Empereur, et Gravées sous la Direction de M. Ponce, Graveur Ordinaire du Cabinet de Mgr Comte D'Artois . . . Avec un Avant-propos et Texte Explicatif* [By F. F. de Falice] *des Planches.* [and] *Arabesques Antiques des Bains de Livie, et de la Ville-Adrienne, avec les Plafonds de la Ville-Madame, Peints d'Aprés les Dessins de Raphael, et Gravés par les Soins de M. Ponce.* Paris, Chez l'Auteur 1786–1789.

4 parts, 3 plus 1, issued irregularly; folio; printed paper wrappers. 66 copper engravings by Nicolas Ponce. Although 2 separate works by title, they were designed to belong together and are so listed in the prospectus in Part 1.

90 Quis? pseud. *Floreat Etona. Eton Sketch'd. A Series of Designs Illustrative of an Eton Life, As It Was in My Time, by Quis?* Oxford, James Wyatt and Son 1841.

8 parts, issued irregularly; oblong 4to; blue paper wrappers with woodcut vignette of title-page. 32 engravings plus a frontispiece and title-page. Presentation copy to Mrs J. G. Smith signed "from the author."

91 [Raemaekers, Louis] *The Land and Water Edition of Raemaekers' Cartoons.* London, Land and Water 1916–1917.

26 parts, issued bi-weekly; 4to; illustrated paper wrappers in color. The cartoons of Louis Raemaekers are accompanied by articles by Eden Phillpots, G. K. Chesterton, Hilaire Belloc, Edmund Gosse, John Buchan, Herbert Warren, John Oxenham, and others.

92 Redouté, Pierre-Joseph. *Les Roses, par P. J. Redouté, Peintre de Fleurs, Dessinatur en Titre de la Classe Physique de l'Institut et du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle; avec le Texte, par Cl. Ant. Thory.* Paris, F. Didot 1817–1824.

3 volumes, issued irregularly; folio; boards. With frontispiece, portrait of Redouté, and 168 colored plates of roses.

Nissen: n 1599.

93 Richardson, Thomas Miles. *The Castles of the English and Scottish Border, from Original Drawings by T. M. Richardson; with Descriptive and Historic Illustrations.* Newcastle Upon Tyne, M. A. Richardson 1834.

2 parts, issued quarterly; folio; illustrated paper wrappers. 6 proofs of views drawn and engraved by Richardson, and 3 vignettes.

94 Ritchie, Leitch. *Turner's Rivers of France, Completed in Fifteen Numbers, Each Containing Four Plates, from the Burins of the Most Eminent British Engravers, after Original Drawings by J. M. W. Turner, Esq. R.A. Produced under the Superintendence of Mr. Charles Heath. With Original*

Letter Press Descriptions, in English and French, Written Expressly for This Edition, by Leitch Ritchie, Esq. London, J. M'Cormick 1835–1837.

15 parts, issued monthly; 4to; paper wrappers. 60 engraved illustrations including 2 vignettes and engraved title-page from original drawings by Joseph Malford William Turner. This set was announced to be completed in 16 numbers but was actually finished in 15, as stated on the cover of Part 15. See the original checklist for another issue, 8vo, in 20 parts.

95 Rodwell, George Herbert Buonaparte. *Woman's Love; A Romance of Smiles and Tears.* London, Kent and Richards 1847.

10 parts, issued monthly; 8vo; paper wrappers, with engraved illustration. 20 illustrations by Alfred Crowquill (Alfred H. Forrester). See the original checklist for a duplicate set.

96 Roe, Azel Stevens. *James Montjoy; or, I've Been Thinking.* New York, D. Appleton and Company 1850.

2 parts, issued weekly; 12mo; paper wrappers.
Wright, *American Fiction, 1774–1850*: *cf* n 2144.

97 Scharf, Sir George. *Recollections of the Scenic Effects of Covent Garden Theatre during the Season 1838–1839, Dedicated by Permission to W. C. Macready, Esq.* London, James Pathe 1839.

14 parts, issued monthly; oblong 4to; engraved paper wrappers. 42 etchings, each part illustrating a different play, engraved title-page, and engravings of the Public Dinner given for Sir William Charles Macready, June 20 1839. Presentation copy to Macready, signed "With the artist's respects" on the cover of Part 1. Macready was manager of the Covent Garden Theatre at this time.

98 Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von. *Schiller's Works. Illustrated by the Greatest German Artists, Edited by J. G. Fischer with Biographical Introduction by Hjalmar H. Boyesen.* Philadelphia, George Barrie 1883–?

26 parts, issued irregularly; 8vo; illustrated paper wrappers. 50 steel engravings, and over 100 woodcuts by numerous German artists. Indexes to illustrations included in Part 26. See *Goethe's Works* (item 50) for similar edition.

99 Scopoli, Giovanni Antonio. *Deliciae Florae et Faunae Insubricae seu Novae, aut Minus Cognitae Species Plantarum et Animalium Quas in Insubria Austriaca tam Spontaneas, Quam Exoticas Vidit, Descripsit, et Aeri Incidi Curavit.* Ticini, Monasterii S. Salvatoris 1785–1788.

3 parts, issued irregularly; folio; boards, with paper labels. Engraved frontispiece, vignettes, and 75 copper engraved plates of animals, fish, snakes, and birds. Each plate is dedicated to a different person, including Joseph Banks and James Edward Smith. With the stamp of Baron G. Cuvier and the release stamp of the Paris Bibliothèque du Muséum.
Nissen: n 1822. Pritzel: 8558. Wood: p 559.

100 [Sealsfield, Charles, pseud] *Life in the New World; or, Sketches of American Society. By Seatsfield* [sic] *Translated from the German by G*[ustavus] *C. Hebbe, LL.D., and James Mackay, M.A.* New York, J. Winchester 1844.

7 parts, issued weekly; 8vo; printed paper wrappers. Translation of *Lebensbilder aus der Westlichen Hemisphäre.* The author was born Karl Anton Postl or Postel. The pagination is continuous through the 7 parts and only Part 1 contains a title-page. Each of the parts, however, has a different cover title.
Wright, *American Fiction, 1774–1850*: evidently n 2330 in parts. Wright does not mention this 7-part issue of the edition of 1844. *Cf also*, n 2329.

101 Shakespeare, William. *The Works of Shakspere* [sic] *With Notes by Charles Knight.* New York, Virtue and Yorston [*ca* 1840]

56 parts, including 6 supplementary parts, issued bi-weekly; folio; paper wrappers with engraved illustrations. Over 48 steel engravings from paintings by Charles Robert Leslie and other artists. Engraved title-page.

102 Shakespeare, William. *The Works of Shakespeare. Edited by W. E. Henley.* Edinburgh, Grant Richards 1901.

40 parts, issued irregularly; folio; boards. "The Edinburgh Folio Shakespeare" in a limited edition of 1000 copies of which this is number 977. Frontispiece portrait of Shakespeare, from the engraving by Martin Droeshout. Parts 1–30 were edited by William Ernest Henley. Parts 31–40 were edited by Walter Raleigh, with added notes and commentary.

103 Sharp, David, ed. *Fauna Hawaiiensis; or The Zoology of the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Isles: Being Results of the Exploration Instituted by the Joint Committee Appointed by the Royal Society of London for Promoting Natural Knowledge and the British Association for the Advancement of Science and Carried on with the Assistance of Those Bodies and of the Trustees of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum at Honolulu.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1899–1910.

17 parts, issued irregularly; large 4to; stiff paper wrappers. 1 folding map and 19 lithographed plates by Edwin Wilson. Text written by numerous authors. Some of the plates have been partly colored.

104 Shea, John Gilmary. *A Child's History of the United States.* New York, Hess and McDavitt 1872.

48 parts in 28, issued irregularly; 4to; paper wrappers with woodcut illustration. Over 150 steel and wood engravings of American scenery, battles, incidents, portraits, etc.

105 Stoddard, John Lawson. *Napoleon; from Corsica to St. Helena. With an Introduction and Descriptions by John L. Stoddard.* Chicago, The Werner Co 1894.

16 parts, issued weekly; oblong 4to; engraved paper wrappers. 330 reproductions of photographs of famous paintings.

106 Stonham, Charles. *The Birds of the British Islands. With Illustrations by Lillian M. Medland.* London, E. Grant Richards 1900–1911.

20 parts, issued irregularly; large 4to; stiff paper wrappers. 318 plates and several folding maps. Over 300 drawings of birds by Lillian M. Medland.

Mullens and Swann: p 566.

107 Strecker, Herman. *Lepidoptera, Rhopaloceres and Heteroceres, Indigenous and Exotic; with Descriptions and Colored Illustrations.* Reading, Pa., Owen's Steam Book and Job Printing Office 1872–1890 [and] 1898–1900.

18 parts, including 3 supplementary parts, issued monthly, quarterly, and yearly, with some irregularity; 4to; paper wrappers. 15 colored lithographs drawn on stone by Strecker, each with several specimens. Autographed presentation copy signed by the artist on the cover of Part 1. The three supplementary parts have no plates, and were issued in 1898, 1899, and 1900.

Bennett: p 102.

108 Swift, Jonathan. *Gulliver's Reisen in Unbekannte Länder.* Stuttgart, Adolph Krabbe 1839.

7 parts, issued irregularly; 8vo; paper wrappers. Translated from the English by Franz Rottenkamp. Numerous woodcuts and vignettes by Grandville.

109 Thackeray, William Makepeace. *The Virginians. A Tale of the Last Century.* London, Bradbury and Evans 1857–1859.

24 parts, issued monthly; 8vo; printed yellow paper wrappers. 48 steel engravings and numerous woodcut illustrations in the text by the author. See the original check-list for a duplicate set.

Van Duzer: n 232.

110 Thomson, John Arthur, ed. *The Outline of Science. A Plain Story Simply Told.* London, George Newnes [1922–?]

20 parts, issued bi-monthly; 8vo; illustrated paper wrappers in color. 20 colored plates and numerous black and white illustrations.

111 Thornton, Alfred. *Don Juan.* London, Thomas Kelly 1821–1822.

10 parts, issued monthly; 8vo; printed paper wrappers (Parts 8, 9, and 10 have plain wrappers). 31 colored engravings by Atkinson. Vol 2 has the title: *Don Juan; Volume the Second: Containing His Life in London, or, A True Picture of the British Metropolis,* and was apparently inspired by Egan's *Life in London.*

Tooley: n 498.

112 Tomes, Robert. *The Great Civil War. A History of the Late Rebellion, Being a Complete Narrative of the Origin and Progress of the War with Biographical Sketches of Leading Statesmen and Distinguished Naval and Military Commanders, etc. By Robert Tomes, M.D. Continued from the Beginning of the Year 1864 to the End of the War by Benjamin G. Smith Esq. Illustrated by Highly-finished Portraits, Battle-scenes, Views of Forts and Battlefields, Colored Maps, Plans, etc., All Engraved on Steel, from Drawings Made Expressly for this Work, by F. O. C. Darley, and Other Eminent American Artists.* New York, Virtue and Yorston 1865.

22 divisions, issued monthly; large 4to; engraved paper wrappers with cloth back-strip. The work was also issued in 45 parts, bi-weekly. Numerous steel engravings from photographs by Matthew Brady and original drawings by Felix Octavius Carr Darley and others. Several colored maps, and engraved title-page. Division 22 has a complete list of illustrations.

113 Tucker, Andrew G. C. *Ornithologia Danmoniensis; or, An History of the Habits and Economy of Devonshire Birds. Embellished with Coloured Plates, Engraven from Nature: With an Appendix Containing Such British Birds As Are Not Ranked among Those of Devon.* London, T. Cadell and W. Davies 1809.

2 parts, issued irregularly; 4to; printed paper wrappers. Although 9 numbers were announced only 2 appeared. 6 plates in black and white and 6 duplicate hand-colored plates. Also contains a seventh plate, in black and white, entitled: "Female Sparrow Hawk" dated September 25 1809. The engravings are by W. R. Jordan.

Sitwell: p 111. Mullens and Swann: p 590.

114 Verne, Jules. *Mathias Sandorf.* New York, George Munro 1885.

3 parts, issued tri-weekly; 16mo; engraved paper wrappers. The Seaside Library Series, Pocket Edition. Illustrated with numerous wood engravings.

115 Walker, George. *The Costume of Yorkshire. Illustrated by a Series of Forty Engravings Being Fac-Similes of Original Drawings. With Descriptions in English and French.* London, T. Bensley 1814.

10 parts, issued irregularly; folio; paper wrappers. 40 colored aquatint plates depicting local occupations, besides military and sporting costume. Plate 3, "The Collier," dated August 1 1813, is apparently the first English plate to picture a steam engine.

Colas: n 3044. Tooley: n 498. Vinet: n 2199. Abbey, *Scenery*: n 433.

116 Warren, Samuel. *The Works of Samuel Warren.* Edinburgh, William Blackwood and Sons 1854.

15 parts, issued monthly; 8vo; paper wrappers.

117 Webster, Noah. *An American Dictionary of the English Language. Revised and Enlarged by Chauncey A. Goodrich.* Chicago, F. T. Neely 1892.

4 volumes, issued monthly; 8vo; stiff paper wrappers. Illustrated with portrait of Noah Webster. Part of the Neely Series.

118 Wells, Herbert George. *The Outline of History, Being a Plain History of Life and Mankind.* London, George Newnes, Ltd 1919–1920.

24 parts, issued bi-weekly; 8vo; illustrated paper wrappers in color. 48 colored illustrations by G. P. Carruthers, Harry Rountree, etc, with 600 black and white photographs, maps, charts, and drawings. See the original checklist for a duplicate set.

119 Wied-Neuwied, Maximilian Alexander Philipp, Prince von. *Abbildungen zür Natürgeschichte Brasiliens.* Weimar, im Verlag des Grossherzogl. Sächs. priv. Landes-Industrie-Comptoirs 1822–1831.

15 parts, issued irregularly; folio; printed paper wrappers, in half-leather portfolio. 90 colored plates. Text in German and French. The zoological collection assembled during the Prince's trip through Brazil (1815–1817) is in the American Museum of Natural History, New York, acquired by the museum in 1870.

Brunet: Vol 3, p 1551. Wood: p 627.

120 Willis, Nathaniel Parker. *American Scenery; or, Land, Lake and River. Illustrations of Transatlantic Nature.* London, George Virtue 1838–1840.

30 parts, issued monthly; 4to; paper wrappers. 1 map, drawn and engraved by W. Hughes, and 119 steel engravings by R. Wallis, J. Cousen, Adlard, Richardson, J. T. Willmore, etc, from drawings by William Henry Bartlett. There was also an issue of this set with hand-colored engravings, and a sequel to the work, *Canadian Scenery,* was issued using the same wrappers, entitled *American Scenery* and numbering the parts 31–60. These two separate works are uniform with Dr Beatties' *Switzerland, Waldenses,* and *Scotland.* See this checklist and the original checklist for a description of these sets.

121 Winchester, Clarence, ed. *Railway Wonders of the World.* London, The Amalgamated Press Ltd 1935–1936.

50 parts, issued weekly; 4to; paper wrappers illustrated in color. With hundreds of photographs in black and white; many colored folded plates also.

122 Wood, John George. *Animate Creation; Popular Edition of "Our Living World," a Natural History, Revised and Adapted to American Zoology, by Joseph B. Holder, M.D. Fully Illustrated with Scientific Accuracy.* New York, Selmer Hess 1885.

60 parts, issued bi-weekly; large 4to; engraved paper wrappers. Illustrated with 30 oleographs and 60 full-page engravings on wood, plus many hundreds of vignettes and text illustrations.

123 Woodward, George M. *Graphic Illustrations of the Miseries of Human Life. Partly Taken from the Popular Work of That Title.* London, T. Tegg 1807.

3 parts, issued bi-weekly; oblong, size of engraved surface: 8⅛ x 12½ inches; printed blue paper wrappers. Engraved title, and 5 hand-colored plates by Woodward and Isaac Cruikshank, signed "Cruckshanks."

Rosenbach: *cf* p 4, 5, 8–10, and 211.

124 Wright, Lewis. *The Illustrated Book of Poultry. With Practical Schedules for Judging, Constructed from Actual Analysis of the Best Modern Deci-*

sions. Illustrated with Fifty Coloured Portraits of Prize Birds, Painted from Life by J. W. Ludlow. London, Cassell, Petter, and Galpin [*ca* 1880?]

25 parts, issued irregularly; 4to; printed paper wrappers. 50 colored lithographic plates, from paintings by Ludlow and over 100 wood engravings.

125 *Yankee Comic Tales.* Glasgow, Cameron and Ferguson [*ca* 1865]

9 parts, issued irregularly; 12mo; paper wrappers, illustrated in color. Each part contains a new tale with its own title, i e, No 1: "The Mystery Revealed, or, How All Hands Were Most Audaciously Tuck In"; No 2: "The Fire Hunt"; No 3: "A Losing Game of Poker"; etc. The 9 parts comprise the complete set of the series entitled "Yankee Comic Tales."

The Associated Literature

1 Blake, William. *Illustrations of the Book of Job. Being All the Water-colour Designs, Pencil Drawings and Engravings Reproduced in Facsimile with an Introduction by Laurence Binyon and Geoffrey Keynes.* New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library 1935.

6 parts, issued simultaneously; folio; stiff paper covers with printed labels. Since all 6 parts were issued at one time, this work is not a true part-book.

2 Buss, Robert William. Collection of autograph letters signed, original drawings, receipts, and other material.

Laid in red morocco folio. Included are 73 letters dated 1836–1859 to Joseph Mayer, and a 7-page manuscript of an article by Buss, "On Fresco Painting."

3 [Dickens, Charles] Kitton, Frederick G. Autograph letter signed, to F. W. Cosens, Chelsea, October 22 1882.

2 pages, 8vo. Discusses arrangements for a meeting to examine their individual collections of illustrations for Dickens' works and other material.

4 [Dickens, Charles] *The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman.* London, Charles Tilt 1839.

24mo, cloth. 11 etched illustrations by George Cruikshank. Dr Sarah A. Dickson says in the description of the autograph presentation copy from the artist in the original checklist: "It has been stated that Dickens wrote the introduction and notes and Thackeray the ballad."

5 Dickens, Charles. *The Life and Adventures of Martin Chuzzlewit.* New York, J. Winchester 1843.

12 parts, issued monthly; large 8vo; paper wrappers. Monthly serial supplement to *The New World.* Work not completed. Contains other material besides Chuzzlewit and is therefore not a true part book.

6 Dickens, Charles, and Willkie Collins. *No Thoroughfare. A Drama in Five Acts and a Prologue, As First Performed at the New Adelphi Theatre, London, under the Management of Mr. Benj. Webster, and under the Direction of Mr. Alfred Mellon, December 26th, 1867. To Which Are Added a Description of the Costume; Cast of the Characters; Entrance and Exits; Relative Positions on the Stage; and the Whole of the Stage Business.* New York, Robert M. De Witt [1868?]

12mo, paper wrappers.

7 [Dickens, Charles] Paper Knife, ivory, used by Dickens at Gads Hill.

With certification in autograph of Georgina Hogarth — "I certify that this Ivory Paper Knife was always used by my brother in law Charles Dickens in the study at

Gads Hill from the time of his going there to live until the day of his death 9th June 1870. Georgina Hogarth." See the original checklist for the description of Dickens' desk set.

8 Dickens, Charles. *Pictures from Italy.* London, Bradbury and Evans 1846.

12mo, cloth. Woodcut vignettes by Samuel Palmer. With the signature of Edmund Richardson on front end-paper.

9 [Dickens, Charles] Sibson, Thomas. *Illustrations of Master Humphrey's Clock, in Seventy Plates, Designed and Etched on Steel.* London, Robert Tyas 1842.

8vo, cloth. 70 steel engravings by Thomas Sibson.

10 Greenaway, Kate. *Almanac for 1883.* London [1882]

Complete colored proofs before letters of the illustrations for the book. 23 plates printed on 1 folio sheet: 19½ x 9¼ inches.

16mo, 24 pages. Proof copy of both plates and text, folded unbound and uncut.

11 Greenaway, Kate. *Almanac for 1891.* London [1890]

48mo; decorated boards, gilt edges. Illustrated in color. Presentation copy inscribed by the artist on half-title: "Mimie Anderson from Kate Greenaway. Dec. 1890." On same half-title, Miss Greenaway has painted in watercolor a spray of evergreen.

12 Greenaway, Kate. *Almanac for 1891.* Original watercolor, signed "K.G.," of "Summer" which appears in the Almanac.

13 Greenaway, Kate. *Calendars for the Year 1884.* London [1883] 4 calendars with envelope, illustrated by Greenaway.

14 Greenaway, Kate. *Cards.*

a Birthday card. In the shape of a lemon, with colored illustration on front and back, purple fringed, approximately 2½ inches, n d.

b Carols. 4 cards, 10 x 7 inches. Illustrated in color, with original envelope, n d.

c Greeting card. 4½ x 3¼ inches, cardboard, gilt edges. The colored illustration, which appears in the *Almanac for 1889,* has a printed verse of 4 lines beneath it. On the back: "The Kate Greenaway Series. No. 501."

d New Year card. 3¼ x 4⅛ inches, cardboard, gilt edges. Autographed "Kate Greenaway" on lower right corner of colored illustration. With printed legend "A Happy New Year." Parts of the illustration appear in the *Almanac for 1889.* On the back: "The Kate Greenaway Series. No. 502."

e Christmas card. Cardboard, 7 x 3 inches, gilt edges. Picture printed in green and white of girls dancing. Autographed at lower left corner. On the back: "The Kate Greenaway Series. No. 505."

f Greeting card. 2 leaves, 6 x 4 inches, yellow fringe and tassels. 3 colored illustrations, n d.

g Colored designs for greeting cards. 6 cards, various sizes. Proofs before letters. The designs of all except 1 appear in whole or part in the *Almanac for 1889* including front and back cover and frontispiece.

h Reward of merit. 4 cards, various sizes, gilt borders, each with a different colored illustration.

15 [Greenaway, Kate] *Dame Wiggins of Lee and Her Seven Wonderful Cats. Edited by John Ruskin and with New Illustrations by Kate Greenaway.* Orpington, Kent, George Allen 1885.

4to, large paper copy; cloth. 22 woodcuts by Greenaway.

16 [Greenaway, Kate] *Kate Greenaway Pictures from Originals Presented by Her to John Ruskin and Other Personal Friends (Hitherto Unpublished) with an Appreciation by H. M. Cundall.* London, Frederick Warne and Company, Ltd 1921.

Large 4to, cloth.

17 Greenaway, Kate. *Language of Flowers. Illustrated by Kate Greenaway.* London, George Routledge and Sons [1884]

16mo, decorated boards, cloth back. Illustrations printed in colors by Edmund Evans.

18 Greenaway, Kate. 2 autographed letters signed, to Mr Marks, Hampstead, 23 December 1890 and 16 January 1891.

The first mentions the presentation of the almanac as a Christmas gift and discusses the chances of a future meeting. The second letter agrees to a Tuesday date for the meeting.

19 [Greenaway, Kate] Mavor, William. *The English Spelling Book. Illustrated by Kate Greenaway.* London, George Routledge and Sons 1885.

Small 8vo, boards.

20 [Greenaway, Kate] Mayfield, John S. *A Letter by Algernon Charles Swinburne on Learning That Kate Greenaway Had Died.* Jacksonville, Fla., Privately Printed 1944.

8vo, paper covers.

21 Greenaway, Kate. Original watercolor, signed "K.G."

6½ x 5½ inches, matted. The painting shows a child in a long gown and hat dragging a bag behind him. Probably a design for *Mother Goose,* 1881, in which the same figure, with a different background and coloring, illustrates the old nursery rhyme: "A diller, a dollar, a ten o'clock scholar" etc.

22 Greenaway, Kate. Original watercolor, signed "K.G."

About 4¼ x 6½ inches, matted. A girl dancing, carrying a spray of flowers.

23 Greenaway, Kate. Original watercolor, signed "K.G."

5 x 4 inches, matted. 1 of the watercolors for *The April Baby's Book of Tunes,* 1900, it depicts 2 little girls with a cat standing erect, dressed as a woman and carrying a basket and umbrella.

24 Greenaway, Kate. Original watercolor, signed "K.G."

5 x 6¼ inches, matted. A dancing girl holding a wreath of red roses.

25 Greenaway, Kate. Original watercolor, signed "K.G."

5 x 6¼ inches, matted. A dancing girl in a yellow bonnet carrying a fur muff.

26 Greenaway, Kate. Original watercolor, signed "K.G."

5 x 7 inches, matted. A girl dancing carrying a garland of flowers.

27 Greenaway, Kate. Original watercolor, signed "K.G."

4 x 5½ inches, matted. A girl in a long coat carrying a basket.

28 Greenaway, Kate. Original watercolor, signed "K.G."

5 x 4½ inches, matted. The picture shows 5 children gathering apples and is evidently an early design for the illustration for "October" in the *Almanac for 1883.* As reproduced there, much reduced, the colors are different, the background is eliminated and 1 figure is removed.

29 Greenaway, Kate. *A Painting Book. With Outlines From Her Various Works for Girls and Boys to Paint.* London, George Routledge and Sons [1884]

4to, illustrated colored paper wrappers. Uncolored drawings from the works of Kate Greenaway.

30 [Greenaway, Kate] Browning, Robert. *The Pied Piper of Hamelin. With 35 Illustrations by Kate Greenaway. Engraved and Printed in Colours by Edmund Evans.* London, George Routledge and Sons [1888]

4to; illustrated boards, cloth back.

31 Kipling, Rudyard. Typescript, with numerous autograph corrections, of an interview.

5 pages, 4to [1917] An unpublished interview which Kipling gave to a representative of Reuter's on his return trip to the Italian front in World War I where he gathered the material for *The War in the Mountains.*

32 Kipling, Rudyard. *The War in the Mountains.* Typescript with numerous autograph corrections.

40 pages, 4to [1917] Contains the typescript of the unpublished first part and typescript of the 5 parts as published. See the original checklist for the description of the 5-part printed issue.

33 Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth. Autograph letter signed, to Rev Dr Bosworth, Cambridge, October 20 1838.

4 pages, 8vo. Tipped in the part issue of *Outre Mer* and referring to his authorship of that work. From the collections of Louis J. Haber and John A. Spoor. See the original checklist for the description of the part issue of *Outre Mer.*

34 Mathews, Charles. *Selections from Mr. Mathews' Celebrated Memorandum Book . . . Embellished with Characteristic Engravings by J. R. Cruikshank.* London, J. Limbird 1825.

3 parts in 1; 8vo; no wrappers. Incomplete. 1 folded color plate by Isaac Robert Cruikshank. See the original checklist for the description of 12 pamphlets concerning the comic actor Charles Mathews.

35 [Redouté, Pierre Joseph] Thory, C. A. Autograph letter signed, to M. Goupil, February 8 1824.

4 pages, 4to. Discusses some of the problems in the printing of *Les Roses.*

36 Trollope, Anthony. *Phineas Finn, the Irish Member.* New York, Harper and Brothers 1868 [sic]

8 vo, cloth. The interesting first American edition. Dated 1868 on the title-page, the book actually appeared in 1869. Illustrated with 17 wood engravings by John Everett Millais, lacks the last three illustrations of the English printing.

Brussel: p 154–155. Sadleir, *Trollope:* p 91. Carter, *Victorian Fiction:* p 23.

Latest Publications NYPL

Sixty-Four Treasures. Illustrated. 20 pages. 50 cents
A Catalogue of the Library's exhibition of its Treasures for World's Fair visitors.

Literature as a Mode of Travel: Five Essays and a Postscript. With an Introduction by Warner G. Rice. Illustrated. 120 pages. $4.00

Simon Wheeler, Detective. By Mark Twain. First edition, from manuscripts in the Berg Collection. Edited and introduced by Franklin R. Rogers. With 5 collotype illustrations. Clothbound. xxxix, 204 pages. $5.00

A Bibliography of Ship Passenger Lists, 1538–1825; Being a Guide to Published Lists of Early Immigrants to North America. Compiled by Harold Lancour; third edition, revised and enlarged by Richard J. Wolfe, with a List of Passenger Arrival Records in the National Archives by Frank E. Bridgers. Clothbound. 140 pages fully indexed. $5.00

New in the Berg Collection, 1959–1961: An Exhibition. By John D. Gordan. Illustrated, 4 plates. 36 pages. $1.00

American Genealogical Periodicals; A Bibliography with a Chronological Finding-List. By Lester J. Cappon. (1962; second printing 1964.) 32 pages. $1.50
A "Geographical Finding-List by States" has been added to this second printing.

A Survey of the Literature on Investment Companies, 1864–1957. By Gilbert A. Cam. (1958; third printing 1964.) 20 pages. 25 cents

Stravinsky and the Dance: A Survey of Ballet Productions, 1910–1962. Edited by Selma Jeanne Cohen, with an Introduction ("Stravinsky and the Muses") by Herbert Read. Profusely illustated. 60 pages. $2.50 (For index, see next volume)

Stravinsky and the Theatre: A Catalogue of Decor and Costume Designs for Stage Productions of his Works, 1910–1962. Profusely illustrated. Index to works, portraits, and artists in this and the preceding volume. 60 pages. $2.00

Imogen: A Pastoral Romance: From the Ancient British. By William Godwin. Reprinted from the 1784 Edition, with an Introduction by Jack W. Marken and Critical Discussion by Martha Winburn England, Burton R. Pollin, and Irwin Primer. Frontispiece. 121 pages. $2.50
A lost novel found.

A Bibliography of Slavic Dictionaries. Compiled by Richard C. Lewanski.

Volume I: Polish. (1959) 64 pages. $2.00

Volume II: Belorussian, Bulgarian, Czech, Kashubian, Lusatian, Old Church Slavic, Macedonian, Polabian, Serbocroatian, Slovak, Slovenian, Ukrainian. xvii, 366 pages. $5.00

Volume III: Russian. xlii, 400 pages. $5.50

Swedish Commentators on America, 1638–1865: An Annotated List of Selected Manuscript and Printed Materials. By Esther Elisabeth Larson. 139 pages. $5.50

Forthcoming:

The Arents Collection of Books in Parts and Associated Literature; A Supplement to the Checklist, 1957–1963. By Perry O'Neil. Illustrated. 36 pages. May. $1.00
The original checklist of the Collection by Sarah Augusta Dickson (1957; 88 pages; $2.00) is still available from the Library's Public Relations Office.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

President, GILBERT W. CHAPMAN
First Vice-President, ROY E. LARSEN
Second Vice-President, JOHN M. SCHIFF
Secretary, BETHUEL M. WEBSTER
Treasurer, GRANT KEEHN
Assistant Treasurer, UNITED STATES TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK
Director, EDWARD G. FREEHAFER
MRS VINCENT ASTOR
C. WALLER BARRETT
MORRIS HADLEY
ARTHUR A. HOUGHTON, Jr
DONALD F. HYDE
DEVEREUX C. JOSEPHS
MRS MILLICENT C. McINTOSH
NEWBOLD MORRIS
THOMAS L. PERKINS
ROLAND L. REDMOND
DAVID A. SHEPARD
FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN
NORMAN H. STROUSE
WALTER N. THAYER
MRS ARNOLD WHITRIDGE

THE MAYOR, THE COMPTROLLER, AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, *ex officio*

HONORARY TRUSTEE
ELIHU ROOT, Jr

STAFF OFFICERS

DIRECTOR, Edward G. Freehafer
DEPUTY DIRECTOR, John Mackenzie Cory
ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR, James Wood Henderson (Acting)
CHIEF OF ACCOUNTING OFFICE, Mrs Angela M. Lyons
EXECUTIVE OFFICER, Bayard Schieffelin
CHIEF OF THE PERSONNEL OFFICE, Alan L. Heyneman
CHIEF OF THE PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICE, Miss Marion L. Simmons

REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

Central Building, Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street. Annex, 521 West 43rd Street
JAMES WOOD HENDERSON, Chief

EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT, Gilbert A. Cam
AMERICAN HISTORY AND GENEALOGY DIVISION, Gerald D. McDonald, Chief
ANNEX REFERENCE SERVICES, 521 West 43rd Street, Saro John Riccardi, Chief
ARENTS COLLECTIONS, John D. Gordan, Acting Chief
ART AND ARCHITECTURE DIVISION, Karl Kup, Chief
BERG COLLECTION, John D. Gordan, Chief
BOOK DELIVERY DIVISION, David C. Maclay, Chief
DANCE COLLECTION, Miss Genevieve Oswald, Curator
ECONOMICS DIVISION, John Fall, Chief
INFORMATION DIVISION, Archibald P. DeWeese, Chief
JEWISH DIVISION, Abraham Berger, Chief
MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, Robert W. Hill, Keeper of Manuscripts
MAP DIVISION, Gerard L. Alexander, Chief
MUSIC DIVISION, Philip L. Miller, Chief
ORIENTAL DIVISON, John L. Mish, Chief
PERIODICALS DIVISION, Barron M. Franz, Chief
PREPARATION DIVISION, Robert E. Kingery, Chief
PRINTS DIVISION, Karl Kup, Chief
RARE BOOK DIVISION, Lewis M. Stark, Chief
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY DIVISION, George S. Bonn, Chief
SLAVONIC DIVISION, John L. Mish, Chief
SPENCER COLLECTION, Karl Kup, Adviser
THEATRE COLLECTION, George Freedley, Curator

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

Headquarters: Donnell Library Center, 20 West 53rd Street, New York, N. Y. 10019
MRS JEAN ORTH GODFREY, Chief

ASSISTANT CHIEF, Miss Mary Dana
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES, Mrs Julia Brody, Coordinator
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT, Mrs Dorothy Homer
TECHNICAL SERVICES, Mrs Sydney G. Marcu, Coordinator
ADULT SERVICES, Miss Katherine L. O'Brien, Coordinator
CHILDREN'S SERVICES, Mrs Augusta Baker, Coordinator
YOUNG ADULT SERVICES, Miss Margaret Scoggin, Coordinator
MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES & RECORDS CENTER, James Katsaros, Administrator

Circulation Department, *continued*

List of Branches and Librarians

MANHATTAN

COORDINATOR, Miss Casindania Eaton

ASSISTANT COORDINATOR, Walter Roziewski

AGUILAR. 174 East 110th Street.
Miss Marie Ferrigno

BLOOMINGDALE REGIONAL. 150 West 100th Street.
Miss Erna Obermeier

CATHEDRAL. 564 Lexington Avenue.
Robert Powers

CENTRAL CHILDREN'S ROOM. Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street.
Miss Maria Cimino

CENTRAL CIRCULATION. Fifth Ave. & 42nd St.
Miss Mary C. Hatch

CHATHAM SQUARE. 33 East Broadway.
Miss Virginia Swift

COLUMBIA. Room 101, Butler Lib., Col. Univ.
John Slade

COLUMBUS. 742 Tenth Avenue.
Miss Eliza Perry

COUNTEE CULLEN REGIONAL. 104 West 136th Street.
Miss Esther Walls

DONNELL LIBRARY CENTER. 20 West 53rd Street.
Miss Loda Hopkins

EPIPHANY. 228 East 23rd Street.
Miss Regina Sludock

FIFTY-EIGHTH STREET. 127 East 58th Street.
Raymond Harris

FORT WASHINGTON REGIONAL. 535 West 179th Street.
Mrs Winifred Carruthers

GEORGE BRUCE. 518 West 125th Street.
Howard Rickert

HAMILTON FISH PARK. 415 East Houston St.
Mrs Mary Pieper

HAMILTON GRANGE. 503 West 145th Street.
Mrs Dorothy Pitman

HARLEM LIBRARY. 9 West 124th Street.
Mrs Rosa C. Brown

HUDSON PARK. 10 Seventh Avenue South.
Mrs Alice Vielehr

INWOOD REGIONAL. 4790 Broadway.
Miss Clara Rees

JACKSON SQUARE. 251 West 13th Street.
Miss Ruth Shinnamon

LIBRARY FOR THE BLIND. 166 Avenue of the Americas.
Miss Charlotte C. Harrison

MACOMB'S BRIDGE. 2650 Seventh Avenue.

MUHLENBERG. 209 West 23rd Street.
Miss Alice McQuaid

MUNICIPAL REFERENCE LIBRARY. 2230 Municipal Building.
Eugene Bockman

Public Health Division. 125 Worth Street. Room 224

MUSIC LIBRARY. 127 East 58th Street.
Mrs Catharine K. Miller

NATHAN STRAUS. 20 West 53rd Street.
Miss Elizabeth A. Boyle

NINETY-SIXTH STREET REGIONAL. 112 East 96th Street.
Miss Irene Patjens

115TH STREET. 203 West 115th Street.
Miss Anne Judge

125TH STREET. 224 East 125th Street.
Dale Middleton

OTTENDORFER. 135 Second Avenue.
Miss Mercy Kellogg

PICTURE COLLECTION. Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street.
Miss Romana Javitz

RIVERSIDE. 190 Amsterdam Avenue.
Miss Myrtle Reynolds

ST AGNES REGIONAL. 444 Amsterdam Ave.
Miss Dorothy Cobb

SCHOMBURG COLLECTION. 103 West 135th Street.
Mrs Jean Blackwell Hutson

SEWARD PARK. 192 East Broadway.
Miss Joan Treble

SIXTY-SEVENTH STREET. 328 East 67th St.
Mrs Margarethe Kortenbeutel Voorhis

TOMPKINS SQUARE REGIONAL. 331 East 10th Street.
Mrs Alice Alexander

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS. 1000 St Nicholas Avenue.
Mrs Regina M. Andrews

WEBSTER. 1465 York Avenue.
Miss Edna Thomson

YORKVILLE. 222 East 79th Street.
Miss Emily Davis

THE BRONX

COORDINATOR, Gerald Gold

ASSISTANT COORDINATOR, Miss Mary Barrett

ALLERTON. 2740 Barnes Avenue.
Miss Grace Iijima

BRONX BOOKMOBILES. 321 East 140th Street.
Mrs Mabel Bell

CASTLE HILL. 2220 Cincinnatus Avenue.
Philip Wolcoff

CITY ISLAND. 325 City Island Avenue.
Mrs Stella Webber

MAY 1964

BULLETIN
OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CENTRAL LIBRARY

BULLETIN OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

VOLUME 68 MAY 1964 NUMBER 5

CONTENTS

NOTES ON THE EARLY EDITIONS OF FLAXMAN'S CLASSICAL DESIGNS (PART I) BY G. E. BENTLEY, JR. 277

DID CONGREVE WRITE *A SATYR AGAINST LOVE*? BY JOHN BARNARD 308

A WIN JENKINS' LEXICON BY W. ARTHUR BOGGS 323

MINOR IRISH MISCELLANY BY GEORGE BRANDON SAUL 331

EXHIBITIONS IN THE CENTRAL BUILDING 342

On the cover: John Rich as Harlequin, from an anonymous engraving of 1753 in the Lincoln Kirstein Collection, Dance Collection, The New York Public Library.

A reminder that the Dance Collection is celebrating its 25th anniversary — and a prologue to an announcement that will be made next month of a portfolio of 12 fine etchings, engravings, and color lithographs, *Dancing in Prints 1634–1870*, being prepared for publication in the autumn. Particulars in the June *Bulletin*.

Printed and published monthly except July and August, by The New York Public Library at Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10018. Subscription $3.00 a year, single numbers 30 cents.

Editor, DAVID V. ERDMAN; WILLIAM H. KNEEDLER, *Editorial Assistant*

Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y. May, 1964. Volume 68. Number 5.

form p5 [v-11-64 19c]

Notes on the Early Editions of Flaxman's Classical Designs

By G. E. Bentley, Jr
University of Toronto

JOHN FLAXMAN was probably the greatest sculptor England has known, but his chief achievement, and the main basis of his extraordinary reputation among his contemporaries, was the series of engravings made after his outlines from Aeschylus, Dante, Hesiod, the *Iliad,* and the *Odyssey.* All but the Hesiod were evidently composed during a relatively brief period in 1792 and 1793 when Flaxman, then thirty-seven, was working in Rome and absorbing in as many ways as he could the classical influences which surrounded him. Their success was immediate and lasting, for at least one of these works was reprinted every two years throughout the next century.[1]

Flaxman's contemporaries felt that his works were among the greatest achievements in the history of art. In 1836 Crabb Robinson reported that "Landor declares Flaxman to be greater than Michael Angelo,"[2] and even cautious and conscientious critics were moved to extremes of praise. The anonymous author of the account of Flaxman in *The Annual Biography and Obituary for the Year 1828* spoke responsibly for the cognoscenti of his generation when he praised Flaxman's "vast and lofty" genius, and said of his Homer, Dante, and Aeschylus:

> Had Mr. Flaxman never produced any thing but these designs, his name must have descended to posterity as that of a man of the most powerful and splendid genius. They immediately established his fame throughout Europe, particularly among the critics and cognoscenti of Italy and Germany, with whom he is considered to have acquired a higher reputation than any artist of our country; with the exception, perhaps, of Sir Christopher Wren and Sir Joshua Reynolds.[3]

Considering the extent of this critical success, not to mention the magnitude of this achievement, it is perhaps surprising that no serious investiga-

1 This conclusion is based upon the very rough checklist in William G. Constable, *John Flaxman 1755–1826* (London 1927).

2 *Henry Crabb Robinson on Books and their Writers,* ed E. J. Morley (London 1938) II 495.

3 Anon, "No. II. John Flaxman, Esq. R.A. Professor of Sculpture at the Royal Academy" *Annual Biography and Obituary for the Year 1828* XII (1828) 23.

tion has ever been published of the early history of Flaxman's engraved designs.

Part of the reason for Flaxman's success was the very simplicity of his aim and technique. As he explained in a letter written at the time,

> my intention [in the Aeschylus, Dante, *Iliad*, and *Odyssey* designs] is to shew how any story may be represented in a series of compositions on principles of the Antients[.] [4]

Two aspects of Flaxman's technique in these designs are particularly remarkable. In the first place, it will be noticed that the "story may be represented," rather than illustrated, by the designs. In fact, there was no text at all with the early editions of Flaxman's designs, except for a few words to indicate the scene represented ("Minerva Repressing the Fury of Achilles"), and the entire story had to be pieced together from the engraved designs themselves. The aim was not to illustrate the original work, but to imitate it in a different medium, in the way that a piece of music, for instance, can recreate rather than annotate a poem. In the second place, the story was told in the simplest outlines, imitating in their chastity and directness the best of Classical vase painting, which Flaxman was consciously echoing. Like his friends George Cumberland and William Blake, Flaxman was doing his best to promote "the immense flood of Grecian light & glory which is coming on Europe," [5] and though he may have made some concessions to popular ignorance,[6] his practice was still so extreme as to make the work of most linear artists, such as his admiring contemporary David, appear by comparison to be what Blake called, in another context, "nothing but Blots & Blurs." [7]

Because of this extraordinary critical success, and because of the complexity of the early issues of Flaxman's work, it is worthwhile to try to assemble as much early reliable evidence about them as possible.

[4] Ms letter from Flaxman to William Hayley, dated October 26 1793, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

[5] *The Complete Writings of William Blake*, ed G. Keynes (London & NY 1957) p 797, letter from Blake to Cumberland dated July 2 1800.

[6] Years later, when he was aggrieved that Flaxman had taken the part of the injured husband when Cumberland eloped (and lived happily ever after) with the wife of Mr Cooper, Cumberland said: "The fellow never forgave my shewing that his outlines were erroneous"; and he preened himself on his knowledge

> that even Mr Flaxman owned I was right [about an "equal outline"], confessed his Homer was *done so* to please the public *then uninstructed* . . . [British Museum Add MSS 36,510, ff 357, 113].

The argument concerned whether the outline should vary in width.

[7] *Complete Writings* p 595.

Sources

The facts given below are derived chiefly from three sources, without which this article would scarcely have been possible:

1 The first is a typescript essay in the Bodleian by Col William E. Moss entitled: "The Classical Outlines of John Flaxman R.A. Illustrating The Iliad and Odyssey of Homer: 1793 & 1795; The Tragedies of Aeschylus: 1795; The Divina Comedia of Dante: 1793 & 1802; The Works of Hesiod: 1817 &c. and their subsequent reissues. With Especial Reference to the Traditional Share in their Engraving, of William Blake, supplementing that of Thomas Piroli, to whom much of his Work may be properly attributed [1940–1941]." Material from this essay, which was the starting point of my own work, is cited with the generous permission of Col Moss's widow, and is referred to here as "Col Moss."

2 The second source is another typescript essay in Bodley entitled: "Materials for a Hand List of the Various Editions of the Classical Outlines of John Flaxman R.A. preceding the publication of Longman's editions. Classified According to the Watermarks. Compiled from Information collected by W. E. Moss & Ruthven Todd. 1945." Permission to quote from this essay, cited below as "Moss & Todd" or "Ruthven Todd", was kindly given by Col Moss's widow and by Mr Todd. Most of the facts in these two essays agree with those I have independently discovered, and the remainder I have trusted implicitly because I could not examine their materials. Frequently, however, I have felt that the new facts which I added to theirs justified different conclusions from theirs. In general, the researches of Moss and Todd have provided me with data about copies of Flaxman's designs which I could not otherwise have obtained.

3 The third general source is the institutions which house the elusive early editions of Flaxman's classical outlines and the patient friends and librarians who reported individual copies to me. Much information below is derived from the collections in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; * the Bodleian Library; * the British Museum; * the Chicago Art Institute; Columbia University; Cornell University; * the Huntington Library; the Library of Congress; Liverpool Free Public Library; London Library; the National Library of Scotland; * the New York Public Library (with much kind assistance from D. V. Erdman); * Princeton University; the John Rylands Library; * University College, London; * the University of Chicago; the University of Illinois; the University of Michigan; the Vatican Library (through the generous help of Prof Theodore Silverstein); and Yale University; also * the Ashmolean Museum; * Cambridge University; * the Royal Academy; * Sir John Soane Museum; and * Victoria and Albert Museum. (In this list, all the Flaxman materials were described in correspondence to me except for those distinguished by an asterisk [*], which I have inspected myself.)

It should be clearly recognized that, although Flaxman's reputation was extraordinarily high all over the Continent, no search has been made for copies of his designs outside Britain, the United States, the Vatican Library in Rome, and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. It seems very likely that

a vigorous search on the Continent would reveal other editions, and perhaps new issues as well, of the *Iliad, Odyssey,* Aeschylus, and Dante within the dates (roughly 1793 to 1826 [7a]) to which I have confined myself.

The reasons for the second-hand nature of much of the material upon which these notes are based are two-fold. In the first place, as the list of libraries above shows, the engravings after Flaxman's classical outlines are very widely scattered now, and first-hand inspection of a sufficient number to give even the tentative conclusions below would have been prohibitively

[7a] I have excluded at least four unimportant editions because I was so uncertain about their date that I did not know where or whether they belonged in the chronological lists that follow. These works are:

1 L'ODISSEA D'OMERO | ESPRESSA IN CONTORNI DAL CELEBRE FLAXMAN | NUOVAMENTE INCISA DA LUIGI NUTI | IN PRATO [*no imprint*]

No design on titlepage; twenty-eight plates. At the end are three untitled pages of typeset description. Plate 1 platemark: 7.9 × 6.6 cm (very small).

Copy:

a Bodley. *Watermark:* G V.

According to A. M. Comanducci, *Dizionario Illustrato dei Pittori Disegnatori e Incisori Italiana Moderni e Contemporani,* Milan, 1962, Luigi Nuti (1748–1821) of Prato engraved plates (he does not say after whom) for the *Odyssey, Iliad,* Aeschylus, and Dante, the last three of which I have not seen.

2 INVENZIONI DI GIOVANNI FLAXMAN | SULLA DIVINA COMMEDIA DI DANTE ALGHIERI | INFERNO, PURGATORIO E PARADISO. | [*Portrait of Dante.*] | PUBBLICATE DA BENIAMINO DEL VECCHIO INCISORE [*no imprint.*]

Titlepage plus 109 plates. Titlepage platemark: 17.6 × 13.8 cm (framing line: 16.2 × 12.4).

Copy:

a Bodley. *Watermark:* none.

Comanducci also says that Del Vecchio, a Roman engraver, published "nel 1800" seventy-five *Iliad* and *Odyssey* plates in two volumes, and 110 plates in a third. The date is certainly wrong, for the original sixty-four Homer designs were not expanded to seventy-five until 1805, nor was Dante first published until 1802. I have not seen the Del Vecchio Homer, and can only guess that all three titles should be dated after 1807.

3 COMPONIMENTI TRATTI DAI LAVORI E LE GIORNATE | E DALLA TEOGONIA D'ESIODO | [*Design of three figures*] | DISEGNATA DA GIOV. FLAXMAN | SCULTORE INGLESE | OPERA PUBBLICATA DALL' INCISORE BENIAMINO DEL VECCHIO [*no imprint*]

Thirty seven reduced plates.

Copy:

a Cambridge. *Watermark:* none.

The date is certainly after 1817, when the Hesiod designs were first published.

4 LA DIVINA COMMEDIA | DI DANTE ALIGHIERI | cioè L'Inferno, il Purgatorio, ed il Paradiso | Composta da Giovanni Flaxman Scultore Inglese, | ed incisa dal Cav: LASINIO FIGLIO | [*Portrait of Dante*] | Firenze [*no imprint*]

Titlepage plus 110 plates. Titlepage platemark: 18.0 × 14.0 cm.

Copy:

a Bodley. *Watermark:* none.

Giovanni Paolo Lasinio (1788–1855), the son of Carlo Lasinio (1757–1838), may not have engraved his Dante plates until after 1826; if so, his work falls outside the scope of these notes.

expensive and time-consuming. And in the second place, the minute differences in the engravings on which many of these conclusions are founded could only be observed originally when two apparently identical copies were placed side by side, and, because of the scarcity of some of the editions, this was only possible in the personal collections of Col Moss and Mr Todd, the first of which has been dispersed and the second of which is at present inaccessible. In general, this paper is an extension of the work of Col Moss and Mr Todd.

Methods

There are four general kinds of information which have proved useful in trying to date the often surprisingly vague early editions of Flaxman's classical outlines, which are given below in order of their helpfulness.

1 *Inscriptions* on the titlepages or on the plates, such as the "Published as the Act directs June 1st 1793" on the *Iliad*, give at least a clear and, in this case, reliable initial terminus. A difficulty with this, as with all stereotype, is that when the work is printed in later years the early inscriptions may be left unaltered, so that the copperplates used in 1805, say, were exactly the same, except for wear, as the plates used in 1795. With engravings frequently reprinted, such as those by Flaxman or Blake or Hogarth, it is often extremely difficult to distinguish between early and late issues even when they are actually put side by side.

2 *Manuscript and advertising information*, particularly in the case of Flaxman, often makes considerable precision possible, and helps to explain delays, multiple publications, and so on, which would otherwise be the occasion for mere blind speculation.

3 *Proofs* of the engravings sometimes give significantly different information than the final form of the copperplates, and in the case of Flaxman's Hesiod and Dante such proofs have proved irreplaceably revealing.

4 *Watermarks*, at least in the case of Flaxman, can be suggestive as to place of publication, though they can rarely be of much use in giving a date when the limits are so narrow — about ten years — as those that confine the bibliographer of Flaxman's early designs. In only a few of the cases below is a watermark very revealing about date, and in each instance it demonstrates that the 1795 Aeschylus and the Dante were reprinted well after the dates of their imprints. The watermarks found in the early editions of Flaxman's designs may most usefully be grouped under the countries in which they are thought to have been produced (see next page). Naturally it was common to import paper, particularly the fine Dutch papers; an Italian watermark, for instance, is ordinarily no guarantee that the work was printed in Italy, for it could have been imported into France or England. However, during most of this period (1793–1826) England was fairly steadily at war with France, and as a consequence with all Europe, and there was very little trade between England and the Continent in commodities as bulky and as heavily taxed as paper. We can therefore be fairly confident that all the editions with English water-

The Watermarks

Italy	*Holland*	*England*	*Unknown*
PIETRO MILIANI FABRIANO	VAN DER LEY (with P M)	HALL & TAPLIN	1805
or		J WHATMAN (before 1794)	
P M	J | HONIG | & ZOONEN	J WHATMAN 1794	1809
or	or	J WHATMAN 1801	
P M F (with VAN DER LEY)	J H Z	W ELGAR 1797	
		RUSSELL & CO 1799	
?A G | C (with G L C)	R [monogram of Adriaan Rogge]	RUSSELL & CO 1801	
		LEPARD 1803	
?G L | C (with A G C)	D & C BLAUW (with VAN DER LEY)	E[dmead] & P[ine]	
G A / M	J KOOL	E[dmead] & P[ine] 1801	
		E & P 1804	
		JOHN HAYES 1803	
		J RUSE 180[3?]	
		RUSE & TURNERS 1805	
		RUSE & TURNERS 1806	

marks were printed in England, and that very little foreign paper was used in the English editions. Further, it seems probable that the Italian watermarks indicate quite simply that the works were printed in Italy. The Dutch paper, on the other hand, was probably used for editions printed in Paris, and perhaps in Germany, where it could be imported easily. The other indications of nationality in the editions recorded below seem generally to confirm these observations.

Complications

There are three kinds of complications which make the editions of Flaxman's classical designs considerably more difficult to describe accurately and fully than ordinary typeset books. The first is that these editions present all the problems of stereotype printing. The original plates themselves were preserved over long periods of years, and new printings often have no overt changes in them to indicate the lapse of time. Consequently there may be very little except minute differences in paper and in wear on the plates to indicate a distinction between plates printed ten or more years apart, and even these differences may indicate little more than priority when observed. Usually we can only guess at the actual dates of printing.

The second complication is that engraved copperplates, unlike ordinary typographical stereotype, can be altered with considerable ease. Not only can lines readily be added, but worn lines may be darkened by deepening them, and lines can be erased by pounding the surface flat from the back of the plate. Consequently, small differences in two pulls from the same plate, such as darker lines or more lines in one pull, will not point in any simple way to priority, even presuming that the printing was equally careful in both cases. However, when done with skill such refurbishing of the plates, which engravers called "re-entering the lines," may be almost invisible even when

examined with a magnifying glass. These changes may be made quite easily not only between printings separated in time by several years, but also between successive pulls from the same printing run of a plate, if the engraver wants to improve any detail of the print. Consequently it is possible, though fortunately uncommon, to find as many differences within one printing of the plates as between two printings made years apart. A further complexity in works printed from engraved plates is that each plate may have an imprint, and that these imprints may not all be the same on each plate.

The third complication is that by about 1790 engravers had developed an extremely accurate method of copying engravings which is so minutely faithful to the original that it may easily deceive at first glance, and even a long, suspicious examination with a magnifying glass will not always reveal conclusively the differences between two engravings of the same detail. I do not know the technical method by which such copies were made. In general, at least so far as the Flaxman designs are concerned, this method of copying was so accurate that it could reproduce virtually every line of the original, and one rarely has the satisfaction of being able to discover, say, a five pointed star in the original and a four pointed star in the copy. Further, the general measurements and proportions are likely to be exactly the same, or at least the variation is likely to be less than the differences of paper shrinkage might well create. The observable variations between the original (when it can be established which is the original) and the copy are likely to consist in tiny alterations in proportion, in different ways of giving the same intricate effect of, say, curling hair or folding robes. In plates such as those after Flaxman's designs, where there are few areas of shading or massing of lines, it is the more difficult to point to areas of decided difference. Because of the precision of this method of transferring engravings to new copperplates, it is frequently only by examination of very small areas that the differences can be observed. Some idea of these complexities may be gained from the reproductions in the text below.

A corollary complication of the accuracy of these copied engravings is that it is hard to assign credit for an anonymous plate to an individual engraver. For one thing, there was scarcely room for many individual traits to appear in the copy. For another, the original engraving had involved a high degree of skill and credit, while the reproduction must have been largely painstaking mechanical work into which genius scarcely entered. When, for instance, an engraver copied Piroli's plates, he may well have felt that the real credit for the new plates belonged still to Piroli. (Piroli's name would

as well, of course, probably help sales.) This may in part account for the two and even three sets of engravings of the same designs with Piroli's name on them. With such a mechanical process of reproduction, it may have been the part of honesty to give the credit to Piroli, just as the credits for the illustrations below mention Piroli but not the maker of the line-blocks. The laws of piracy were lax at the turn of the eighteenth century, and there is considerable graphic buccaneering to be inferred from the accounts below, but in the absence of more precise evidence it might be best to reserve judgment. It is possible, though hardly likely, that all the editions below were both legal, and conventionally ethical.

Before we plunge into the murk of editions with no date or the wrong date, no place or the wrong place, apparently identical prints which yet are made from different plates, and all the perplexities of works printed in effect from stereotype, it may help to summarize in tabular form (see next page) the conclusions arrived at below. The works set off by an asterisk (*) are new editions from entirely different plates. Works in square brackets are concealed reprints.

The designs for the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, Aeschylus, and Dante were all made in Rome in 1792 and 1793. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were published there then; Dante was withheld by its owner; and the Aeschylus was apparently not published until two years later. New plates of the *Iliad* and Aeschylus were published in 1795. The Dante plates were first published, perhaps piratically, in Paris in 1802, and their success probably encouraged the Paris editions of the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and Aeschylus in 1803. These publications in turn evidently spurred the English editions of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which were undertaken in 1804 and published in 1805, and perhaps made possible the 1807 Dante. At the same time, 1804 and 1807, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were published in Leipzig. About 1818 Piroli made new engravings of the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and Aeschylus in Rome. Within twenty-six years there were thus at least twenty sets of copperplates made from Flaxman's designs for Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Aeschylus, and Dante for publication in five different countries.

Odyssey

1 * 1793 Rome
(plates lost)
2 * 1793 Rome
3 * 1803 Paris
10 1835? Paris
4 * 1805 London
[1806]
[1808]
[1808]
[1809]
[1812]
[1813]
[1814]
[1819]
[1828]
[1840?]
12 1870 London
13 1870 London
5 * 1807 Leipzig
6 * 1817? Berlin
9 1830? Berlin
11 1855? Berlin
7 * 1818? Rome?
8 * 1823 Milan

Iliad

1 * 1793 Rome
2 * 1795 London
[1803]
6 1805 London
(with five new plates)
[1806]
[1808]
[1808]
[1809]
[1810]
[1813]
[1815]
[1822]
[1829]
[1840?]
12 1870 London
13 1870 London
3 * 1803 Paris
7 1809 Paris
1835? Paris
4 * 1804 Leipzig
5 1804 Leipzig
8 * 1817? Berlin
10 1830? Berlin
11 1855? Berlin
9 * 1818? Rome?

Aeschylus

1 * 1795 London
[1803]
[1804]
[1805]
[1805]
[1806]
[1806]
[1808]
[1809]
[1810]
[1810]
[1813]
[1818]
[1819]
[1828]
3 1795 London & Edinburgh
7 1831 London
(with five new plates)
[1840?]
8 1870 London
9 1870 London
2 * 1795 London
(*i e, Rome*)
4 * 1802 Hamburg
5 * 1803 Paris
1835?
6 * 1818? Rome?

Dante

1 * 1793 Rome (not published)
4 1807? London?
5 1807 London
[1807]
[1808]
[1827]
8 1867 London
2 * 1802 Rome
3 1802 Rome
6 1815–1816 Rome
7 * 1822 Milan

Hesiod

1 * 1817 London
[1840?]
5 1870 London
6 1870 London
2 * 1818? Rome?
3 * 1821 Paris
4 1835?

THE ODYSSEY

1 1793. THE | ODYSSEY OF HOMER | ENGRAVED BY THOMAS PIROLI | FROM | THE COMPOSITIONS OF IOHN FLAXMAN SCVLPTOR | ROME | [*Head of Homer encircled by a wreath.*] | 1793. [*All plates except the title inscribed with some variant of*] Published as the Act directs Feby 1st 1793.

Titlepage plus 28 plates, numbered in the upper left corner 1–28. In the upper right corner are references to the Greek text, e g "3. 445." In the lower right a reference to Pope's translation, e g, "Pope's Od: B: 4 L: 1056". Titlepage platemark: 25.7 × 19.1 cm (framing line: 24.3 × 17.0); plate 1 platemark: 25.5 × 18.4 (framing line: 24.2 × 17.1).

Copies:

a British Museum. *Watermark:* J HONIG & ZOONEN. Inscribed, apparently by Flaxman, "To Countess Spencer | St James's Place, | London". Below the plates are added manuscript verses from Homer in English.

b Bodley. *Watermark:* J HONIG & ZOONEN. Inscribed "To Willm Cowper Esqr with the Dow^{r} Lady Spencer's Compliments", "Rome April 12th 1793", and below in another hand, probably William Hayley's: "This Book was given me by Lady Hesketh at Weymouth to whom Cowper left it 1805".

c Col Moss. *Watermark:* J HONIG & ZOONEN.

d Bodley. *Watermarks:* J HONIG & ZOONEN; J KOOL; P M. Proofs before letters, with pencil and ink quotations from Pope, references, etc. In a case lettered on the cover: "Outlines from Flaxman | for Francis Hare".

2 [*Wording of title exactly like* 1.]

Description like *1* except: titlepage platemark: 25.3 × 18.6 cm (framing line: 23.1 × 16.2); plate 1 platemark: 25.4 × 18.7 (framing line: 24.1 × 16.7).

Copies:

a Cornell. *Watermark:* A G C.

b Col Moss. *Watermark:* A G C. Bound with the 1793 *Iliad* and the A G C Aeschylus, with a label reading "Flaxman's Illustrations".

c John Rylands Library. *Watermark:* A G C. With a leaf of typeset text entitled "Explication des Tables" with imprint "Chez la Societé Calcographique a Florence an 1800".

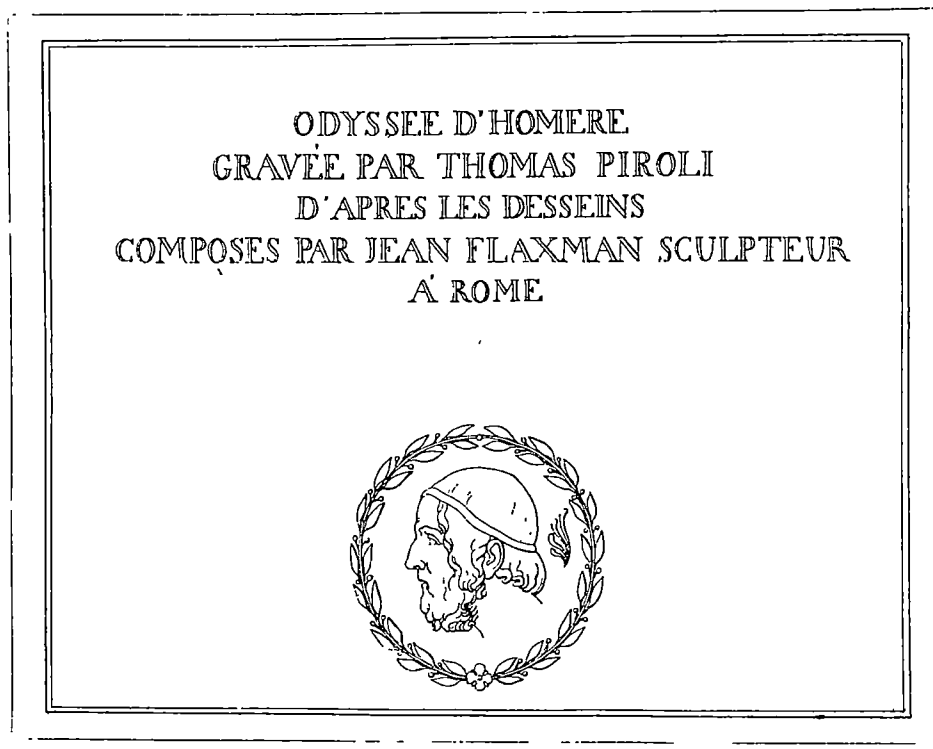
d British Museum. *Watermark:* A G C. With the "Explication des Tables" unwatermarked. Bound with the unwatermarked 1795 English Aeschylus.

e Bodley. *Watermark:* A G C. With a page of typeset text entitled "Spiegazione delle Tavole" (on A G C paper). Bound with the RUSSELL & CO 1799 *Iliad.*

f Yale. *Watermark:* G L C. With the "Spiegazione delle Tavole" and a label on the spine: "Flaxman Odyssey Rome 1793".

g Col Moss. *Watermark:* A G C; plate 26 G L C. With the "Explication des Tables" also watermarked A G C. Includes the five new plates published by Longman in 1805. Bound with the unwatermarked 1795 *Iliad.*

Though the lettering, even to the imprint, is everywhere identical, there are minute but clear differences between *1* and *2*. For instance, in the "1793" on the titlepage the "7" and the "9" are of equal length in *1*, whereas in 2 the "7" is shorter than the "9". In plate 4 of *1* there are nine lines of



Odyssée (no 7) titlepage by Piroli (copy *b*) (All illustrations reduced)

shading near the child's head and another nine behind the axe to the left; in 2 there is no shading at all in the same places. Both sets of plates are quite distinct from the other editions below. Something of this curious duplication may be explained by the early history of the *Odyssey* engravings.

The early history of the Homer and Dante designs is given by Nancy Flaxman in a letter to her sister-in-law Mary on December 15th 1792. She explained that her husband was far too busy to write to anyone because during the day he was working hard to complete commissioned statues before his departure, and

> at home in the Evenings — he is employ'd & *that closely too* — in making a compleat set of drawings from Dantes Heaven, Hell, & Purgatory, consisting of one hundred & ten — from which engravings are Making for *Mr Hope*, after these (or rather going on at the same time) are a set of drawings from Homer's Iliad & Oddyssey — consisting of 60 most beautiful Subjects & as beautifully treated — these are for Mr Udney an English-Man — of which also he makes duplicates for Mr Naylor (Husband of the late Bishop of St Asaph's Daughter) the which are also Engraving

"English" Odyssey (no *1* copy *b*) titlepage vignette by Piroli

Roman *Odyssey 2* copy *f*) (Piroli)

> here as Mr Naylor means to publish them on his return to England[;] he has promis'd to give us half a dozen Copies[.] [8]

Piroli made two sets of engravings after the *Odyssey* in Rome, one for Mr Naylor for publication in England and one for publication in Italy. A similar practice seems to have been followed with the *Iliad* and Aeschylus, and perhaps Dante, as well. Probably this duplication was authorised. Perhaps part of the payment to Piroli for his English engravings was the copyright for Italian publication of the designs.

The *Odyssey* was evidently published very near to the date (February 1st) inscribed on the plates, for on April 12th 1793 Flaxman told his sister that he had sent her one of the gift copies (which Mr Naylor had promised him) of the "little book engraved from my compositions of Homers Odyssey".[9]

On July 18 Flaxman's intimate friend George Romney wrote to William Hayley: "our dear Flaxman's drawings [i e, engravings] from Homer are arrived", and on August 2 he wrote again:

> I have seen the book of prints for the Odyssey, by our dear and admirable artist Flaxman. They are outlines without shadow, but in the style of antient art. They are simple, grand, and pure; I may say with truth very fine. They look as if they had been made in the age when Homer wrote.[10]

[8] BM Add MSS 39,780, f 197. In his accountbook for 1792–1794 (BM Add MSS 39,784 F, f 32) Flaxman noted that he had "Sent by Hawkins McKinnon & Com: [*to Mr*] Udney" "46 drawings from the Iliad & Odyssey at 4 Crowns each ———— 184 –". I cannot account for the 14 further drawings mentioned in Nancy's letter but not sent here.

[9] BM Add MSS 39,780, f 59.

[10] William Hayley, *The Life of George Romney, Esq.* (London 1809) p 201, 203.

LONDON.

Odissée (3 copy *a*) by Nitot Dufresne

Longman *Odyssey* (4 copy *l*) by Parker & Neagle

On the same day, August 2, William Cowper wrote that the Throckmortons had brought him a present of Flaxman's *Odyssey* from the Dowager Lady Spencer, to whom Cowper had dedicated his own translation of the *Odyssey*.[11] Other owners of the designs were evidently as pleased with them as Flaxman's friends were.

It seems likely that few copies beyond those mentioned above were printed. On March 10 1803 William Hayley wrote to express his pleasure that Lady Hesketh had preserved Cowper's copy of the *Odyssey*.

> I rejoice that you have rescued from darkness our dear Bards Copy of *Flaxmans Odyssey* — are you aware how *scarce a Treasure* you possess — I believe there are hardly 3 copies of it in England for *the main body* of these delightful engravings *was seiz'd by the French* — I am not sure that Flaxman himself has a copy — I know He could procure none for his Friends who possessed *his Iliad* —[12]

[11] *The Correspondence of William Cowper*, ed T. Wright (London 1904) IV 432. On August 15 (p 436) Cowper agreed with Hayley about the aptness of Romney's judgment of Flaxman's designs, and on August 27 (p 441) he pointed out that, attractive as Hayley's idea was that his translation should be illustrated by Flaxman's designs, the plan was not feasible because the designs were the wrong shape, being wider than they are high.

[12] BM Add MSS 30,803 B, f 110v. On June 7 1795, a few months after Flaxman sent his *Iliad* and Aeschylus copperplates from Rome, C. H. Tatham wrote from Italy that he was concerned to learn whether his correspondent Henry Holland had received his previous letter "as some packets were taken in the early part of Feby and the letters thrown overboard by the French" (letter in the Sir John Soane Museum, London).

Evidently after Piroli had finished engraving the plates in Rome, Flaxman had a number of sets printed to send directly to his friends and patrons in England. The copperplates themselves were shipped to England by sea next year when Flaxman returned from Rome and were *"seiz'd by the French"* and apparently destroyed. Clearly the first edition of the *Odyssey* designs was intended to be English, but the plates were lost after only a few complimentary copies had been printed in Rome.

It is clear from Hayley's letter that Cowper's copy was part of this first edition, and this is the chief means of determining that *1* preceded the almost identical 2. Further, all copies traced from this first edition are watermarked J HONIG & ZOONEN, and the only other occurrence of this watermark discovered among the early editions of Flaxman's classical designs is in the 1793 Dante which is, like *Odyssey 1a*, a proof copy sent by Flaxman to Countess Spencer. Perhaps all the complimentary copies of the 1793 *Odyssey* and Dante were printed on the same paper at the same time.

The fact that "The plates of the Odyssey [were] . . . lost at Rome" was reported in the *Annual Biography* of Flaxman in 1828. William Blake's first painstaking biographer, Alexander Gilchrist, somehow got wind of this fact (he gives no hint of his authority) and modified it to suit his purposes. He said that Flaxman's plates to the *Odyssey* "were lost in the voyage to England, and Blake was employed [about 1794] to make engravings in their stead, although Piroli's name still remained on the general title-page (dated 1793); probably as being likelier credentials with the public." [18] Gilchrist's statement has generally been dismissed as casually as it seems to have been made. It is clear that he was right at least about the loss of the plates of the first edition and the existence of an unrecognized second edition. However, the evidence is very strong and persuasive that the second edition was engraved in Italy, probably by Piroli in Rome, and not by Blake in England.

In the first place, all copies traced of the second edition are printed on Continental (Italian?) paper, A G C and G L C, and this paper is found elsewhere only in the Italian editions of the *Iliad* (1793) and Aeschylus (1795). In the second place, some copies (2 *e, f*) are bound with typeset text called "Spiegazione delle Tavole" on the same paper, obviously intended for an Italian market and probably printed in Italy. In the third place, other copies (2 *e, d, g*) are bound with typeset text of "Explication des Tables" on the same paper and evidently printed "a Florence an 1800" for the con-

[18] Alexander Gilchrist. *Life of William Blake*, ed Ruthven Todd (London 1942) 96. A primary purpose of Col Moss's investigations was to substantiate Gilchrist's undocumented statement, but I do not agree with Col Moss that there is any evidence that *Blake* made the new engravings. I also find no evidence to support Col Moss's contention that Blake engraved the 1807 Dante.

quering French. And finally, Hayley said Flaxman himself "could [*not*] procure [*copies of the 1793* Odyssey] . . . for his Friends who possessed *his Iliad*", whereas this surely would not have been true if the 1793 *Odyssey* had been printed in England. It seems certain then that the copies of the second edition so far traced were printed for French and Italian audiences and that the plates were on the Continent when the "Explication" was added. In these circumstances it is exceedingly unlikely that Blake had anything to do with the engravings for the second edition, and there is no strong reason to disbelieve the assertion of the titlepage that they were "ENGRAVED BY THOMAS PIROLI. . . [IN] ROME". The only area in much doubt is the date. I suggest that the work was published before 1800 when the "Explication" was added, and that the date on the titlepage (1793) was not far wrong. Certainly the paper is the same as that used in the undisputed 1793 *Iliad*.

It will be noted that a curious pattern is repeated with the first editions of the *Odyssey, Iliad,* and Aeschylus. In each case there are three separate editions within perhaps twenty-five years bearing Piroli's name as the engraver; one series published for the English market (*1 Odyssey,* 1793; *2 Iliad,* 1795; *1* Aeschylus, 1795), another for the Italian market (*2 Odyssey,* 1793; *1 Iliad,* 1793; *2* Aeschylus, 1795), and the third also for the Italian market (*7 Odyssée,* 1818?; *9 Iliade,* 1818?; *6* Aeschylus, 1818?). It is extremely improbable that one engraver could have engraved these 190 plates for the 1793–1795 Odyssey, Iliad, and Aeschylus plus the 111 for Dante by conventional methods in just two years. By contrast, it took Blake over two years to engrave his thirty-seven plates to Hesiod. It is fairly clear that Piroli must have had assistants, probably apprentices, to help him, and that the successive sets of plates were produced by some mechanical process, presumably supervised by Piroli but without any great new investment of artistic skill.

This curious pattern suggests that Piroli made the engravings for the *Odyssey, Iliad,* and Aeschylus which Flaxman shipped from Leghorn in 1794. Almost immediately Piroli produced another set of engravings, and twenty-five years later he engraved yet a third set. In Italy at least the sale of Flaxman's classical designs seems to have been promising from the very first.

3 1803. SUJETS | DE L'ODISSÉE D'HOMERE | GRAVÉS D'APRÈS LES DESSINS | ET | COMPOSITIONS DE JOHN FLAXMAN SCULPT^r | ANGLAIS. | [*Directly below this is a head of Homer enclosed within a wreath. To the left of it is:*] Prix [*blank.*] | Paris 1803. Déposé à la Bibliothèque Nat^le | A Paris chez l'Auteur, Hotel Mirabeau, Rue du Helder N°. 11.

Titlepage plus 28 plates, numbered, plus four pages of explication. The engraver is certainly Michel Nitot Dufresne, whose address was Hotel

Mirabeau (see *Iliad* no 3 and Aeschylus no 5), and the plates are naturally distinct both from those of Piroli and from those of Parker and Neagle (see *Odyssey* nos *1*, *2*, and *4*).

Copy:

a Bibliothèque Nationale.

The work was issued with the *Iliad* no 3 and Aeschylus no 5. In the *Petites Affiches* for 7 floréal, An XI (April 27 1803), was an announcement of the first French edition of the

Œuvres de Flaxman, sculpteur anglais, comprenant l'Iliade, l'Odyssée et les tragédies d'Eschyle.... Ouvrage de près de cent [i e, 92] planches, avec les titres gravées au simple trait, et une notice pour l'explication des sujets. A Paris, chez le cit. Nitot-Dufresne....[14]

I have found no other copies of this edition, and it may not have sold very well, at least outside France. For a reissue, see *Odissée* no *10*.

Perhaps Flaxman arranged for the publication of this edition when he went to Paris during the brief peace in the autumn of 1802.

4 1805. THE | ODYSSEY OF HOMER | ENGRAVED FROM THE COMPOSITIONS | OF IOHN FLAXMAN R·A· SCVLPTOR, | LONDON. | [*Head of Homer within a circular wreath.*] | London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, Paternoster Row, R. H. Evans, Pall Mall, W. Miller, Albemarle Street, & I & A. Arch, Cornhill, March 1st 1805.

Titlepage plus 34 plates (including six new designs) engraved by James Parker (plates 1, 3, 4, 7, 10–12, 14–17, 19, 22–23, 25–26, 28–29, 32, 34) and James Neagle (plates 2, 5–6, 8–9, 13, 18, 20–21, 24, 27, 30–31, 33). Label made from the first five lines of the titlepage. Plates numbered 1–34 in the upper left corner; reference to Homer ("1. 102.") in the upper right corner; title of the design in the top center; and a quotation at the foot from "Pope's Homers Odyssey...." Titlepage platemark: 35.5 × 24.4 cm (framing line: 28.8 × 18.5).

Copies:

a Bodley. *Watermark:* none.
b Chicago Art Institute.
c Columbia.
d Edinburgh University.
e GEB. *Watermark:* none.
f GEB. *Watermark:* none.
g Harvard. *Watermark:* none.
h Huntington Library.
i Library of Congress.
j London Library.
k Michigan.
l New York Public Library. *Watermark:* none.
m New York Public Library. *Watermark:* none.
n Princeton.
o Yale.
p Cambridge. *Watermark:* none.
q British Museum Print Room. *Watermark:* 1809. Bound with the 1795 *Iliad* and 1795 *Aeschylus*, with a flyleaf watermarked: J WHATMAN 1822.
r Royal Academy. *Watermark:* none.
s Sir John Soane Museum. *Watermark:* none
t GEB. *Watermark:* none.

[14] Jeanne Doin, "John Flaxman," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 4 période, v (1911) 233.

The French edition of 1803 obviously demonstrated that there was a continuing demand for the Homer designs, and negotiations with a London firm probably followed very shortly. On November 17 18[04] Flaxman wrote that "Messrs Longman & Rees are on the very point of publishing the Iliad & Odyssey with Eleven additional plates in the most splendid manner."[15] On January 24 1805 he told Hayley that the new plates to the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* were not yet ready, but on May 3 he could write that they had been sent.[16] On April 22 he had written:

> The Outlines from Homer are compleated and published at last as you may have seen in the newspaper advertisements and I beg you will let me know how much of it is in your Library that I may send the remainder of the work — it consists of three parts in fact, the Iliad, the Odyssey, and Eleven additional plates from both Poems.[17]

The advertisement Flaxman referred to was probably like that which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* for July 1805:

> For this Edition of the Odyssey, new Engravings have been made, under the Designer's Inspection, and are now published in England, for the first time. It is to be observed, that the Italian [1793], French [1803], and German [1804?] Editions are copies from this, the original Work. For the accomodation of those who purchased the former Edition of the Iliad, the additional Plates for that work will be sold separately. Price 10s. 6d. . . .

The accounts for the 1805 *Odyssey* are preserved by Longmans, Green, & Co.[18]

Flaxman's Odyssey	April 1805	
Engraving 35 plates	5/5/0	183/15/0
Writing Engraver		22/15/6
6 New Drawings [*at £3.3.0 apiece*]		18/18/0
Printing 250 sets (8750) by Gordon [*at 6s per hundred pulls*]		26/ 5/0
250 Labels [*at 3s. per hundred*]		/ 7/6
Paper 8¾ Rms 88/– Medium Plate for Lover[?]		38/10/0
Binding [*at about 2s. 2d. apiece*]		27/—/0
		317/11/0

15 BM Add MSS 39,780. On May 1 1804 Flaxman said Blake had already been commissioned to engrave some of the new Homer plates (BM Add MSS 36,540, f 50).

16 Mss in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

17 Quoted from a transcript of the ms in the Genadius Library, Athens.

18 Impression Book No 3, ff 21 (for 1805 and 1806), 160 (for November 1808); Impression Book No 4, f 52 (for June 1808, November 1809). The late Cyprian Blagden, Professor A. Walton Litz, and Miss Beryl M. Hurst were extraordinarily generous in helping me through the Longman records.

1806		
June	100 sets cost 3½ Rms Med. [*at £4.5.0 per ream*]	14/17/6
	Working [19]	10/15/0
	Binding	10/16/–
		36/ 8/6
	Advertising farther both works [*i e, Iliad & Odyssey*]	33/ 6/ ½
1808		
Nov^r	Flaxmans Odyssey	
	Working 50 Sets & Labels, 2/6 Cox & B[*arnett*]	5/ 7/6
	[*1¾ reams*] Paper for do [*at £5 per ream*] L & D	8/15/0
	Flaxmans Odyssey June 08	
	Working 50 Sets & Titles	5/ 8/–
	5.5.0 3/–	
Nov.	09— " —— " ——	5/ 8/–
	Paper	16/10/3 [20]
	Sewing	

There were further printings on April 11th 1812 (50 sets), January 19th 1813 ("6 Odyssey on thin paper"), July 2nd 1814 (50), December 1819 (50), and August 1828 (50), [20a] making a total of 656 sets printed between 1805 and 1828. The "whole" copyright and profits belonged to Longman, though there appears to be no debit in the account books to pay for the copyright. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were "Sold Mr Sotheby £100 Decr 3 1832". The designs were engraved on a reduced scale by H. Moses and published in

> THE | ILIAD AND ODYSSEY | OF | HOMER | TRANSLATED | BY | WILLIAM SOTHEBY; | [*Head of Homer as usual.*] | ILLUSTRATED BY THE DESIGNS OF FLAXMAN. | VOL. I [II] [III] [IV]. | LONDON: | G. AND W. NICOL, PALL-MALL; J. MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET. | MDCCCXXXIV.

Some time thereafter the remainders, or perhaps the copperplates themselves, passed into the hands of H. G. Bohn, who offered in his 1841 catalogue

> FLAXMAN'S COMPOSITIONS FROM HOMER'S | ILIAD AND ODYSSEY. A Series of Seventy-five beautiful Outlines, engraved under Flax-

[19] This "Working" seems to be for printing the plates at 6s per hundred pulls (3,500 pulls) and printing the labels (100) at 5s per hundred pulls.

[20] This peculiar sum seems to represent the cost of paper for the June 1808 and November 1809 printings at about £4.10.0 per ream for the three and one half reams needed, plus an odd sum — 15s 3d — for "Sewing". It will be noticed that there is no charge for binding the June 1808 and November 1809 printings.

[20a] Copy Register Volumes II, III, IV; Impression Book IV f 184; V ff 55, 140.

man's | inspection, by PIROLI, MOSES [*i e, Parker?*], and BLAKE. | 2 vols. oblong folio, Published at £5.5s. — REDUCED TO £2.10s. | Or either Work separately at £1.5s. each. | *In extra boards.*[21]

In 1857 and 1858 Bohn published Pope's translations of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* "illustrated with the entire series of Flaxman's Designs", engraved by H. Moses. I do not know whether the 1841 catalogue refers to the original plates by Piroli et al with the lines re-entered by Moses, or whether there may have been a separate issue of Moses' reduced plates by 1840.

5 1807. J. FLAXMANI | PICTURAE LINEARES | AD | HOMERI ODYSSEAM. | EX PROTOTYPO IN BREVIUS CONTRACTAS SCALPSIT | V. K. SCHNORR. | LIPSIAE | APUD G. J. GOESCHEN 1807.

Titlepage plus 28 numbered plates about five inches wide by three inches high. At the top right of the plates is some variant of the signatures of Julius Schnorr as designer (plates 3–8, 10–14, 16–17) and "V H Schnorr a[quafortis]. f[ecit]" (plates 3–8, 16–17). Julius Schnorr is given as the aquafortis-maker of plates 11 and 15, and for plates 9 and 18–28 there is no signature or just an ambiguous "Schnorr". Plate 1 is dated "1805" and plate 26 "1807".

Copy:
a Chicago.

The 1807 *Odyssey* is obviously a companion to the 1805 *Iliad* (no *4*).

6 1817? JOHN FLAXMAN'S | UMRISSE | ZU | HOMER'S ILIAS UND ODYSSEE. | GESTOCHEN | VON | E. RIEPENHAUSEN. | MIT ERLÄUTERNDEM TEXTE. | BERLIN. | VERLAG VON TH. CHR. FR. ENSLIN. | ADOLPH ENSLIN.

Printed titlepage (with engraved border), and a cover printed from the same type except for the omission of everything from "GESTOCHEN" through "TEXTE"; 12 p of explanations of the plates, followed by *Iliad* plates numbered 1–34 and *Odyssey* plates numbered 1–28. The plates are not signed, but the characters and the passages from Homer are identified.

Copy:
None seen.

The above description is taken entirely from nos 9 and *11* below. There is, however, good reason for believing it to be accurate, with the possible exception of the 12 pages of explanations of the plates. In the first place, nos 9 and *11* both assert in the preliminary matter that the first edition of the work was

21 "New, Valuable, and Most Important Books, of which the advertiser has purchased The Entire Editions or Remainders, and now offers at Very Reduced Prices. Henry G. Bohn, 4 & 5, York Street, Covent Garden [n d] . . . The Advertiser is sole Proprietor of the entire Remainders of the Books announced in this Catalogue." I have only seen this 152 p catalogue bound (as *DNB* says it was issued) with *A Catalogue of Books* of Henry G. Bohn, York Street, Covent Garden (London 1841).

in 1817. In the second place, the same plates were used in nos *9* and *11*, including the titlepages, and it seems probable that there was no more change between nos *6* and *9* than there was between nos *9* and *11*. In the third place, C. G. Kayser, *Vollstandiges Bucher-Lexicon* (1834) ascribes the Riepenhausen *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to 1817. The only chronological difficulty is raised by J. D. Reuss, *Alphabetical Register of All the Authors actually living in Great-Britain, Ireland, and the United Provinces of North-America* (Berlin & Stettin 1804) where Flaxman's designs for the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are said to have been engraved "by *Riepenhausen,* Gottingen", 1803. I have been able to locate no other reference to an edition of 1803, nor can I explain Reuss's reference. It seems unlikely that it was a mistake for the Schnorr plates of Leipzig 1804 and 1807, or that the Riepenhausen plates were kept for fourteen years before they were published.

The similarities of the Riepenhausen plates and those of the 1805 edition are so great that it is clear Riepenhausen must have made his designs by some process of tracing. The differences between the two sets of plates are, however, quite clear.

7 1818? ODYSSÉE D'HOMERE | GRAVÉE PAR THOMAS PIROLI | D'APRES LES DESSEINS | COMPOSÉS PAR JEAN FLAXMAN SCULPTEUR | À ROME | [*Head of Homer in a circle, but no date or imprint.*]

Titlepage plus 28 plates, numbered 1–28 in the upper righthand corner. Titles of pictures in French, and a reference to the Greek below, e g, "Hom. Ody. Chant [*and a number*]". Titlepage platemark: 25.6 × 19.3 cm (framing line: 24.0 × 16.1).

Copies:

a Library of Congress. *Watermark:* P M. Bound with the P M *Iliade.*

b New York Public Library. *Watermark:* P M. On the original cover is a label: "Thomas Piroli et Fils Graveurs en Cuivre | près de la Trinité des monts à Rome | On trouve dans leur Magasin une Collection de Gravures au simple trait et au burin, Une Collection | compléte [sic] de Médailles Romains et un choix | de Médailles Grecques en souffre; différentes Vues | à l'acquarelle et autres objets de beaux-Arts."

c New York Public Library. *Watermark:* D & C BLAUW. Bound with the BLAUW *Iliade* and Aeschylus.

d Vatican. *Watermarks:* VAN DER LEY; P M; and a crest without initials. Missing plate 26. Bound with the Vatican *Iliade* (P M, VAN DER LEY) and Aeschylus (P M), labeled on the spine: "Flaxman Tragedies Iliade Odyssée".

e Col Moss. *Watermark:* VAN DER LEY. Bound with the VAN DER LEY *Iliade.*

f Col Moss. *Watermark:* G A M. Bound with the six plates (nos. 1, 3, 10, 15, 19, 34) added in 1805, except that 34 has a different inscription in French than in English; *plates renumbered.*

g Ruthven Todd. *Watermark:* P M F. With the six 1805 plates. Bound with the P M F French Hesiod and the G A M *Iliade.*

h British Museum. *Watermark:* fleur de lis. Six added plates correctly numbered.

i Bodley. *Watermark:* G A M. With the six 1805 designs. Bound with the fleur de lis *Iliade.*

It is extremely difficult to account for this edition of the *Odyssée,* and tentative conclusions can best be reached by associating it with other works with which it may have been issued. Even so, it must be admitted that the date suggested for it may be wrong by as many as twenty years.

There is reason for linking this French *Odyssée* with the undated *Iliade* and these in turn with the undated Aeschylus and the undated Hesiode. For one thing, they share a silence as to place and date and are the only really undated works with which we are concerned. For another, they are all positively attributed to Thomas Piroli (1750–1824). For another, they are all on the same Dutch and Italian paper which is not used in other Flaxman works traced: PIETRO MILIANI FABRIANO[21a] in *Odyssée a, b, d, g, Iliade a, b, c, e,* Aeschylus *c, d, e, g,* Hesiode *c*; G A M in *Odyssée f, i, Iliade g,* Aeschylus *a,* Hesiode *b*; VAN DER LEY in *Odyssée d, e, Iliade b, d, f,* Aeschylus *b*; D & C BLAUW in *Odyssée c, Iliade d,* Aeschylus *f*. And finally, though these works have not been found bound with other editions of Flaxman's classical designs, they are often bound with each other and may well have been issued in this way. The *Odyssée* is bound with the *Iliade* alone three times, with the *Iliade* and Aeschylus twice, and with the *Iliade* and Hesiode once. These similarities are some warrant for allowing the evidence as to place or date in one work to apply to the others as well.

Despite the French and English titles, the place is probably Rome. *Odyssée b* and Aechylus *e* have on their covers labels advertising the shop of "Thomas Piroli et Fils . . . à Rome," and the Aeschylus adds the price list of Nicola de Antoni in Rome, while *Iliade h* was evidently bought by "Benjamin Gibson [*in*] Rome." Except for the language of the titles, there is no clear evidence pointing to other countries of origin, and there is good reason to accept the assertion of the titles and labels that all four works were engraved and sold by Piroli in Rome.

The date is the most difficult problem. A terminus is 1824, when Piroli died, but initial dates are much harder to establish. What evidence there is points to a late date. For one thing, it is difficult to understand what time or motive Piroli can have found to make a *third* set of engravings of the *Odyssey, Iliad* and Aeschylus within a few years of the first two sets in 1793. For

[21a] P M F is also used in the Roman "1802" Dante and in the Roman 1793 *Iliad f,* but both reinforce Rome as the place of publication, and the latter seems to differ from all other known editions of the *Iliad* and to be anomalous in almost every respect.

another, the Hesiode cannot be earlier than 1817 when the designs were first completed and published in England. It seems likely enough that Piroli copied the Hesiod designs as soon as he could and published them perhaps in 1818 to capitalize on their novelty. The watermarks in the undated *Odyssée, Iliade,* and Aeschylus associate them in time with the Hesiode, and they may have been engraved as well about 1818. It is clear that Piroli was copying his own engravings and not the English editions, for the supplementary designs to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* first published in 1805 were only added to the Roman series as an afterthought.

These links of evidence, though fragile, suggest that all four works were engraved in Rome by Piroli and published about the same time soon after 1817.

8 1823. L'ODISSEA DI OMERO | INVENZIONE DI GIOVANNI FLAXMAN | SCULPTORE | [*Head of Homer in a wreath*] | Milano 1823 Presso gli Editori Pietro e Giuseppe Vallardi Cont. S. Margherita N. 1101.

No text; titlepage plus 28 plates; description below plates; engraved preface. Titlepage platemark: 26.0 × 18.3 cm (framing line: 23.0 × 17.3).

Copy:

a British Museum.

9 1830? [Titlepage exactly like no *6*.]

Contents identical to no *6* except that the twelve pages of explanation of the plates have been reworded and reset. The most important change is a reference to Flaxman's death in 1826, which is the only basis for the guess for the date of 1830?

Copy:

a Duke University. *Watermark:* none.

10 1835? SUJETS | DE L'ODISSÉE D'HOMERE | GRAVÉS D'APRÈS LES DESSINS | ET | COMPOSITIONS DE JOHN FLAXMAN SCULPT^r | ANGLAIS. | [*Head of Homer. To the left is:*] Prix [*blank.*] | Déposé à la Bibliothèque Nat^le | A Paris chez l'Auteur, Hotel Mirabeau, Rue du Helder N°. 11 [*i e, exactly like no 3 except that "Paris 1803" has been removed*]

Copy:

a New York Public Library. *Watermark:* none. Bound with a composite volume entitled OEUVRES | DE JOHN FLAXMAN | SCULPTEUR ANGLAIS | comprenant: | L'ILIADE D'HOMÈRE, — L'ODYSSÉE D'HOMÈRE, | LES TRAGÉDIES D'ESCHYLE, — L'OEUVRE DES JOURS ET LA THÉOGONIE D'HÉSIODE, | auxquelles on a joint | LES TRAGÉDIES DE SOPHOCLE, PAR GIACOMELLI. | 149 planches, avex Explication. | NOUVELLE ÉDITION. | PARIS | BANCE AINE, EDITEUR D'OUVRAGES D'ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE ET PEINTURE | B. BANCE FILS ET SUCCESSEUR, 271, RUE SAINT-DENIS [*n d I have no information about a previous edition of this composite work unless the 1803 issue is intended.*]

The titlepage is conventionally upright in this tall volume, but all the prints are bound in sideways. In this composite volume the *Odyssée, Iliade,*

and Eschyle are of the French 1803 editions, except that the *Odyssée* above has had the date removed from the titlepage. The guess at the date (1835?) is based on the fact that the son of Jacques-Louis Bance (Bance aîné) succeeded to the business in 1832.

11 1855? [Exactly like nos *6* and *9*]

Contents identical except that the twelve pages of explanations of the plates have been reworded and reset. The most important change for present purposes is a reference to a translation of Homer of "Stuttgart 1852", which is the only basis for the guess of 1855? for the date.

Copy:

a University of Pennsylvania. *Watermark:* none.

12 1870. THE CLASSICAL COMPOSITIONS | OF | JOHN FLAXMAN, R.A. | SCULPTOR, | COMPRISING | THE ILIAD AND ODYSSEY OF HOMER, AND THE TRAGEDIES OF AESCHYLUS, | ENGRAVED AT ROME BY PIROLI; | AND THE THEOGONY, AND WORKS AND DAYS OF HESIOD, | ENGRAVED BY WILLIAM BLAKE. | [*Bell emblem*] | LONDON: | BELL AND DALDY, YORK STREET, | COVENT GARDEN. | 1870.

A printed table lists thirty-nine *Iliad* plates, thirty-four *Odyssey*, thirty-six Aeschylus, and thirty-seven Hesiod. The prints seem to be pulled from the plates of 1805, 1831, and 1817, except that the imprints have been erased. Despite the titlepage, the *Odyssey* plates are those engraved by Parker and Neagle.

Copy:

a Victoria and Albert. Printed on linen.

Each title was also issued separately; see below.

13 1870. COMPOSITIONS FROM | THE ODYSSEY OF HOMER, | DESIGNED BY | JOHN FLAXMAN, R.A., SCULPTOR. | ENGRAVED AT ROME BY THOMAS PIROLI. | [*Bell emblem*] | LONDON: | BELL AND DALDY, YORK STREET, | COVENT GARDEN. | 1870.

This is simply a reissue of the plates from the composite edition above.

Copies:

a Victoria and Albert. *Watermark:* none.

b Victoria and Albert. *Watermark:* none.

In 1881 George Bell and Sons, York Street, Covent Garden, also issued separately the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, Aeschylus, and Hesiod, engraved in considerably reduced format.

Drawings

Flaxman's drawings for the *Odyssey* are in the Royal Academy; in University College, London; in the British Museum Print Room; in Princeton (3); and in the Fogg Art Museum. On November 13th 1963 Sotheby's sold twenty-nine designs bound in a leather volume which differ markedly in details from nos *1* and *2* above. Perhaps they were the set made for Mr Udney.

Roman *Iliad* (*1* copy *e*) titlepage vignette by Piroli

THE ILIAD

1 1793. THE | ILIAD OF HOMER | ENGRAVED BY THOMAS PIROLI | FROM | THE COMPOSITIONS OF IOHN FLAXMAN SCVLPTOR | ROME | [*Homer seated with an eagle.*] | 1793. [*All plates but the title inscribed at the foot with some variant of*] Published as the Act directs June 1st 1793 [*plate 24 has 1794 for 1793*].

Titlepage plus 34 plates. Reference in lower right to Pope's Homer, e g, "Iliad B. 3. 1. 530 Pope." Titlepage platemark: 25.6 × 18.5 cm (framing line: 23.8 × 16.6). Plate 1 platemark: 31.7 × 18.6 (framing line: 30.3 × 16.6).

Copies:

a Cornell. *Watermark:* A G C. Bound with the A G C *Odyssey* and Aeschylus.

b John Rylands Library. *Watermark:* A G C. With a typeset page of "Spiegazione delle Tavole".

c Col Moss. *Watermark:* A G C. With a typeset page of "Explication des Tables". Bound with the A G C *Odyssey*.

d Ruthven Todd. *Watermark:* A G C. With the "Explication des Tables".

e Yale. *Watermark:* G L C. With the "Spiegazione delle Tavole".

f Ruthven Todd. *Watermark:* PIETRO MILIANI FABRIANO (end-papers watermarked: J WHATMAN, i e, before 1794).[22]

g Bodley. *Watermark:* A G C. With the "Explication des Tables" *and* "Spegazione" unwatermarked.

[22] Moss and Todd report that copy *f* differs from the other 1793 *Iliads* (copies *c* and *d*), and that both these differ from the French version. Without more detailed evidence, however, I should suspect that copy *f* was merely a touched up version of copies *a–e*.

Iliad 2 copy *a* (Piroli)

6 copy *m* (Piroli)

On July 22 1793 Nancy Flaxman wrote to William Hayley, telling him that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* commissioned by Mr Hare-Naylor were both completed,[23] so probably by this time the *Iliad* plates dated June 1 had actually been printed.

2 1795. THE | ILIAD OF HOMER | ENGRAVED BY THOMAS PIROLI | FROM | THE COMPOSITIONS OF IOHN FLAXMAN SCVLPTOR | ROME | [*Homer seated with an eagle in a circle.*] | 1793. [*Inscribed at the foot of all the plates with some variant of*] London, Published Jany 12^{h} 1795, by J. Matthews, N° 441 Strand.

Titlepage plus 34 plates, numbered 1–34. Plate 33 mislettered "Mattws". Titles and quotations describing the actions added. Titlepage platemark: 25.6 × 18.5 cm (framing line: 24.4 × 16.6); plate 1 platemark: 31.1 × 18.6 (framing line: 30.5 × 16.8).

Copies:

a British Museum. *Watermark:* none. With the royal arms. Bound with the 1793 A G C *Odyssey*.

b Col Moss. *Watermark:* none. Bound with the A G C *Odyssey*.

c London Library. *Watermark:* J WHATMAN 1794. The five extra plates from the 1805 Longman edition are bound in.

d Col Moss. *Watermark:* J WHATMAN 1794.

e Bodley. *Watermark:* RUSSELL & CO 1799; RUSSEL & CO 1801; W ELGAR 1797. Inscribed "Respectfully Presented by the Author" "To the Bodleian Library." Bound with the A G C *Odyssey*.

[23] Letter in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

Iliad (*1* copy *e*) pl 2 (Piroli) *2* copy *a* (Piroli) *3* copy *a* (Dufresne)

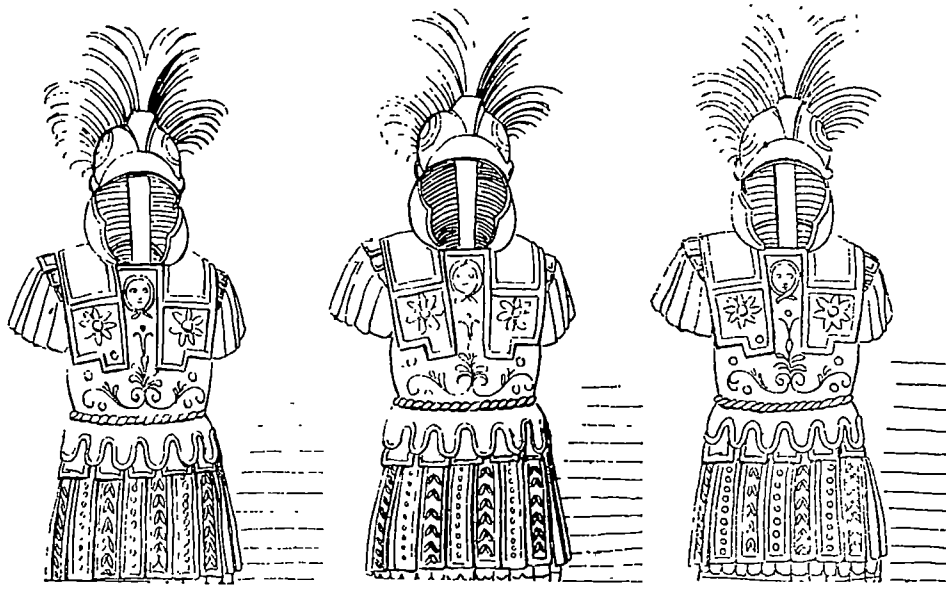
f British Museum. *Watermark:* 1794 J WHATMAN. With the Grenville arms.

g British Museum Print Room. *Watermark:* none. Plates 5, 14, and 37 from 1805 added. Bound after 1822 with the 1805 *Odyssey* and the 1795 Aeschylus.

A careful examination with a magnifying glass makes it clear that there are subtle differences throughout the two sets of the prints dated 1793 and 1795, and that they are made from different plates of copper. For example, on the titlepage the lefthand star is badly formed in 1793 but is quite regular in 1795; the lowest thunderbolt held by the eagle overlaps Homer's robe in 1793 but does not in 1795. Similarly in the second plate, the rosettes on the armor of Achilles are different in 1793 and 1795; there is one more line in the design on the sword scabbard in 1793 than in 1795, and so on.

Piroli must have made two sets of engravings, one for Italy and one for England. Flaxman's account books show that one set of the *Iliad* plates got home to England safely. As part repayment of a loan of £19.5.0 to "Hare Naylor Esqr borrowed from him at Valdagno", on December 17th 1794 Flaxman "Paid for H. N. Esqr To Alex^r & G. Forbes for freight of the Copper plates of the Iliad from Leghorn [£]1 11 6", and a few days later, on December 23rd, he went down to the dock and paid "Customs for D° at 27½ per Cent valued at 25£ [£]6 19 6," and "Paid to Broker, Porters at Custom House & Cart [*to carry them home in,* £]1 1 [*0*]."[24] After the plates arrived in

[24] These and other figures from Flaxman's account books come from BM Add MSS 39,784 BB, and are also printed by E. Croft-Murray, "An Account-Book of John Flaxman, R.A.," *Walpole Society* XXVIII (1940) 56–70.



Iliad *6* copy *m* (Piroli) *9* copy *c* (Piroli) *10* copy *a* (Riepenhausen)

England the new imprint was probably added at the bottoms of the pages, and Flaxman arranged for publication with his aunt Jane Matthews. The profits probably went to Mr. Hare-Naylor; certainly there are no receipts for the *Iliad* in Flaxman's account books. After Mrs Matthews' death the plates were printed at least twice by Medland for Longman before the imprint was changed, one of the times being on May 16th 1803 when twenty-five sets were pulled for £5.5.11.[24a]

3 1803 SUJETS | DE L ILIADE D HOMERE | GRAVÉS | D'APRÈS LES COMPOSITIONS | DE JOHN FLAXMAN SCULPTEUR ANGLAIS. | [*Bust of Homer within a circle seated on an eagle which has thunderbolts in its claws.*] | A Paris chez Nitot Dufresne Graveur Editeur rue du Helder N° 11.hotel Mirabeau.

Titlepage plus 34 plates, numbered, plus four pages of explication.

Copies:

a Bibliothèque Nationale.

b New York Public Library. *Watermark:* none. Bound with the undated Paris *Oeuvres* (see *Odissée* no *10*).

The date is almost certainly 1803; see *Odissée* no 3. The plates engraved by Nitot Dufresne are very similar to but are clearly distinct from those by Piroli.

[24a] The May 16th 1803 account is given in Impression Book II f 102, and a further printing may be inferred from a pencil note by the 1805 account (Impression Book III f 21) which says "50 copies printed before cost £10.10.0."

4 1804. J. FLAXMAN'S | UMRISSE ZU HOMERS ILIADE | Nach dem englischen Originale gezeichnet und gestochen | von | SCHNORR. | LEIPZIG | BEI G. J. GÖSCHEN 1804. | Nachricht. | Die 34 Blätter werden in den darüber angegebenen Gesang der Ilias so gebun- | den, dass das Bild dem dort angezeigten Vers gegenüber zu stehen komme.

There are 34 numbered plates 11.4 to 15.2 cm wide by 7.9 high. At the top of the plates is some variant of "Ilias, G. XXIV. v. 15", and at the foot are various forms of "Ludov. Schnorr v K. del." and "V. H. Schnorr v K. aquafort. fec[it]", though "Julius S. incidit" is on plate 31. The reduction in size naturally has harmed the effect. This edition is clearly a companion to the 1807 *Odyssey* (no *5*).

Copy:
a Chicago.

5 1804. Homeri | Ilias. | Ex veterum criticorum notationibus | optimorumque exemplarium fide | novis curis recensita. | [*Pasted on are two printed lines:*] Ex recensione | Frid. Aug. Wolfii. | [*2 vols.*] Pars. I [II]. | Lipsiae, Apud Bibliopolam G. I. Göschen. 1804.

Text of Homer in Greek, with 34 Flaxman plates inscribed as above in no *4*. I found no overt acknowledgement of Flaxman's authorship of these designs, though they are certainly his.

Copy:
a Huntington Library.

6 1805. THE | ILIAD OF HOMER | ENGRAVED FROM THE COMPOSITIONS | OF IOHN FLAXMAN R· A· SCVLPTOR, | LONDON. | [*Head of Homer with an eagle.*] | London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, Paternoster Row, R. H. Evans, Pall Mall, W. Miller, Albemarle Street, & I & A. Arch, Cornhill, March 1. 1805.

Titlepage plus 39 plates, the thirty-four old (1795) ones newly inscribed with Piroli's name and five new designs engraved by James Parker (two) and William Blake (three). The label is made from the first five lines of the titlepage. The plates are properly renumbered in the new order. Titlepage platemark: 25.5 × 18.5 cm (framing line: 24.6 × 16.8).

Copies:
a British Museum.
b Chicago Art Institute.
c Columbia.
d Edinburgh University.
e GEB. *Watermark:* none.
f GEB. *Watermark:* none.
g Harvard. *Watermark:* none.
h Huntington Library.
i Illinois.
j John Rylands Library.
k Library of Congress.
l Michigan.
m New York Public Library. *Watermark:* none.
n New York Public Library. *Watermark:* none.
o New York Public Library. *Watermark:* none.
p Princeton.
q Yale.
r Bodley. *Watermark:* none.
s Cambridge. *Watermark:* none.

For notes on this issue, see the 1805 *Odyssey* no *4*.

Longman Impression Books No 3 (ff 21, 160) and 4 (f 52) give the following information:

	Flaxman's Iliad April etc. 1805	
	Engraving 5 New Plates [*at £5.5.0 apiece*][25]	26/ 5/–
	Writing Engraver	19/12/6
	5 New Drawings [*at £3.3.0 apiece*]	15/15/–
	Printing 280 sets 40 plates [*by Gordon at 6s. per hundred*]	33/12/–
	Labels	–/10/–
	Paper 11 Rms [*Medium Plate at*] 88/–@ [26]	48/ 8/–
	Binding	30/ 5/–
		174/17/6
	(35 plates Cost £120) [27]	
1806	100 sets 4 Rms [*at £4.5.0 per ream*]	17/ 0/0
June	Working [28]	12/ 3/6
	Binding	10/16/–
		39/19/–
	----------	
	5 New plates	
	Printing 50 Setts [*of five each*]	–/15/–
	Paper ¼ Rm	1/ 2/–
	doing up	[*erased*] [29]
	Advertising	27/ 0/0
	D° farther 23.16.7½ [30]	
1808		
Nov^r	Flaxmans Iliad	
	Working 50 Setts [*printed by*] Cox & Barnett & Cover [*i e, label*] 2/6	6/ 2/6
	Flaxmans Iliad June 1808	
	Working 50 Setts	6/ 0/0
	———— Titles	–/ 3/–
Nov.	09 Working 50 & Titles	6/ 3/–
	Paper [*for June and November printings*]	20/ 7/3 [31]
	Sewing [*perhaps included under paper*]	
		£384.19.9

[25] This evidently included the cost of the copper, for there is no separate entry for the copperplates themselves; compare the Hesiod accounts below.

[26] At 1,000 pulls to the ream, 100 sheets more than eleven reams would have been needed to print 280 copies of 40 plates.

Only the extra plates from the *Iliad* needed to be printed separately to complete sets of the previous edition, for the *Odyssey* had never been printed in England.

There were further printings of fifty sets of the full *Iliad* in January 1810, January 19th 1813, March 25th 1815, July 22nd 1822, and January 1829.[31a] From 1805 to 1829 some 780 full sets were printed, along with fifty sets of the five new plates. In 1832 the plates were sold to William Sotheby, and by 1841 they had become the property of H. G. Bohn — see the 1805 *Odyssey*.

7 1809. *L'Iliade d'Homère*, traduite du grec. Deuxième édition revue et corrigée. Paris, Bossange, Masson et Besson, 1809.

Text of Homer translated into French by Charles Francois Lebrun, duc de Plaisance. I have not seen this edition (which is described in its unillustrated state above from the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale), but according to Jaq.-Ch. Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire et de l'Amateur de Livres*, Second Édition (Paris 1814) "On a tiré 25 exempl. de cette édition de format *in*-fol. à 2 col. sur pap. vél. avec un titre impr. en or. Ces exempl. qui n'ont pas été mis dans le commerce, sont ornés de 34 grav. d'apres Flaxman, et des bustes d'Homère et d'Achille. Il y a aussi deux exempl. sur vélin." I presume that Flaxman's designs are printed from the 1803 French plates (no 3).

8 1817? See *Odyssey* no 6.

9 1818? ILIADE D'HOMERE | GRAVÉE PAR THOMAS PIROLI | D'APRES LES DESSEINS | COMPOSÉS PAR IEAN FLAXMAN SCULPTEUR | A ROME. [*No imprint.*]

Titlepage plus 34 plates. Titles in French and reference to the Greek below. Titlepage platemark: 28.4 × 18.3 cm (framing line: 23.8 × 17.1).

[31a] These printings are summarized from Copy Register Vols II, III, and IV; and Impression Book V, ff 55, 184.

---

[27] According to Volume I of the Copy Register, Longman bought "Flaxmans Homer's Iliad Whole [*copyright*] with Plates [*from*] Mr Hare Naylor March 12 [*1*]803 [*for £*]120".

[28] The cost of Working includes 4,000 pulls (100 pulls each of 40 plates) at 6s per hundred, plus 3s 6d for 100 labels. An enigmatic expence incurred in this printing though only registered elsewhere (Miscellaneous Publication Expenses, f 158; Commission and Divide Ledger, f 190) was £7.7.0 paid on May 24th 1806 "To Mr Tomkins for 2 Plates" to the "*Small*" *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

[29] Presumably there was no "doing up" because the five new plates were issued loose to be inserted in sets which lacked them.

[30] This further advertising is evidently for both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, since they were normally (invariably so far as my evidence shows) advertised together.

[31] This is slightly (7s 6d) over the cost of four reams at £5 each, which would have been needed for printing 100 sets of 40 plates each in June 1808 and November 1809. Conceivably the 7s 6d was for sewing the 100 sets (no total is entered for sewing). Apparently the issues of 1808 and 1809 were not bound, but were sold simply loosely stitched, for the customer to bind himself.

Copies:

a Library of Congress. *Watermark:* P M. Bound with the P M *Odyssée.*

b Vatican. *Watermarks:* P M; VAN DER LEY; on plate 10 are initials that look like V I M O B. Bound with the *Odyssée* (P M, VAN DER LEY) and Aeschylus (P M).

c New York Public Library. *Watermark:* P M.

d New York Public Library. *Watermark:* D & C BLAUW (plate 14 is V D L, i e, VAN DER LEY). Bound with the BLAUW *Odyssée* and Aeschylus.

e Col Moss. *Watermark:* P M.

f Col Moss. *Watermark:* VAN DER LEY (flyleaf watermarked J WHATMAN 1801). Bound with the VAN DER LEY *Odyssée.*

g Ruthven Todd. *Watermark:* G A M. With the five extra plates of 1805. Bound with the P M F *Odyssée* and the P M F Hesiode.

h Bodley. *Watermark:* fleur de lis. Bound with the G A M *Odyssée* and with "Benjamin Gibson | Rome" on the first fly leaf.

For evidence about the date and nature of this edition see *Odyssée* no 7.

10 1830? See *Odyssey* no 9.

11 1835? See *Odyssey* no *11.*

12 1870. See *Odyssey* no *12.*

13 1870. COMPOSITIONS FROM | THE ILIAD OF HOMER, | DESIGNED BY | JOHN FLAXMAN, R.A., SCULPTOR. | ENGRAVED AT ROME BY THOMAS PIROLI. | [*Bell emblem.*] | LONDON: | BELL AND DALDY, YORK STREET, | COVENT GARDEN. | 1870.

This is simply a reissue of the plates from the composite edition above in which the 1805 plates were used.

Copies:

a Victoria and Albert. *Watermark:* none.

b Victoria and Albert. *Watermark:* none.

Drawings

The finished drawings for the *Iliad* are in University College, London, and other drawings are in the British Museum Print Room (26), in the Royal Academy, in Harvard (1), in Fogg Art Museum (3), and in the collection of Mr F. H. Sommer of the Winterthur Museum.

(To be continued)

Did Congreve Write *A Satyr Against Love*?

By JOHN BARNARD
Yale University

A SATYR Against Love was entered in the Term Catalogues for Michaelmas 1703 described as "Revised and Corrected by Mr. Congreve. Price 6d." [1] In 1923 Dragosh Protopopesco discovered and published a manuscript copy of the first forty-seven lines of the poem.[2] This copy, which occurs in a notebook in the Sloane collection of the British Museum (Sloane MS 3996 ff 46–46^{v}), is superscribed as "b. Congreve." Relying on this, and upon the style of these forty-seven lines, Protopopesco concluded, ". . . there can be no doubt about the poem being Congreve's. The verse is his and bears on a favourite theme of the poet; in reading it one comes across couplets one would think picked out of his Epistles or Prologues." [3]

The ascription to Congreve was enthusiastically endorsed by Sir Edmund Gosse, who wrote a congratulatory letter to Protopopesco, from which the latter quoted (along with other letters) in 1925.[4] In 1928 Bonamy Dobrée printed the known part of *A Satyr Against Love* as Congreve's, though he noted with some reserve that the poem ". . . is not certainly Congreve's, but the ascription to him had the support of Sir Edmund Gosse." [5] D. Crane Taylor reconsidered the problem in 1931 and seemed inclined to doubt Protopopesco's arguments. Taylor referred rather slightingly to Protopopesco, attacked his reasoning and re-examined the manuscript. Nevertheless, he too reprinted the fragment and concluded lamely (or sarcastically?), "The unknown writer [of the manuscript] would have been amazed to find

1 *The Term Catalogues, 1668–1709* . . . . ed Edward Arber (1903–1909) III 371. The poem had in fact been published six months earlier (see p 310 below): the entry was presumably made from the title page of the satire.

2 *A Sheaf of Poetical Scraps* . . . . (Bucharest 1923). I have been unable to consult a copy of this, the first edition. However, Protopopesco made his findings more generally available by publishing the text in the *TLS*, 8 Nov 1923; see also *The Observer*, 11 Nov 1923. A second and enlarged edition of *A Sheaf of Poetical Scraps* was published in Bucharest in 1925. Hereafter I refer to this alone (since it contains all the relevant information and arguments for ascription) as "Protopopesco."

3 Protopopesco 21.

4 Ibid 6ff.

5 *The Mourning Bride, Poems, & Miscellanies* ed B. Dobrée (World's Classics 1928) p xxv. The fragment is printed (slightly more accurately than by Protopopesco) on p 378.

that his little note-book had caught such large game." [6] There the matter has rested, though the appearance of the lines in Dobrée's edition has given the impression that the poem is undoubtedly by Congreve.[7]

In fact the full version of *A Satyr Against Love* runs three hundred and seven lines beyond the forty-seven previously printed. At least two copies of the printed text advertised in the Term Catalogues are extant so that it is now possible to make the full text of the poem available. Before giving the verses in their entirety, however, it is necessary to reconsider the question of authorship, though few new facts are available.

The main difficulty in ascribing *A Satyr Against Love* to Congreve is that the poet explicitly denied having had anything to do with it in *The Tears of Amaryllis for Amyntas. A Pastoral* (1703), published in the same year as *A Satyr Against Love*. Both Protopopesco and Taylor note this fact, though Protopopesco offered no evidence beyond that of the manuscript to counteract Congreve's denial.

The rejection by Congreve of even part-authorship of *A Satyr Against Love* is linked with the publication history of *The Tears of Amaryllis*. Written as a pastoral elegy on the Duke of Marlborough's only son the Marquess of Blandford, whose death Luttrell reported on 23 February 1702/3,[8] the poem was probably composed in the early spring of 1703. Never intended for publication, it was "Inscrib'd to the Right Honourable the Lord *GODOLPHIN*," apparently as an elegy on behalf of Godolphin, a close friend of Marlborough, whose family was connected to the Godolphins both by interest and by recent marriage. (Congreve's own connection with the two dynasties was to continue for the rest of his life through his *liaison* with Marlborough's daughter Henrietta, the wife of Godolphin's son Francis.)

Later in 1703, however, Congreve's lamentation, meant only for manuscript circulation within the families (and their acquaintances?), was in danger of an unauthorized publication. Writing to Tonson on 1 July 1703, Congreve said that Tonson's nephew had ". . . told me of Copies that were dispersed of the Pastoral & likely to be printed so we have thought fit to prevent 'em & print it our selves." [9] A further event must have hastened the decision. According to Narcissus Luttrell's copy, *A Satyr Against Love* had

[6] D. Crane Taylor, *William Congreve* (1931) 176–179.

[7] See for example Norman Holland, *The First Modern Comedies, The Significance of Etherege, Wycherley, and Congreve* (Cambridge Mass 1959) 130, where the poem is quoted with no indication of the question of authorship.

[8] *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs* (1857) v 271.

[9] Quoted from the original by John C. Hodges, *William Congreve the Man* (New York 1941) 96–97. D. Crane Taylor (176) also cited this passage, his source being Sir Edmund Gosse's *Life*.

been published five days earlier on 26 June 1703.[10] On 2 July, six days after the publication of *A Satyr Against Love* and one day after Congreve's letter to Tonson, *The Tears of Amaryllis* appeared (the precise date of publication is again Luttrell's).[11] In the notice "To the READER" Congreve explained his reasons for printing the elegy and at the same time denied any part in *A Satyr Against Love:*

> *THESE Verses had been Printed soon after they were written, if they had not been design'd rather privately to Condole, than publickly to Lament; for it is not pretended that they are in any kind equal to the Subject. But, by some Accident, many copies of 'em have been dispersed, and one, I was informed, had been shewn to a Bookseller. So that it was high time for me to prevent their appearing with more Faults than their own, which might probably have met with Encrease, if not from the Malice or Ignorance at least from the Carelessness of an under-hand Publisher.*
>
> *I have particularly Reason at this time to apprehend the disingenuous Proceedings of some such Person, having lately seen some Verses Printed, and Intitled* A Satyr Against Love, Revised and Corrected by Mr. *Congreve; who does assure the Reader that he never saw or heard of any such Verses before they were so Printed,* viz. *without either the Name of the Author, Bookseller or Printer, being Publish'd after the Manner of a Libel.*[12]

The circumstantial evidence presents a clear case against Congreve's authorship of *A Satyr Against Love*. Within six days Congreve denied any part in the satire, and indeed, it seems probable that the appearance of *A Satyr Against Love* may have been one of the immediate causes of the publication of *The Tears of Amaryllis.*

The printed version of *A Satyr against Love*, which lacked a printer's name, was published as Congreve noted ". . . after the Manner of a Libel." I suspect that Congreve meant this statement literally, and if so it may explain why the satire should have been connected with his name rather than that of another writer. Of course, the *"Revis'd and Corrected"* inscription may have been no more than an attempt to create interest in a mediocre poem by attaching it to the name of a prominent writer. On the other hand,

[10] Luttrell's copy is in the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library. He wrote the price "6.d" in the top left corner of the title page and "26. June." immediately below the year of publication. For proof that Luttrell's dates refer to the day of publication and not the date of purchase, see James M. Osborn, "Reflections on Narcissus Luttrell" *The Book Collector* VI (1957) 21–23.

[11] Luttrell's copy of *The Tears of Amaryllis* is also in the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library.

[12] *The Tears of Amaryllis for Amyntas. A Pastoral. Lamenting the Death of the Late Lord Marquis of Blanford. Inscrib'd to the Right Honourable the Lord Godolphin, Lord High-Treasurer of England* (1703) Sig A2.

according to John C. Hodges, Congreve almost certainly lost his place in the affections of Anne Bracegirdle, the actress, sometime before early 1703. For ten years Congreve's relationship with the actress had been an integral part of his life. However, gossip had it that Congreve's cousin, Robert Leke, third Earl of Scarsdale, had fallen in love with Anne Bracegirdle. His will bears this out, since it demonstrates that Leke had reason to look after the welfare of the actress by 1703. The will, discovered by Hodges and dated 9 January 1702/3, directed that one thousand pounds should be given to Mrs Bracegirdle, and, to make sure that the actress's rights were not ignored by an exasperated family, Leke charged that this should ". . . be the first Money paid." [13] In addition, Congreve's early draft of "Pious Selinda," printed by Hodges, may as he claims indicate how much the poet was affected by Anne Bracegirdle's inconstancy.[14]

If Hodges is right, the rupture in Congreve's long relationship with the actress cannot have gone unnoticed by the "Town." Anne Bracegirdle's connection with Congreve was well-known, and public curiosity, though it had to be contented with ignorance, speculated endlessly and sometimes viciously on the question of the actress's much vaunted chastity.[15] The motto of the poem — *Invicta gerit tela Cupido* — must have added an extra barb to the ascription of *A Satyr Against Love* to Congreve.

Certainly Congreve, always sensitive to the public gaze, would have felt the irony and impropriety of being charged with the authorship of a poem which throughout attacks the perfidy of woman. Always tender of his reputation, Congreve had earlier defended himself against charges that *The Double Dealer* had offended the ladies — ". . . I declare I would rather disoblige all the Criticks in the World than one of the Fair Sex." [16] Another indication of Congreve's habitual gallantry towards women can be found in the manuscript parody of Parliamentary procedure, "Votes [at the Dunch Club]," dated "Mar. 1701/2," recorded in an early commonplace book:

> The Complaint of Edward Dunch Esq Member of this house shewing that the Lady Eliz Cromwell had by Litigious words affronted his person and endeavoured by severall scandalous invectives to dest[roy] his unblemisht reputation with the Ladies.
>
> Ordered that the said Lady be brought to the Bar of the house, and she was according[ly] brought, where she owned her offence and on her

13 John C. Hodges, *William Congreve the Man* (New York 1941) 87.

14 Hodges 87–88.

15 See for example *A Comparison between the Two Stages* (1702) ed S. B. Wells (Princeton 1942) 12, 22, 106, and 125–126 n.

16 *Complete Works of William Congreve* ed M. Summers (1923) II 11.

knees received a repremand from Mr Speak[er] but at the request of Mr Congreve was discharg[ed] without paying her fees.[17]

Congreve's discretion in his relations with women was unimpeachable, so much so indeed that it took more than two hundred years to discover that Henrietta Godolphin had borne him a child during their long *liaison*.[18] The values adumbrated in the person of Mirabell were those which guided the author's own life.

It is, I think, clear why Congreve, if he were not the author or part-author of *A Satyr Against Love*, would have been annoyed to find the verses foisted upon him on 26 June 1703. Equally evident is the reason why Congreve should have suspected a libel in the partial ascription to him of a poem attacking the "Fair Sex" in a *libertin* manner, charging that all women were false. Even more irritating for Congreve would be the general assumption that the poet, irritated by the recent loss of Anne Bracegirdle's affections, had taken such an ungallant revenge.

Nor is there any firm internal evidence which might justify the ascription to Congreve. Certainly, as Protopopesco said, the poem offers little "opportunity for tasting Heaven's dew." [19] But despite Protopopesco's conviction, it is not easy to think the verse resembles the work of Congreve nor does one come across "couplets one would think picked out of [Congreve's] Epistles or Prologues." [20] The theme might be claimed to be Congrevian, but then so might it belong to several other Restoration poets or dramatists. The treatment of the theme, however, is not what I would expect of Congreve at this period. The expression of *libertin* attitudes tends to be limited by Congreve to the rakes in his comedies, which more and more came to modify and criticize the rake values of earlier comedy, and to his lyrics. In the latter an antithetical balance is always maintained:

> I take her Body, you her Mind,
> Who has the better bargain? [21]

If the writer of *A Satyr Against Love* was intelligent and educated, much more notable is the lack of Congreve's grace and antithetical precision. Nor

[17] B.M. Add MS 40060 ff 8–8v. Internal evidence indicates that the "Votes" were those of the "Punch Club" (not mentioned by Robert J. Allen in *The Clubs of Augustan London*, Cambridge Mass 1933). The B.M. Catalogue of manuscripts describes the passage as a "Satirical skit in prose": the tone of witty banter points to a connection of some sort with the Knights of the Toast and the Kit Kat Club (see W. J. Cameron, "John Dryden and Henry Heveningham" *N & Q* CCII [1957] 200–202; "The Oath of the Tost," a brief poem by Congreve found in the MS, is also printed there for the first time).

[18] Hodges 117–120. [19] Protopopesco 21. [20] Ibid.

[21] "Song," *The Mourning Bride, Poems, & Miscellanies* ed Dobrée (World's Classics 1928) 243.

does the imbalance apparent in the satire on woman (for *A Satyr Against Love* is that rather than a call to freedom) consort with the sober reconsideration of Restoration *mores* worked out in *The Way of the World*:

> *From hence let those be warn'd, who mean to wed;*
> *Lest mutual Falshood stain the Bridal-Bed:*
> *For each Deceiver to his Cost may find,*
> *That Marriage Frauds too oft are paid in kind.*[22]

Further, the clumsiness of many of the lines, particularly their unsyntactical elisions, does not suggest that *A Satyr Against Love* is even an early draft of a writer as carefully "correct" as Congreve. The very few distant echoes of *The Old Batchelor* (noted in the annotations) are not parallels pointing to Congreve's authorship, but suggest instead that the writer was rather obviously attempting to give his poem a Congrevian flavour. That is, the echoes indicate the probable correctness of Congreve's implied charge that *A Satyr Against Love* was in part intended as a "Libel." [23]

Although the circumstantial and internal evidence seems conclusive in denying Congreve the authorship of *A Satyr Against Love*, the positive attribution of the piece to him in Sloane MS 3996 does pose a problem. The forty-seven lines occur in a quarto note-book made up of one kind of paper. The rather old-fashioned handwriting is probably that of one man throughout the volume, though it is not uniform. It is just possible that two copyists were involved. The hand, however, is certainly not Congreve's. In the main the volume consists of notes of medical interest and would seem to have belonged to a medical friend of Sloane, for on f 45 is the heading "Praescription: a D.re Sloan utend. in Casu. Lunatic." [24] Apart from a fragment of a poem against love or women pasted onto f 1 (which I am unable to identify) the volume contains no poetry beyond the fragment of *A Satyr Against Love*. This occurs on ff 46–46v. The ascription to Congreve is written as "b. Congreve" but does not seem to be, as D. Crane Taylor thought, in a different

22 *Complete Works of William Congreve* ed M. Summers (1923) III 77.

23 It should be noted that *A Satyr Against Love* may be connected with the republication early in 1703 of two satires by Robert Gould. The Term Catalogues (op. cit. III 348) note "A Satyr against Women; and against Wo[o]ing" in Easter (i.e., *Love given over: or, a Satyr Against . . . Woman*, 1686, and "A Satyr against Wooing," first printed in Gould's *Poems*, 1689). There is no similarity between these poems and *A Satyr Against Love* beyond their genre. The poem is clearly not by Gould. On Gould's satires see E. H. Sloane, *Robert Gould Seventeenth Century Satirist* (Philadelphia 1940) 92–98, 121–125.

24 I am indebted to Martin Dodsworth of Birkbeck College, London, for the information above since I have not been able to see the whole of the manuscript myself. The contents of the manuscript are as follows: f 1, blank; f 1v, blank with fragment of an unidentified poem pasted on; ff 2–43v, copy of an unidentified physiological text in Latin; 4 blank leaves; f 44, "Notes from dr. C Vauguion's Chyrurgicall Operations ——— &c."; 5 blank leaves; f 45, receipts headed "Remedia Idonea utendis in Stomachico depravato"; 1 blank leaf; f 46, "A Satyr against Love"; 1 blank leaf; f 47, "How to make Bird Lime"; several blank leaves.

hand from the body of the text.[25] However, it might have been added at another time. It is perhaps significant that the copyist broke off after forty-seven lines, even though he knew that there were more to come, for line 47 ends with a comma and a lone "B" stands at the beginning of the next line.

Whatever the reason for the copyist's stopping here, the version he was transcribing from was independent of the printed text judging by the one substantive variant in line 26: where the 1703 printed version reads "a Man" the manuscript has "one's selfe."[26] However, it is not clear whether the copyist took the ascription from his source or whether he wrote it in after the satire was printed. Indeed it may be that the appearance of the poem in print obviated the need to transcribe the poem.

Of course, if the manuscript's ascription of *A Satyr Against Love* is accepted, much of the biographical argument against Congreve's authorship outlined above could simply be reversed. It would then be possible to say that the satire was an expression of feelings experienced by Congreve when Anne Bracegirdle rejected him, and that the personal nature of the lines gave him every reason to reject them publicly. But such a position would necessitate forcing what little evidence there is. In a case like this, where the authority and date of a single manuscript ascription are unknown, little confidence can be placed on its evidence. When the positive external evidence contradicts such an ascription it must be assumed that the external evidence is probably correct. Consequently, *A Satyr Against Love* ought to be relegated to poems ascribed to Congreve on doubtful authority.

Since *A Satyr Against Love* falls among poems ascribed to Congreve, it is reproduced below from Narcissus Luttrell's copy in the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library. The only other copy known is that in the University Library at Texas, though there may well be others elsewhere.[27] The title page of the poem reads: [within double rules] A | SATYR | AGAINST | LOVE. || *Revis'd and Corrected* | *By Mr.* CONGREVE. || *Invicta gerit tela Cupido.* Sen. Trag. || *London:* | Printed in the Year, 1703. | Its collation is as follows: fol.: A^1-A^2 B^2-D^2; 8 leaves, pp 1–11, 8–9 [=13] (pp in centered brackets). Contents: A^1: title (verso blank). A2: HT with text. D2: end of text and *FINIS*. The variant readings (excluding abbreviations, capitalization and spelling) in B.M. Sloane MS 3996, ff 46–46^v, are given at the foot of the page.[27a]

25 *William Congreve* (1931) 177.

26 For a full collation see the text of the 1703 printed version given below.

27 For locating these copies I owe my thanks to Mr David Foxon of the British Museum: his invaluable manuscript finding list and index of broadsides and rare pamphlets between 1700 and 1740 covers all major British and American libraries.

27a Apart from Luttrell's marks, the Clark and Texas copies of *A Satyr Against Love* are identical.

A SATYR AGAINST LOVE.[28]

AFTER the Rebel *Lucifer* was driv'n, [p. 1]
With his Apostate Angels down from Heav'n,
The Great *Jehovah* with unbounded Might,
Out of a Chaos rude, and void of Light,
This stately Fabrick to Compose began, 5
And then to form that God-like Creature *MAN:*
Free from all Vice in Paradice he lay,
Till *Eve's* Temptation forc'd him to obey,
And for an Apple give that Heav'n away.
No faint Perswasions cou'd the Curse remove, 10
And sure the Devil that Tempted her was *LOVE.*
How well her Daughters have pursued her Crimes,
Witness the Antient, and our modern Times;
No beaten Tract they of her Foot-steps leave,
Alike they Ruin, and alike Deceive. 15
With *Eve* they are Consenting to the Cheat, [p. 2]
Impose on *Man,* and smile at the Deceit;
So our first Parent was of Heav'n bereft,
And *Love* the only Comfort he had left.

Sure Nature first in anger did intend, 20
A Plague, nay, ev'n the worst of Plagues to send,
'Mongst the destructive Race of Humane Kind,
When *LOVE* she Constituted in the Mind;
A peevish Passion that disturbs the Soul,
And makes a Man a Mad-man, or a Fool, 25
The best (at most) but on Success depends,
And where the Pleasure shou'd begin, it ends.
The Child of Fancy by Desire nurss'd,
Cherish'd by Hopes, and by Enjoyment curss'd,
Whose chiefest Bliss is an uncertain Joy, 30
Where that which shou'd preserve it, does destroy.

Then, why is *MAN* its wretched Captive made?
And by such fading worthless Joys betray'd?
Driv'n like a Wreck by its impetuous Tide,
Lost to himself, and all the World beside: 35
No sooner has he left his Infant Plays,
The harmless Pastime of his happier days,

1 driv'n] driven 6 God-like] Godlike 7 in] *written over* and 13 Antient,] Antient 15 Ruin,] Ruin 21 Plague] Pla(g)uge 25 a . . . Fool,] one's selfe a madman, or a Fool; 29 Enjoyment curs'd,] Enjoyments curs'd; 31 Where] When 32 Then,] Then made?] made, 33 betray'd] *preceded by* by (*deleted*) 35 himself,] himself beside:] beside, 36 Plays] Plyes 37 days,] days.

[28] For Luttrell's title page annotations see note 10 above. In giving the text of the poem I am grateful for the help and assistance of the librarian and staff of the William Clark Memorial Library.

But past a Child is still in Judgment so,
And studies first what he is not to know:
On some vain Girl he casts his wanton Eyes, 40
And only fears she'll disapprove his Choice;
Doubting Success he dares not Speak but Write,
To shew her that way too, his want of Wit;
The Nimph in Answer having Lov'd before, [p. 3]
(A reckon'd Virgin, but a real Whore,) 45
Advises him to give his Passion o're;
Yet says, in pity of his Pain she'll Write,
But 'tis, indeed, that she mayn't lose him quite;
Thus by false Arts she draws the Youngster in,
And still holds out the Fort she fain wou'd have him win; 50
Till Conversati[o]n does the Flame improve,
And *Marriage*, or *Enjoyment*, ends his Love:
Or else some lewder Harlot is Carrest,
And plays the Tyrant in his am'rous Breast,
The charming Syren touches e'ry string, 55
To keep his busy Fancy on the Wing,
Till by her Wiles she binds her Captive fast,
Sooths him at first, and Bubbles him at last;
So the young Prodigal impatient grown,
To manage his entire Estate alone, 60
Takes from his prudent Father's frugal care,
His Stock by that improv'd and thriven there,
But his own Steward made with eager hast,
He does the slow-gain'd Patrimony wast;
Till starv'd by Riot, and with Want opprest, 65
He feeds with Swine, himself the greater Beast:
Thus *Man* in his Destruction does rejoice,
Pleas'd with his Ruin since it was his Choice,
Destroy'd by what his Inclination sought,
As Birds by their frequented Lime-twigs caught. 70

Nor does the growing Frenzy here give o're,
But from one Ill runs head-long into more,
The frantic Passion plays the Tyrant's part, [p. 4]
And Love's o're-spreading Cancer knaws the Heart,
Here even the Will's a Slave to Passion made, 75
Virtue's debas'd, and Liberty betray'd;
No Ills are shun'd that Love invites us to,
And what is Good forbids the Will to do,
Till *Man* is by its Mistic power confin'd,
And to all Dangers, but the *Pleasure*, blind: 80

Then happy he, happy alike, and wise,
That makes a timely Cov'nant with his Eyes,

39 first] first, know:] know; 41 fears] fears, Choice;] Choice. 48 But . . . .] B (*the manuscript ends here*)

That no false Pleasures can delude his Sence,
But spends his Life in kind Indifference,
To his Content I wou'd ev'n Crowns prefer, 85
All Nature's Blessings are dilated there,
No real Happiness in Love can be,
For where's the Blessing without Liberty?
Freedom alone has pow'r to ease the Mind,
The Body's tortur'd when the Soul's confin'd: 90
A dread of Heav'n was by the Antients taught,
As the first imprest on Man's infant Thought,
And he who understood it best has said,
'Tis the prime step that do's to Wisdom lead:

Sure then the Man avoiding Love's discreet, 95
For soon that Folly makes him Heav'n forget,
Within it's Circle of strange Magic bound,
Man do's the brighter Worship still confound,
The fair Inchantress takes up all his Pray'r,
And all his Heaven is express'd in her; 100
Nor can the Lustful Flame be dispossest, [p. 5]
Till Love the Nobler Passions has supprest;
Th' envenom'd Blood with vi'lent Fury burns,
And to a thousand diff'rent Tortures turns,
The Tyrant Lust now thro' his Body reigns, 105
And now Intemp'rance burns his glutted Veins,
While in pursuit of a dissembled Joy,
Man do's his real Happiness destroy:
Is from his forfeit *Eden* justly driv'n,
The Curse of Earth, and the Contempt of Heaven. 110

This strange infectious Poison o' the Mind,
Has spread it's Venom o're all Humane kind,
And tho' each Age wou'd it's own Merit prove,
Childhood is still most prevalent in Love,
More ruin'd Souls in it's rough Seas are lost 115
Than Shipwreck'd Vessels on the *Indian* Coast.

A watchful Parent knows his Child may be
Quickly deceiv'd by any Fallacy,
Which to prevent he uses all his Care,
And bids her of immodest Love beware; 120
In her young days she thinks his Councils good,
Till active Vigour warms her Virgin Blood,
Than fir'd with Love, her chaster Thoughts are vain,
Her whole Desire's raveing after Man,
Often she wishes, and as often crys 125
Why am I kept from those expected Joys?
Must I my Days consume in Lonesome Grief?
Will no kind Lover timely bring Relief?

87–90 Luttrell drew a marginal brace against these lines.

But stay she says? —— [p. 6]
Where shall I first my blooming Love impart? 130
Where yield the Virgin Fortress of my Heart?
Damon *and* Thyrsis *wou'd my Lovers be,*
But Charming Celadon's *the Man for me;*
Him, for his Person, I cou'd well approve,
The Noblest Object of my Infant Love, 135
I know not what (when him I see) I feel,
But strange Disorder do's pursue me still,
A thrilling Motion does my Breast invade,
And burning Blushes o're my Cheeks are spread,
My Heart retorts the Passion of my Eyes, 140
And Dances to the Musick of his Voice;
At ev'ry touch of his I ravish'd grow,
But if he does presume to kiss me too
I am I know not what, I know not how:
Thus she complains, longing to be undone: 145
Till Love has Seal'd the Ruin it begun.

All other Pleasures now insipid tast;
Only Enjoyment can make up the Feast,
By artful Cunning she the Youth does win,
And by alluring Smiles she draws him to the Sin: 150
The Lover soon regards the am'rous Sign,
And does in transports his Address begin,
Fans his warm Sighs into her wanton Breast,
Bids her Consent, and be for ever blest,
Vows Constancy, and trembling speaks the rest; 155
Till by repeated Extasies she's won,
Resigns to Love, and is at once undone,
Whose Tyrant God that held the Fort but now, [p. 7]
Renders it up to the insulting Foe.

Thus even Virtue is by Love betray'd, 160
And blind Obedience is its Captive made,
The Virgin-treasure watch'd so long in Vain,
By careful Parents is surrender'd then;
The fancied Trifle in unchast Desire,
Was kept with pain, and does with pain expire: 165
And now as tho' her Ruin was design'd,
She like the God of Love himself proves blind,
Sees not the Quick-sand that before her lies,
But does on distant Pleasures cast her Eyes,
For such the Curse of head-strong Love is found, 170
They hug the Dart that gives 'em the first Wound,
And what she only Long'd to tast before,
She grows insatiate now, and covets more;
All virtuous Actions to its Pow'r submit,
And Love immodest in her Bosom's writ, 175

Thro' her hot Veins the lustful Fit returns,
And a more fierce and warm Desire burns.

But when forsaken by the Stallion Youth,
She grows a very Fury then in truth,
A true forsaken Child of Love indeed, 180
Rage and Revenge her past Desires succeed;
Between two mighty Passions now she's torn;
Before, all Love; and, now, all over Scorn;
Wishes him blasted with her hated Breath,
Yet Vows again she'll follow him to Death, 185
Curse on the false perfidious Man, she cries, [p. 8]
That cou'd such Arts to cousen me devise:
Thus the lost Virgin does her Fate bemoan,
Now rack'd with the same Love she was undone.

Her Infant Precepts are, at *Twenty*, fled, 190
And now the Parent thinks her fit to Wed;
Some hopeful Youth of equal Worth is found,
And soon his Suit with glad Success is Crown'd;
The Marriage Articles are next Agreed,
And the Impostor-Virgin sooth'd to Bed; 195
The am'rous Bridegroom to the Wanton flies,
Who modestly his first Attempt denies;
Again he moves her, she denies again,
Cries, Lord, I never shall endure a Man;
But warmer grown he rushes on the Bride, 200
And panting now is but with Sighs deny'd,
She yields a little to dissemble more,
Knowing the Part she'd acted once before,
While he, good Man, so pleas'd with what he'as done,
Proclaims her Chastity to all the Town, 205
Thus Love in equal Curses deals its Pow'r,
He's gull'd by the same Fate that ruin'd her.

And now begins the Drudgery of Life,
Oh, the vast Comforts of a loving Wife!
In three Months time the Yoke uneasie grows, 210
And in three more you're weary of your Spouse:
Then when she's Breeding such a-do is kept,
She's e'en as peevish as an Ape new whipt;
She pukes and whines, does nothing but Complain, [p. 9]
And Vows she'l never know the like again, 215
But 'tis as Children promise to be Good,
Only remember'd while they feel the Rod.

And now the look'd-for time approaches nigh,
And you've a thousand several *Things* to buy;
Fine *Twilights, China,* and the Lord knows what! 220
To keep the Child (perhaps) you never got.
Thus amply Curs'd he grows discreetly dull,
And from a Man of Sense becomes a Fool.

Marriage still makes the Man the greater Slave,
And then destroys the Pleasures that it gave; 225
For *Love* and *Hymen* tho' they Brothers be,
Even *Cain* and *Abel* did as well agree;
The Frantick Passion with the Pleasure dies,
And Liberty is made the Sacrifice.

Curse on the Folly! for I'm angry grown, 230
To see so many wilfully Undone,
Who might, if wise, but with a little pains,
Struggle with Love, and drop its weighty Chains,
For he that tamely lets the Passion sieze,
Makes his own Bonds, and nurses the Disease: 235
Beauty, I own, has pow'r to charm the Mind,
But *Man* (like Love) shou'd be to Beauty blind,
He shou'd the Blessing ballance with the Price,
And not too fondly gaze with *Adam's* Eyes,
Nor for the pleasure of one short-liv'd Day, 240
Less than an *Apple*, give his Peace away.
Just like a beauteous Pile (does Man appear,) [p. 10]
That's sweetly scituate in a healthy Air,
Whose bless'd Inhabitants no Tumults find,
To rack the Quiet of a free-born Mind, 245
Till wand'ring Fancy has his Peace betray'd,
And he a fetter'd Slave to *Love* is made.
As when a Thief is near a Cottage seen,
And by the Ruler on't conducted in,
The Villain Binds and Robs him of his Store, 250
And leaves him his ill-tim'd Curtesy to deplore.
So *Man* by Humane Ignorance misled,
At once, by Love, is ruin'd and betray'd;
He shou'd an Entrance to that Foe deny,
And guard with prudence Native Liberty. 255

Love, not contented with his Bow alone,
Has more distructive Instruments than one,
The subtle Fair to catch her easy Prize,
Makes all her Charms as killing as her Eyes;
No help of Art, or Industry, she'll want, 260
No Beauty Washes, or improving Paint:
Her Toilet is with Nature's wants supply'd,
And ev'ry fading Grace is rectify'd;
An Air of Softness from her Looks arise,
And am'rous Glances wanton in her Eyes, 265
A jaunty Motion's practic'd in her Glass,
And Smiles are try'd which best will fit her Face,
Thus deck'd in all her Charms the Wanton flies,
To catch the first kind Coxcomb that she sees.

224–229 Luttrell drew a marginal brace against these lines.

So the fond Crowd are Caught by gay Attire, 270 [p. 11]
The only *Thing* indeed they shou'd admire.
Viewing the Sun they not the Danger see,
But blindly run into Captivity;
For where Love's Torments rack the Mind within,
No Rocks nor Quick-sands from without are seen, 275
Till on some dangerous Shelf the Youth is tost,
And in the Harbour of his Joys is lost:
Then fly (as from Infection) the Deceit,
A Bait for Boys, the Wiser know the Cheat.
And that the Oracle too true does prove, 280
That thus pronounc'd the ill Effects of Love:

Num'rous as Athos *Hares, or* Hyblas *Swarms,*
Or Olive-Berries on the loaded Tree,
Or as the Shells, or Sands, are Love's Allarms,
Abounding still with Fear and Misery. 285

For still this Fear all Lovers entertain,
Lest all their Love shou'd meet unjust Disdain.
Of happy Lovers no Record can boast,
Their Bliss was Counterfeit, or short at most;
Or if (at best) they unsuccessful prove, 290
They linger out a whining Age of Love;
The wand'ring Thoughts unsettled Motion shews,
Love, is a Tide that either Ebbs or Flows.

How peaceful is the Man? And how secure?
Whom Love and Beauty never cou'd allure? 295
No more it shall my cheated Fancy please,
Whose Pow'r can give but one short Minute's ease,
Ye awful Pow'rs that sway those Realms above, [p. [12]]
Who are transform'd to the sublimest Love,
How well I Lov'd ye know, yet Lov'd in vain? 300
Without just Cause, of her unjust Disdain?
Love's Little God shot his infernal Dart,
And left the Poison raging at my Heart;
From Part to Part insensibly he stole,
Till the sly Tyrant had subdu'd the Whole; 305
A sacred Flame my restless Soul possess'd,
And no less Heat reign'd in my am'rous Breast,
By gentle steps I made my Passion known,
And Love and Nature bid me still go on;
The Lovely Maid, my Ravisher of Peace, 310
Receiv'd that Love she slighted by degrees.

275–277 This couplet might be connected with Congreve's frequent use of images of travelling by water in *The Old Batchelour*. See Norman Holland, 147–148.
282–285 Ovid *Ars Amatoria* II 517–519 (translation unidentified).
286–295 Luttrell drew a marginal brace against these lines.

Too oft she did with Hypocritic Art,
In her dissembled Looks, bely her Heart,
Her faithless Love was practic'd with deceit,
And her false Smiles were all a varnish'd Cheat, 315
Yet I Lov'd on, and still her Truth believ'd,
Till she her Faith, and my lost Hopes, deceiv'd.
Then (tho' too late) my Error did appear,
For I no treachery imagin'd there,
Where so much Beauty, and such Softness dwelt, 320
Till I of Love the Gaul and Anguish felt;
Then was I wont when Care drove sleep away,
Pregnant with thought to watch the dawning Day,
Quitting my Bed, and ranging o're the Town,
I mov'd as Chance and Reason led me on; 325
Till weary grown, I found my self at last,
Beneath her Window like a Statue plac'd;
A while my Breast with fresh Remembrance burn'd, [p. [13]]
Till captiv'd Reason's interval return'd.
T'ward Heaven my Pray'rs, and some last Sighs were sent, 330
To call my wandring heart from Banishment;
But still I pray'd, still spent my Sighs in vain,
Each but return'd with an augmenting pain,
The Cause was mov'd but the Effects remain'd:
Till Time's improving hand had wrought the cure, 335
And happier Beauties made my Peace secure.
And since by fraud her falsity I knew,
To Love, and Her, I've bid a last adieu.
My Heart now got from its long Bondage free,
And reinthron'd to Native Liberty, 340
I rove about like Birds from distant Trees,
Chuse out my Mate, and sing but where I please.
So the glad Steed when from the Harness freed,
Runs Neighing on to wanton in the Mead;
For, O! 'tis pleasant to be Free to Chuse,
And whom we will accept, and whom refuse;
Freedom of Choice endures, Restraint but ill,
'Tis Usurpation of th' unbounded Will,
To be most Happy, is to be most Free,
Man's chiefest Blessing is his Liberty, 350
Go then and trust Love's tempting Seas that will,
I am resolv'd I'll be a Wand'rer still.
On even Terms I'll with each Fair agree,
But never trust her with my Liberty.

FINIS.

343–344 Cp *The Old Batchelour,* Summers I 224. See also line 178 above.
345–350 Luttrell drew a marginal brace against these lines.

A Win Jenkins' Lexicon

By W. Arthur Boggs
Portland State College

BECAUSE WIN JENKINS, Smollett's Welsh lady's maid in *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*,[1] misuses and misspells so many words, plus using a number of words no longer common or whose meanings have changed, a reader can be baffled by what she writes. The following lexicon is intended to explicate most if not all of her strange, unfamiliar, or eighteenth-century usages except her obvious malapropisms such as *musician* for *magician* — of which she has many — and her words whose definitions are substantially the same in *Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary* as they were in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Authorities are indicated by abbreviations explained in the bibliography. Words which seem to be Win's own special inventions in form, meaning, or both, are labeled *Winisms.*

Apias Korkus. Win's personification of *habeus corpus.*

arrow. "vulgar corruption of *e'er a, ever a,*" *OED.* Also a Winism for *anyone.*

ass of etida. a Winism for *asafoetida.*

banes. still a standard variant of *banns* in the 18th c., *Ba.*

boar. a cat, apparently a dialectal usage, *A-B, Ha, W,J, W,T.*

bolstered. apparently a Winism for padding a head of hair.

buckled. crisped and curled long hair, *Ba, Jo, K, OED.*

bumbeseens. a Winism for *bombasin* or *bombasine,* a cloth made of silk and cotton, *Ba, Jo, K, OED.* It may also be a Winism for a dress made of this material.

bum-taffy. a Winism for a dose of *Daffey's Elixir,* a laxative.

carrying-crow. a Winism for *carrion crow.*

changing. "to put one thing in the place of another," *K.* Often used with *chopping.*

checket. a Winism for *jacket,* apparently because the Welsh are supposed not to be able to pronounce *dʒ.* Since *tʃ* is a phoneme not found in Welsh, the *ch* here could represent χ, a sound found in all positions in Welsh.

cheese-toaster. a slang word for *sword, Gr.*

[1] All references are to the Everyman edition of 1943, the text of which is Charles Lee's collation of the second edition of 1771 with the third of 1783.

chined. a Winism for *joined.* See *checket* above. It may also contain an *aɪ* in place of *ɔɪ*, a substitution found in a number of 18th c. words, *bile* for *boil,* etc., *K.*

chopping. "to give one thing for another"; "a low word," according to *K.*

churned. a Winism for *journied.* See *checket.*

cow-itch. a standard variant of *cowage* or *cowhage,* "the stinging hairs of the pod of a tropical plant," *OED.*

crumlecks. Win's variant of *crumlick,* a Scotticism. A very small piece; a crumb. *W, J, W&G, G&M.*

cruperal oaf. A Winism for *corporeal oath.* See *oaf* below.

cunster. a Winism for *to know* in the sense of *to understand.*

cunty. A Winism for *county.*

easement. Win knows the word only as *privy,* but finds it used in Scotland for *apartment. Jo* indicates *easements* may be *lodgings,* and one of the definitions in *Ba* is "A Privy." *G&M* also indicates that *easement* as *privy* was known in Scotland.

ethnitch. a Winism constructed from *eath* and *knitch* to make an adjective meaning "that which is easily bound together."

fantigo. a Winism for *fantigue* or *fanteague,* "a state of anxiety or excitement," *OED.*

fecks. a variant form of *fegs* meaning *faith* as an exclamation. *OED.* By Win's time, almost undoubtedly a Scotticism.

fiff. a Winism for *whiff.* The substitution of *f* for *hw* is not characteristic of Welsh speech, but this exchange is found in certain areas of Scotland. *E* and *Mc.*

fillitch. a Winism for village. According to *M-J,* the Welsh *v* is quite soft.

fipping. a Winism for *slipping* for which no linguistic explanation has been found for the use of *f* for *sl.*

firchen. a Winism for *virgin.* See *fillitch* above. See *checket* above for the substitution of *ch* (*tʃ*, ?χ?) for g (*dʒ*).

flegm. a Winism for *flame.*

fought. a variant past participle for *fetched,* possibly the p. part. of *fet, OED.*

freezer. Win's phonetic spelling of friseur or frizeur, "a hairdresser," *OED,* in which her grapheme *ee* represents more or less accurately the sound in the original word written *i.* Her accent, however, is on the wrong syllable.

frog. "an upper coat, a seaman's coat, a frock," *Ja.* This usage is not recorded in the *OED* and apparently was not known in England.

gallow mankey. } Winisms for *calamanco,* a glossy Flemish
gallow monkey. } cloth, much used for various purposes in the eighteenth century. Under certain circumstances, initial *k* in Welsh mutates to *g*.

gaze. a Winism for *gauze*. Sixteenth century *gais,* a Scotch variant, may have been very close to Win's pronunciation.

geaks. a Winism for *jakes,* a privy. Here Win uses *g* for *dʒ*, a sound supposedly not found in Welsh. In *checket, churned,* she uses *ch* (*tʃ*, ʔχʔ) for *g* (*dʒ*).

ginketting. a Winism for *junketing*. See *geaks* above.

got's fey. a Winism for goat's whey. See *fiff* above.

gudgeon. a Winism for *dudgeon*. No linguistic explanation has been found for the substitution of *g* for *d*.

gumbustion. a Winism for *combustion,* "violent excitement or commotion, disorder, confusion, tumult, hubbub (exceedingly common in 17th and 18th c.)," *OED*. See *gallow mankey* for the mutation of *k* to *g*.

gurney. a Winism for *journey*. See *geaks* above.

gustas. a Winism for *justice*. See *geaks* above.

hassock of air. another example of Win's chaotic use of aspiration for *hassock of hair,* "A 'shock' of hair," *OED, Bo*. Very probably a Scotticism, *Ja*.

heys. a Winism for *gaze*. In Welsh, under certain circumstances initial *g* mutates to – (is lost) which would give a resultant *aze* (*ez*), a form which, since she often misuses aspiration, she might pronounce *heys* (*hez*).

hind. a standard 18th c. term for servant, *A-B, Ba, Br, K, Jo, W,T*.

horn of October. very probably a standard phrase in the 18th c., although the *OED* does not record this exact form. A *horn* is a drinking vessel or a draught, and *October* is the ale brewed in October, hence the best ale.

hottogon. a Winism for *octagan,* and another of her many misuses of aspiration. No linguistic explanation has been found for the assimilation of the *k* to *t*.

huggling. probably dialectal even in Win's day for *hug*.

I fackins. in truth, verily, *W.J*. See *fecks,* to which *I fackins* is related.

in garnet. a Winism for *incarnate*. See *gallow mankey* above.

inkle-weaver. a standard compound in the 18th c.: "a weaver of inkle or linen tape," *OED*. "Inkle weavers (were) supposed to be very brotherly set of people, 'as great as two inkle weavers' being a proverbial saying." *Gr*.

impfiddle. a Winism for *infidel.*

Issabel. a Winism for *Jezebel.* Win's use of ɪ for dʒ here would be a likely substitution for a speaker of Welsh English.

kettle. a Winism for *cattle.*

kindal-snuffs. Win's phonetic spelling of *candlesnuff,* "the snuff or burnt wick of a candle," *OED.*

lap. "a part of a garment . . . used as a receptacle," *OED.*

looker of cain. a Winism for *lucre of gain,* "(ill-gotten) gain," *W,J.* The initial *k* phoneme of *cain* may be a Welsh back mutation of *g;* see *gallow mankey.*

mankey. a Scottish variant of *calamanco, Ja, OED, W&G, W,J.*

mantymaker. a Scottish variant of the standard (*K, Jo.*) *mantuamaker,* "One who makes gowns for women." *W,J* and *Cent* confirm *manty* as Scotch. *W&G* and *Ja* confirm *mantymaker* as Scotch. *OED* records neither *manty* nor *mantymaker.*

marokin. a variant of *maroquin* obsolete by Win's time. Since *maroquin* is a leather, and Win obviously uses the word in reference to an American fur, *marokin* is probably a malapropism for *martin.* In either event, no linguistic explanation has been found for the change of *kw* to *k,* or of *t* to *k.*

millar. a variant of *miller* already obsolete in Win's time.

matthewmurphy'd. a Winism for *metamorphosed.*

mittamouse. a Winism for *mittimus,* a judicial order of commitment to imprisonment.

monkey-bank. a Winism for *mountebank.*

mought. a variant of *might* probably passing into obsolescence just at this time.

moral. "Counterpart, likeness. Chiefly in phr. *the very moral of . . . ,*" *OED.* Today regarded as vulgar or dialectal, the phrase was probably "low" or "cant" in Win's time.

morass. a Winism for *morose.*

mullaner. a Winism for *milliner.*

narro. a variant of *narrow* which is a variant of *nary,* a corruption of *ne'er a never a.* See *nurro* below and *arrow* above.

nubjack. a Winism for a fellow fit only for hanging, from *jack* (fellow) and *nub* (the neck, also hanging), *Gr. A-B.*

nurro. Win's own special variant of *narro* or *narrow.* See *narro* above.

oaf. a Winism for *oath.* Welsh has both θ and ð, neither of which mutates. However, final ð is often pronounced so softly as to be almost lost, and might possibly be heard by an English ear as *f, M-J;* consequently final θ might also be heard as *f.*

oft. a dialectal form of *ought, W;J.*

orld. a dialectal form of *world.* In southern Welsh English, *w* is sometimes dropped before *o, Ev.*

pair of tongs. a Winism for *pair of thongs* used in connection with a "house of office" for servants in Scotland. No other reference to this type of domestic convenience has been found. The substitution of *t* for θ may be a back mutation, since under certain circumstances, Welsh initial *t* regularly mutates to θ.

Parish. a Scotticism for *Paris,* Ja.

pillyber. a standard word for *pillowcase* in the 18th c. Win also spells this word *pillowber.* Both spellings were probably correct in her time, *Jo, OED.*

pistereroes. a Winism for *posteriors.* The method of Win's linguistic formation of this word has not been discovered.

privet. by the 18th c., apparently a dialectal form of *private, OED.*

prusias. a Winism for *precious.*

pumpydoor. Win's spelling of *pompadour* or 18th c. *pompedore,* "a shade of crimson or pink; also, a fabric of this colour. Also attrib.," *OED.*

pyebald ass. a Winism for *zebra.*

pyebill. Win's pronunciation of *Bible.* Because Welsh *b* does not have as much voice as English *b,* Englishmen often think Welshmen say *p* for *b.*

pye-blow. Win's pronunciation of *by-blow.* See *pyebill* above.

pyehouse. a Winism for *pious;* another example of Win's misuse of aspiration.

quarter. in Win's use as it pertains to the teeth of a lion, "the fourth part of a yard or of an ell," *Cent.*

rouch. a Scotch form of *rouge, OED.*

rubbery. a Scotch form of *robbery, OED, W&G.*

rummage. in the sense that Win uses it, a standard word for *plunder, Ba, K, Jo.*

Runnela cap. a Winism for *Ranelagh cap,* a popular headwear for women in the 18th c.

sack. a standard term in the 18th c. for "a woman's loose robe," *Jo, K, OED, W,T.*

Sattin. a Winism for *Satan* which may be her imitation of a British liturgical and pulpit *'saetăn'* common in her time and over one hundred years later, *OED.*

satiety. a Winism for *society* which may be quite close to the standard pronunciation of society since *satiety* was often pronounced *sa-sái-ɪ-ti* in the 18th c., *OED.*

scrabble. a standard term for "a scrawling character in writing, hence a document composed of such characters," *OED*.

scuffle. a Winism for *scoundrel* which may possibly be related to "Scuffle-hunter, a loafer about wharfs," noted as slang more than a century later, *F&H*.

sculler. a Winism for one who works in a kitchen or scullery.

sin. a Winism for *chin*. Since *tʃ* is supposedly unknown in Welsh, a Welshman might substitute *s* for *tʃ*.

siserary. "a severe rebuke or scolding; a sharp blow; a torrent of (language)," *OED*. Win's use, the first recorded in this sense, may be dialectal.

shatter. still a standard variant of *chatter* (of teeth) in the 18th c., *OED*.

smuggling. a standard variant of *snuggle* in the 18th c. *Ba, Jo, OED, W,T*.

sounded. another word for *fainted* or *swooned* which apparently was just passing out of standard English into dialect during Win's time, *OED*.

Spanish owl. a Winism for *Spanish Wool*, a "red wool colour'd in Spain, for the painting of the face," *Ba, OED*. See *orld* for loss of initial *w*.

spear. an archaic pronunciation of *sphere*, the word Win means, not known after the 16th c., *OED*.

squintasence. a Winism for *quintessence*.

stay-hook. "a small hook stuck in front of the boddice for hanging a watch or *etui* upon," *OED*.

suet. a Winism for *sweat*.

suffer. still considered standard in the sense of *allow* in the 18th c., *Ba, Jo, K*.

swan. a Winism for *swain* which could be derived from an archaic Scotch *swane, OED*.

swinging. a variant of *swingeing* from *to swinge* meaning *huge* or *great;* according to *W&G*, known in Scotland; to *Jo*, "A low word"; to *Gr*, cant.

tabby. "a sort of waved or watered silk," *Ba, A-B, W,T, Ja, K, Jo, Cent, OED*.

taster. in the sense of a piece of money to pay for a *taster*, "a dram," *Jo* and *K*, a Winism.

thof. a variant form of *though* apparently dialectal by the 18th c., *OED, W,T*.

thoft. a dialectal form of *thought, OED, Cent*.

tinsy. a Scotch variant of *tinsel, W,J, OED, W&G.*

tipsy-turvey. perhaps a Winism for *topsy-turvey. OED* has an entry *tipsy-turvy,* but cites no quotation.

titidall. a Winism for *Titivil,* "a demon or devil in the mystery plays," *OED.* No linguistic explanation for the substitution of *d* for *v* has been found.

toupee. a Winism for *toupet,* "a Curl, an artificial Lock of Hair," *Ba.*

trigging. a Winism for *triggin,* a Scotch word for *decking out, Ja, W&G.*

tumtawdry. a Winism for a *tawdry* coat of poor or multicolored wool (*tum*).

trollopea. a standard 18th c. word for a loose gown.

turtle-water. possibly a Winism for *toilet water,* except that the *OED* gives its first citation for *toilet water* as 1855; otherwise, not identified.

vails. a tip in the form of clothes or other profit occasionally given to servants. A consultation of the *OED* II 4 and 6 under *vail,* and 3c under *perquisite* shows that Win's differentiation between *vails* and *parquisites* may or may not be correct.

van. a Winism for *one,* arrived at by changing the *w* of *w∧n* to *v,* a characteristic of cockney dialect of Win's day of which, as a Welshwoman, she should not be guilty, *Ko.* Also see *wan* below.

vaned. a Winism for *weaned.* See *van* above.

vapours. "Hysterick or Hypochondriak Fits," *Ba, K.* "Common c1665–1750," *OED.*

varsal. a dialectal contraction of *univarsal* (for *universal*) almost always used in the phrase *in the varsal world.*

viol of assings. probably a Winism for *vial of asafoetida.*

wan. apparently a southern Welsh English pronunciation of *one* (*w∧n*), *Ev.*

wance. Win's pronunciation of *once* (*w∧ns*); see *wan* above.

which. perhaps dialectal and archaic in Win's use of it as a relative pronoun referring to people (*Jo, K*), although *Ba* and *OED* seem to indicate its continued acceptance for this purpose in the 1760s and 1770s.

worked. commonly used in the 18th c. as a euphemism for "to operate as a purge, or other physick," *Jo, OED.* Also well-known in Scotland for "to ease nature," or "to purge," *Ja, W&G, W,J.*

Bibliography

Axon, William E. A. *English Dialect Words of the Eighteenth Century as shown in the 'Universal Etymological Dictionary' of Nathaniel Bailey.* London 1883. (*A-B*)

Bailey, Nathan. *A Universal Etymological English Dictionary.* 20th ed London, 1764. (*Ba*)

Boggs, W. Arthur. "Hassock of Hair," *Notes and Queries* n s VII (Feb 1960) 72–73. (*Bo*)

Brown, Thomas. *A Dictionary of the Scottish Language.* London 1845. (*Br*)

Ellis, Alexander J. *English Dialects — Their Sounds and Homes.* London 1890. (*E*)

Evans, Mary Dorothea. "Jane Anne — Lump," *Longman's Magazine* xxxv (Dec 1899) 144–149. (*Ev*)

Farmer, John S. and W. E. Henley. *A Dictionary of Slang and Colloquial English.* London 1905. (*F&H*)

Grant, William and David Murison. *The Scottish National Dictionary.* 4 vols (A-Hair). Edinburgh 1931–1956. (*G&M*)

Grose, Francis. *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue.* 3rd ed London 1796. (*Gr*)

Halliwell, James Orchard. *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words.* 2 vols 5th ed London 1901. (*Ha*)

Jamieson, John. *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scotch Language.* New ed 4 vols and supplement. London 1879–1887. (*Ja*)

Johnson, Samuel. *A Dictionary of the English Language.* 2 vols 2nd ed London 1755. (*Jo*)

Kenrick, William. *New Dictionary of the English Language.* London 1773. (*K*)

Kökeritz, Helge. "A Record of Late 18th-Century Cockney," *Language* xxv (April – June 1949) 190–194. (*Ko*)

McIntosh, Angus. *An Introduction to a Survey of Scottish Dialects.* Edinburgh 1961. (*Mc*)

Morris-Jones, Sir J. *An Elementary Welsh Grammar.* Oxford 1921. (*M-J*)

Murray, James A. H., Henry Bradley, W. A. Craigie, and C. T. Onions. *The Oxford English Dictionary, A Corrected Re-issue.* 12 vols plus supplement. Oxford 1933. (*OED*)

Smollett, Tobias. *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker.* Everyman Ed London 1943.

Warrack, Alexander and William Grant. *A Scots Dialect Dictionary.* Edinburgh 1911. (*W&G*)

Whitney, William Dwight. *The Century Dictionary: An Encyclopedic Lexicon of the English Language.* 6 vols New York 1889–1891. (*Cent*)

Wright, Joseph. *The English Dialect Dictionary.* 6 vols London 1898–1905. (*W,J*)

Wright, Thomas. *Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English.* 2 vols London 1880. (*W,T*)

Minor Irish Miscellany

By George Brandon Saul
University of Connecticut

MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS to the Irish short story of the Yeatsian era are — justly — receiving increasing attention, for there can be little question as to the essential significance of such authors as Stephens, O'Connor, Dunsany, Joyce, Corkery, et al. What of the rest — those who achieved rarely, those who all-but-achieved, and those who unhappily reared most of their structures on clearly factitious bases? — It is representatives of these interesting but minor contributors who are considered here.

Earliest among them to make his claim to notice was Shan F. Bullock (*John Williams,* 1865–1935). Born a Protestant landlord's son in County Fermanagh, ultimately—farming having proved unappealing—an unhappy London "civil servant" and writer of mediocre novels, he chose wisely to draw on the Ulster countryside he knew for the matter of his short stories, the initial volume of which (*The Awkward Squads*: 1893) may be here safely ignored; the pity attaches to his handling of that matter. The earlier of his two later collections, *Ring o' Rushes* (London: Ward, Lock and New York: Stone and Kimball, 1896), indeed, opens with a description of the villages — Lismahee, on Lough Erne, Clogheen, Bunn — and adjacent country (his "Ring o' Rushes") in which the tales are set. Unhappily, the eleven mostly longish stories are damp with melodrama and sentimentality ("They Twain" is positively soggy) unredeemed by fumblings in sophomoric satire and personal intrusions ("Aw! but his heart was thumpin' ") upon the direct narrative. One — "Shan's Diversion" — is told with the air of a preacher reciting an exemplum. One feels that the author's peasants, whether in field or at fair, deserved something better than this semi-moralistic picturization. Incidentally, the effort to suggest the flavor of American speech by loading a returned countryman's tongue with such tasteful bits as "Yaas," "naow," and "Waal, I reckon" is most touching.

The nine tales of *Irish Pastorals* (London: Richards and New York: McClure, Phillips, 1901), ranging from some twenty to fifty pages apiece, are somewhat more readable as presentations of the tragicomedy of peasant (and in slight degree of landlord) life, though still a curious mixture of the deliberately homely, the semi-professional, and the pretentious (especially in their references to "my Lord the sun," "my Lord the mountain," etc). Dialogue is dialectal to the point of being photographic — and sometimes

tediously heavy in consequence; and sentimentality has not been properly exorcised. But these tales of planters, turf-cutters, haymakers, and their kind have an air of community and, for me at least, more body and human interest than their predecessors. Indeed, "The Turf-Cutters" develops into a moving tale when a man nearing seventy-five mutters a threnody for his recently deceased wife of fifty years: a lament that is also a touching tribute to marriage. And "The Brothers" — of two such and the woman who preferred one of them — achieves ironic tragedy almost in Hardy fashion. Other touches pointing the tragic, as well as the marked relishing of conversational give-and-take among the peasants, sometimes whisper of Hardy also; but a closer spiritual affinity may conceivably be the Barrie of *Auld Licht Idylls.*

A. E. (*George William Russell,* 1867–1935) is another story. In his prefatory note to *The Mask of Apollo and Other Stories* (Dublin: Whaley and London: Macmillan, n d [1904]), the "strayed angel" of Yeatsian memory calls these emanations out of a "mystical mood" his "first effort to write," but the seven items are no more uncharacteristic of the later Russell than of the earlier. Angus Oge is here in a dream; Lilith has a dialogue with a "Wise One"; "Ananda," come from forest meditation in which he has "seen the fiery dreams of the dead in heaven," hears an ancient preach a God of all-pervading love; Apollo appears in two sketches — in the second as a boy to whom a sybil asserts that " 'from age to age the eternal Beauty bows itself down amid sorrows, that the children of men may not forget it, that their anguish may be transformed, smitten through by its fire' ": a typical example of the vague rhapsodizing it would be unkind to challenge by logic, if only because of the author's constant brooding on what "The Story of a Star" calls "a greatness we are heirs to, a destiny which is ours though it be yet far away." But this one collection of his "stories" is hardly consequential in Russell's reputation, which were most safely anchored to a few unusual lyrics among his many faint rhythmical exhalations and to such bits of wise and lucid prose as "Destructive Censorship"; there is next to no story-line anywhere apparent, though the phrasing is gently and beautifully cadenced — and not least charming in nocturnal scenes.

The versatile Stephen Gwynn (1865–1951), in turn, presents in *The Glade in the Forest And Other Stories* (Dublin: Maunsel, 1907) seven pieces not surprisingly reprinted from periodicals: they represent competent magazine stuff which will amaze with no sudden doorways opening on either abysses or constellations. "Splendide Mendax" — in which an old Irish mother has a letter written saying she is dead, in order to obviate trouble between an émigré daughter and her husband, who is averse to sending a monthly pit-

tance for the old woman's support — is the most touching; but "The Grip of the Land" — in which a sensible girl refuses a stubborn suitor until he agrees not to go to America, but to continue helping his father farm, in prospect of succession — is the most accomplished. An extract from "St. Brigid's Flood" (dealing with destruction supposedly caused by a widow's curse, and previously included in the author's *Fishing Holidays*) may suggest Gwynn's capacity at "readings of life":

> In a town nobody has time to have enemies. It's only in the country that hatreds really ripen.

In brief, here is another case of amiably well-bred writing which threatens no claim on the reader's memory.

St John (Greer) Ervine (1883–) occasionally makes sounder claims to regard as a fictionist than Gwynn; however, this Ulsterite and Irish Academician, whose first wide attention came with the production of *Mixed Marriage* by the Abbey Theatre in 1911, must depend on other segments of his voluminous output than the short stories for greatest assurance of remembrance. *The Mountain and Other Stories* (New York: Macmillan, 1928) reprints the seventeen items of *Eight O'Clock and Other Studies* (Dublin and London: Maunsel, 1913) and adds five others, including — in "The Conjuror," "The Mountain," "Old Mrs. Clifford," and "Mr. Trapney Goes Abroad" — the only four suggestive of any degree of distinction; of these four, the first is, however, one of the masterly macabre "thrillers" of all time, while the second — which deals with the tragedy of "a little, wistful man, on whom romance had played a paltry trick" — makes its own claim as a quiet, oddly touching, dry-mouthed tale.

Not all of Ervine's pieces in these volumes are short stories. "Eight O'Clock," for example, is a brief playlet in which widow-to-be, child, and sister await frantically the hour of the hanging of the husband and father. And there are mere sketches like "The Burial" or "Discontent," sociological reports like "Clutie John" or "The Revelation," etc. This is readable but — for the most part — curiously prosaic writing: workmanlike without ecstasy; preoccupied with essentially timorous, vaguely dissatisfied characters; concerned with the cowardliness that alone keeps many humans law-abiding and convention-respecting. Oddly enough, however, in the best pieces Ervine's quiet rationality, reasonableness of tone, and lack of color actually underscore his moments of drama.

Two years after the publication of the earlier of the Ervine volumes just remarked, George A. Birmingham (*James Owen Hannay*, 1865–1950) — son

of the vicar of Belfast; graduate of Trinity College, Dublin; for many years rector of Westmeath, County Mayo, before becoming canon of St Patrick's, Dublin — offered in *Minnie's Bishop and Other Stories* (London: Hodder & Stoughton and New York: Doran) a collection of twenty-six pieces which neighbors with no alien air a series of novels (of which *Spanish Gold* and *Lalage's Lovers* may be the best-known) to help form what Ernest Boyd has called "a long line of stories designed rather as aids to digestion than to the immortality of the author." And certainly one recognizes in these short stories the amiable but unexciting character of discourse that might follow a heavy dinner capped by port and cigars.

Actually, the tales, which are not deficient in human sympathy, suggest the stuff of popular magazines. The writing is thoroughly competent from a technical point of view — and almost utterly commonplace except for touches of humor; it suggests a pedestrian artistry engaged with situations whose possibilities are real but inadequately realized, situations in themselves more interesting than the people involved. And Boyd's charge of unrealistic handling seems certainly not undermined by the author's casual discounting of the tensions between Nationalists and Unionists in the Ireland of World War I days or by his approach to grotesque symbolism in "This Lost Land," a trivial sketch undeserving of classification as a story. All in all, the book, in which a tendency toward bathos deepens toward the end, will probably in most readers' minds resolve quickly into a vague memory of trivial contretemps occurring largely in the north and west of Ireland — a memory partly anchored by speculation on the religious philosophy of a canon able (cp "Onnie Dever") to count man merely "a card in a pack shuffled by a sportive destiny."

The slightly more interesting Esmé Stuart Lennox Robinson (1886–1958) — born in Douglas, County Cork; educated at Bandon Grammar School; and manager of the Abbey Theatre from 1910 to 1914 — is very justly more famous for his plays than for his short stories. Of his two collections, indeed, the thirty-page *Dark Days* (Dublin: Talbot Press and London: Unwin, 1918) is hardly to be thought of as a set of stories: it is rather a species of reflective patriotic propaganda for home consumption. Even so, its impact seems negligible.

The second volume, *Eight Short Stories* (Dublin: Talbot Press and London: Unwin, n d), whose items are dated from 1912 to 1919, has two moderately absorbing stories in "The Sponge" and "A Pair of Muddy Shoes" (to which omission of its logically unnecessary first two dreams might have given the unity of impact especially necessary for a great horror tale) and

one nigh-perfect specimen in "The Face." This tale of the ecstasy and tragedy of Jerry Sullivan's marriage to a lake-woman, whose passing leaves her fragile child, born at full moon, to dwindle with the moon's waning, is delicately and memorably done, though one wonders whether the final question in Jerry's mind shouldn't, for greatest artistic effect, have been an assured apprehension.

For the rest, the matter of this collection is written in a colorless style of no special distinction, employed for no significant revelation of character, but marked by an undertone of implied moralizing and by blemishes of sentimentality.

Writing of him in the January – March 1952 number of the *Dublin Magazine,* George Buchanan remarks that the fictionally more competent Forrest Reid (1876–1947) "As an artist . . . set out to create, in the main, at the eye-level of a boy; but to create with all the resources of a mature artist, nourished on Anatole France and Henry James"; and quotes Reid himself as admitting, "I could get on swimmingly until I reached my King Charles's head — the point where a boy becomes a man. . . ." Buchanan was concerned with the novels, but his comment has some point for the critic of Reid's short stories as well.

Like Ervine, a product of Belfast, educated locally at the Royal Academical Institution but also at Christ's College, Cambridge, Reid is best known for his novels (*Young Tom* took the 1944 James Tait Black Prize) and critical work, including a study of W. B. Yeats. His *A Garden by the Sea. Stories and Sketches* (Dublin: Talbot Press and London: Unwin, 1918) is honestly titled, well written, and very readable, with just a hint of rose leaves and nostalgia about it. For some hard-to-define reason, it is also vaguely suggestive — to one reader, at least — of the Oliver Onions of *Widdershins,* though less suave and brittle than Onions can be; indeed, it reveals some very sensitive and (in the sketch "Kenneth") gently humorous touches.

Perhaps the three tales that count for most in *A Garden* are "Courage" (a story, originally published in *Country Life,* of how little Michael Aherne loses all fear after recovering from the shock of a ghostly embrace — presumably that of his dead mother — in a reputedly haunted house), "The Accomplice" (the tale of a curiously sinister schoolboy, reprinted from *The Morning Post*), and "Costello's Story" (earlier in both *The Irishman* and *The Thistle:* one of the many Irish tales of faery carryings-away of mortals). But there is nothing that delivers an inevitable wound.

Illustrative of purely minor work are the tales of Padraic O'Conaire (1882–1928) and David Hogan (*Frank Gallagher,* ?-?). Critical rumination

on the seven pieces of the former's *The Woman at the Window and Other Stories* (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1921; translated from the original Irish by Eamonn O Neill) is particularly saddening. From the title story — of a woman who revenges herself on the widow who had stolen her fiancé by making a drunkard out of that widow's only son, who later becomes a thief and comes drunken to his death, which precedes his mother's (a theme bitter enough for George Douglas!) — to such bits as "Disillusioned," the accent of sentimentality is not hard to detect. And while it may be unkind to recall that O'Conaire, in "The Woman on Whom God Laid His Hand," actually says that a fishing fleet "looked like a community of nuns taking the air in a convent garden" and calls birds "denizens of the air," the fact that he could indulge in such absurd comparisons and rhetorical triteness is not without significance. Perhaps the statue erected to him in Galway, in 1935, may prove a relatively more durable memorial than his stories.

Hogan — revolutionary, much-imprisoned hunger-striker, member of the first Dail Eireann, and founder-editor of the *Irish Press* — gathered for *The Challenge of the Sentry and Other Stories of the Irish War* matter said to have been originally written for the New York *Monitor*. This undated book, though printed by the Talbot Press, was, or so one surmises, published by the Irish Industries Depot, of New York; actually, it is to be dated 1928, and its nineteen items deal mainly with the 1919–21 period in Irish history. It is, not surprisingly, of propagandistic tincture. The Black-and-Tans are as cruel as one might in the circumstances anticipate; the Irish Republicans are idealistic as well as patriotic — and there is obvious effort to equate patriotism with religion: but then, in one tale, the author even has a "blackbird rapturously saying his evening prayers in the trees outside"!

In brief, one appears to get here record rather than fiction, though the style is generally vigorous. As so often in the case of minor authors, one story stands out: in this instance, "The Leaping Trout," in which Irish Republican Army member Michael Davin's life is saved on Lough Dan by a Zulu arrow, released by either Tim O'Dowd or his daughter Mary. Here the dramatic feeling and response to nature go beyond mere history or implied propaganda, and the result is a masterpiece of tension coiled in an idyllic atmosphere, though the author was apparently so absorbed in beginning his story that he left it to the reader to get Michael from the pier-end into the boat.

Hogan's next collection, *Dark Mountain and Other Stories* (Dublin and Cork: Talbot Press, 1931), presents seventeen pieces much in line with the matter of *Challenge of the Sentry* and perhaps even more suggestive of dis-

agreement with the old Fenian John O'Leary's opinion that there are some things a man does *not* do for his country. "Bent Grass" and "'Johnny the Jump'" would seem by implication to approve even child-sacrifice for the good of the Irish Republican Army. Nor does it make one an Anglophile to deplore the repeated sentimentalizing (even in descriptive passages), the false heroics (cp "The Place of Quiet"), the spotty syntax and grammatical slips (this author can violate tense-sequence within a single sentence), and in general the tone and reflected emotional mentality of such stories as "The Watcher on Carrantuohill." This last is the tale in which two orphaned boys are reared by a grandmother and develop "brave and sturdy bodies . . . brave and sturdy minds" (the latter from the old lady's "stories" and "talk"); wherefore we are to believe that "it was no wonder . . . both . . . joined the I.R.A."! (When the boys are captured by the British, the grandmother is "as proud a woman . . . as any . . . in Ireland"; the reader merely wonders how deep bathos can run.) This is also the story in which an I.R.A. escaper, after crawling through an old sewer, swimming a long distance in a river, and then struggling onward in half-frozen condition through snow and sleet, finally concedes to his companion, "Heavens, this is awful"! — After which it remains to add that the title-story is an example of well-handled surprise and "The Vanished Leader" has at least a touch of the unusual.

Vastly more readable than Hogan, Maurice Walsh, born (1879) on a Kerry farm on the banks of the Shannon, was a customs officer in the British Civil Service, engaged largely in the Scottish highlands where he found his wife, before retirement in 1936 permitted full preoccupation with prose fiction. Mostly, Walsh has poured his healthy romanticism into a long series of successful novels; *Son of a Tinker* (Philadelphia and New York: Lippincott, 1951) and *Take Your Choice* (Lippincott, copyright 1953 and '54) provide gatherings of his shorter fiction. Of these latter, *Son of a Tinker,* which reached a second printing in 1952, contains nine tales (of which "The Bonesetter" had been serially published as "The Amateur Doctor"); its most memorable item is "My Fair Lady" — which is not a short story, but one of the really outstanding novelettes (it is worth noticing how frequently the Irish have excelled in this genre) in the English tongue. But the book is more than merely readable throughout, with touches of humor ("That fellow had no conscience at all — and sure hasn't he taken to politics since": "Not My Story") and at least one piquancy of natural scholarship in Old Michael's remark in "Butcher the Queen": "'Tis a strange thing, and I often noticed it, a Hinjoo word here and there is the dead marrow of the ould Irish me father spoke'": as Myles Dillon reminds us in the introduction

to his *Early Irish Literature,* "there are points of resemblance between Hindu and Irish tradition in language and custom." (Nor in these respects only, as other investigation has established.)

Take Your Choice is in its seven tales, like its predecessor, the better-than-average magazine writing of a man who knows his trade well enough to be casual about it, whose preferred background is naturally Kerry, and whose heroines and miscellaneous attractive women are — like his wife — frequently redheads. Delightful enough in its title story (in which a respectable and successful Irish businessman, at the prodding of his fairy godmother, kicks over the traces and takes to a tinker's life and to tinker women — marrying his fourth of these at the age of ninety!), it presents even more accomplished work in "The Quiet Man" (which, with — for once! — laudable alterations and additions, became one of the most delightful and hilarious movies ever made, but which is lacking from the English edition, *The Honest Fisherman*), while its "Come Back, My Love" is indubitably exceptional — and one of the most charming and sensitive inventions in the Irish tradition of the mortal who is sometimes "away."

Paul Vincent Carroll (1900–), finally, who came out of Blackrock and has been both teacher and dramatist, has offered what was presumably meant as a sort of selective edition of his work in general, though the very successful *Shadow and Substance* (a deeply moving play) and *The White Steed* (in its way, only slightly less effective) are not included, in *Irish Stories and Plays* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1958).

Of the eight stories to be found here, "The Stepmother" would rank first in emotional power but for its last sentence, in which the boy Timmy is told that his hospital nurse, obviously presented as a nun, is really his stepmother. This seems like paying a high price for a "surprise ending." But all the tales are very readable. "The Virgin and the Woman" has considerable dramatic impact; "She Went By Gently" has the moving persuasiveness just escaping sentimentality which seems not uncharacteristic of Carroll in general; two or three — pre-eminently "Me Da Went off the Bottle!" — are sardonically, in spots raucously, amusing; and "My Learned Friend, Hogan" is a gesture almost macabre in implication. "High competence" seems a just accolade for these tales; more impressive work can be found in Carroll's plays.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

President, GILBERT W. CHAPMAN
First Vice-President, ROY E. LARSEN
Second Vice-President, JOHN M. SCHIFF
Secretary, BETHUEL M. WEBSTER
Treasurer, GRANT KEEHN
Assistant Treasurer, UNITED STATES TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK
Director, EDWARD G. FREEHAFER
MRS VINCENT ASTOR
C. WALLER BARRETT
MORRIS HADLEY
ARTHUR A. HOUGHTON, JR
DONALD F. HYDE
DEVEREUX C. JOSEPHS
MRS MILLICENT C. McINTOSH
NEWBOLD MORRIS
THOMAS L. PERKINS
ROLAND L. REDMOND
DAVID A. SHEPARD
FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN
NORMAN H. STROUSE
WALTER N. THAYER
MRS ARNOLD WHITRIDGE

THE MAYOR, THE COMPTROLLER, AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, *ex officio*

HONORARY TRUSTEE
ELIHU ROOT, JR

STAFF OFFICERS

DIRECTOR, Edward G. Freehafer
DEPUTY DIRECTOR, John Mackenzie Cory
ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR, James Wood Henderson (Acting)
CONTROLLER, Mrs Angela M. Lyons
EXECUTIVE OFFICER, Bayard Schieffelin
CHIEF OF THE PERSONNEL OFFICE, Alan L. Heyneman
CHIEF OF THE PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICE, Miss Marion L. Simmons

REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

Central Building, Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street. Annex, 521 West 43rd Street
JAMES WOOD HENDERSON, Chief

EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT, Gilbert A. Cam
AMERICAN HISTORY AND GENEALOGY DIVISION, Gerald D. McDonald, Chief
ANNEX REFERENCE SERVICES, 521 West 43rd Street, Saro John Riccardi, Chief
ARENTS COLLECTIONS, John D. Gordan, Acting Chief
ART AND ARCHITECTURE DIVISION. Karl Kup, Chief
BERG COLLECTION, John D. Gordan, Chief
BOOK DELIVERY DIVISION, David C. Maclay, Chief
DANCE COLLECTION, Miss Genevieve Oswald, Curator
ECONOMICS DIVISION, John Fall, Chief
INFORMATION DIVISION, Archibald P. DeWeese, Chief
JEWISH DIVISION, Abraham Berger, Chief
MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, Robert W. Hill, Keeper of Manuscripts
MAP DIVISION, Gerard L. Alexander, Chief
MUSIC DIVISION, Philip L. Miller, Chief
ORIENTAL DIVISON, John L. Mish, Chief
PERIODICALS DIVISION, Barron M. Franz, Chief
PREPARATION DIVISION, Robert E. Kingery, Chief
PRINTS DIVISION, Karl Kup, Chief
RARE BOOK DIVISION, Lewis M. Stark, Chief
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY DIVISION, George S. Bonn, Chief
SLAVONIC DIVISION, John L. Mish, Chief
SPENCER COLLECTION, Karl Kup, Adviser
THEATRE COLLECTION, George Freedley, Curator

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

Headquarters: Donnell Library Center, 20 West 53rd Street, New York, N. Y. 10019
MRS JEAN ORTH GODFREY, Chief

ASSISTANT CHIEF, Miss Mary Dana
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES, Mrs Julia Brody, Coordinator
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT, Mrs Dorothy Homer
TECHNICAL SERVICES, Mrs Sydney G. Marcu, Coordinator
ADULT SERVICES, Miss Katherine L. Obrien, Coordinator
CHILDREN'S SERVICES, Mrs Augusta Baker, Coordinator
YOUNG ADULT SERVICES, Miss Margaret Scoggin, Coordinator
MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES & RECORDS CENTER, James Katsaros, Administrator

Circulation Department, *continued*

List of Branches and Librarians

MANHATTAN

COORDINATOR, Miss Casindania Eaton

ASSISTANT COORDINATOR, Walter Roziewski

AGUILAR. 174 East 110th Street.
Miss Marie Ferrigno

BLOOMINGDALE REGIONAL. 150 West 100th Street.
Miss Erna Obermeier

CATHEDRAL. 564 Lexington Avenue.
Robert Powers

CENTRAL CHILDREN'S ROOM. Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street.
Miss Maria Cimino

CENTRAL CIRCULATION. Fifth Ave. & 42nd St.
Miss Mary C. Hatch

CHATHAM SQUARE. 38 East Broadway.
Miss Virginia Swift

COLUMBIA. Room 101, Butler Lib., Col. Univ.
John Slade

COLUMBUS. 742 Tenth Avenue.
Miss Eliza Perry

COUNTEE CULLEN REGIONAL. 104 West 136th Street.
Miss Esther Walls

DONNELL LIBRARY CENTER. 20 West 53rd Street.
Miss Loda Hopkins

EPIPHANY. 228 East 23rd Street.
Miss Regina Sludock

FIFTY-EIGHTH STREET. 127 East 58th Street.
Raymond Harris

FORT WASHINGTON REGIONAL. 535 West 179th Street.
Mrs Winifred Carruthers

GEORGE BRUCE. 518 West 125th Street.
Howard Rickert

HAMILTON FISH PARK. 415 East Houston St.
Mrs Mary Pieper

HAMILTON GRANGE. 503 West 145th Street.
Mrs Dorothy Pitman

HARLEM LIBRARY. 9 West 124th Street.
Mrs Rosa C. Brown

HUDSON PARK. 10 Seventh Avenue South.
Mrs Alice Vielehr

INWOOD REGIONAL. 4790 Broadway.
Miss Clara Rees

JACKSON SQUARE. 251 West 13th Street.
Miss Ruth Shimnamon

LIBRARY FOR THE BLIND. 166 Avenue of the Americas.
Miss Charlotte C. Harrison

MACOMB'S BRIDGE. 2650 Seventh Avenue.

MUHLENBERG. 209 West 23rd Street.
Miss Alice McQuaid

MUNICIPAL REFERENCE LIBRARY. 2230 Municipal Building.
Eugene Bockman

Public Health Division. 125 Worth Street. Room 224

MUSIC LIBRARY. 127 East 58th Street.
Mrs Catharine K. Miller

NATHAN STRAUS. 20 West 53rd Street.
Miss Elizabeth A. Boyle

NINETY-SIXTH STREET REGIONAL. 112 East 96th Street.
Miss Irene Patjens

115TH STREET. 203 West 115th Street.
Miss Anne Judge

125TH STREET. 224 East 125th Street.
Dale Middleton

OTTENDORFER. 135 Second Avenue.
Miss Mercy Kellogg

PICTURE COLLECTION. Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street.
Miss Romana Javitz

RIVERSIDE. 190 Amsterdam Avenue.
Miss Myrtle Reynolds

ST AGNES REGIONAL. 444 Amsterdam Ave.
Miss Dorothy Cobb

SCHOMBURG COLLECTION. 103 West 135th Street.
Mrs Jean Blackwell Hutson

SEWARD PARK. 192 East Broadway.
Miss Joan Treble

SIXTY-SEVENTH STREET. 328 East 67th St.
Mrs Margarethe Kortenbeutel Voolhis

TOMPKINS SQUARE REGIONAL. 331 East 10th Street.
Mrs Alice Alexander

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS. 1000 St Nicholas Avenue.
Mrs Regina M. Andrews

WEBSTER. 1465 York Avenue.
Miss Edna Thomson

YORKVILLE. 222 East 79th Street.
Miss Emily Davis

THE BRONX

COORDINATOR, Gerald Gold

ASSISTANT COORDINATOR, Miss Mary Barrett

ALLERTON. 2740 Barnes Avenue.
Miss Grace Iijima

BRONX BOOKMOBILES. 321 East 140th Street.
Mrs Mabel Bell

CASTLE HILL. 2220 Cincinnatus Avenue.
Philip Wolcoff

CITY ISLAND. 325 City Island Avenue.
Mrs Stella Webber

JUNE 1964

BULLETIN
OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CENTRAL LIBRARY

BULLETIN OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

VOLUME 68 JUNE 1964 NUMBER 6

CONTENTS

FRONT MATTER:

Our Dancing Portfolio 345

Prints So Popular Now So Rare 345

Bibliographer's Praise 346

Flaxman Separate 346

Irving Census Offprints 346

New Trustee 346

WHITMAN'S YAWPING BIRD AS COMIC DEFENSE by Sydney J. Krause 347

NOTES ON EARLY EDITIONS OF FLAXMAN'S CLASSICAL DESIGNS (PART II) by G. E. Bentley, Jr. 361

POSTSCRIPT: ON THE DUPLICATING OF ENGRAVINGS WITH REFERENCE TO FLAXMAN'S CLASSICAL DESIGNS by Richard J. Wolfe 381

THE ENGAGEMENT CONTROVERSY 1649–1652: AN ANNOTATED LIST OF PAMPHLETS by John M. Wallace 384

LATEST PUBLICATIONS NYPL 406

EXHIBITIONS IN THE CENTRAL BUILDING 410

On the Cover: The Nighthawk (Chordeiles Caprimulgus), the swooping "spotted hawk" of Whitman's poem, identified in the essay by Sydney J. Krause. Adaptation by Mrs Evelyn Krause from a drawing of 1902 by Louis Agassiz Fuertes.

Printed and published monthly except July and August, by The New York Public Library at Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10018. Subscription $3.00 a year, single numbers 30 cents.

Editor, DAVID V. ERDMAN; WILLIAM H. KNEEDLER, *Editorial Assistant*

Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y. June, 1964. Volume 68. Number 6.

form p5 [v1-3-64 19c]

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CENTRAL LIBRARY

Front Matter

Our Dancing Portfolio

Twelve rare etchings, engravings, and color lithographs assembled from our Dance Collection archives are being reproduced in collotype and multicolor offset to make up a portfolio of *Dancing in Prints 1634–1870* which the Library is publishing early in the fall ($7.50 postpaid, if ordered before November 15; $10 thereafter). Each print is on a double layer of Japanese paper, 21 x 15 inches, overall; the portfolio is a sturdy box with folds, covered in turquoise cloth.

Included with the prints is a 20-page booklet of descriptive, historical Commentary by Marian Eames. The following paragraphs are abridged from Mrs Eames's introductory discussion.

Prints So Popular Now So Rare

The art of printmaking, which dates from the 15th century, is essentially a popular means of information and entertainment in the days before photography. Within the first 75 years of the craft's existence the emerging middle-class society of Europe became so picture conscious that no one would have thought it remarkable to find a Dürer or a Mantegna in the house of the most unassuming tradesman.

Dancing figures occur in the earliest types of prints. In religious pictures Salome's dance and the dance around the Golden Calf were favorite subjects. A stock character in certain packs of playing cards was Terpsichore. And dancers occur among the illustrations for such early printed books as the *Decameron*, the *Roman de la Rose*, and the *Nuremburg Chronicle*.

From the 16th century on, single prints of Morris dancers, wedding dancers, court and peasant dances, etc were increasingly common, and various treatises on the art of dancing benefited greatly from the addition of engravings. Printmakers of the 17th century turned out many handsome engravings of elaborate court and professional ballets, of royal balls and country festivals. At the same time Europeans could learn something about exotic dances in foreign lands from the illustrations in contemporary geographies and books of travel. For the next two centuries popular interest in dancing created a steady market for dance prints of every description — social, theatrical, portraits, and caricature. Only as the camera took over the functions of instruction and entertainment did the art of printmaking refine its purposes to purely artistic expression.

The dance prints of four centuries have contributed immeasurably to our knowledge of dance history. A single engraving may be worth a thousand words of explanation; for dancing, though the most ephemeral of performing arts, is also the most pictorial. From the artist's vision, transmitted through woodcut, etching, engraving, or lithography, we derive not only a wealth of information regarding steps and positions, groupings, costumes, and the like, but also a sense of style which words alone could never impart.

Unfortunately, however, because of the perishable nature of paper and the relatively small importance attached to inexpensive possessions, many prints which were once available everywhere for a few pennies are now extremely scarce and only to be found in libraries and private collections. Also, since few private and fewer public print collections have been assembled on the basis

of subject matter, the search for dance prints can be a very discouraging experience. Even more disappointment confronts the would-be purchaser of original dance prints today. The supply is pitifully small and widely scattered.

The Dance Collection of The New York Public Library contains the world's only public archive of prints acquired specifically because they illustrate dancers and dances. The Collection, now celebrating its 20th anniversary, has, in its relatively short life, become an internationally known center of research materials relating to every aspect of dancing and dance history. Of all its treasures — rare books and manuscripts, letters, programs, etc — prints have perhaps the most general appeal since no special knowledge is required for their enjoyment. Quite apart from the academic virtues inherent in their nature, most dance prints need no further excuse for being than that they are delightful to look at. The variety of subjects, and their treatment, is great enough to provide "something for everybody," and it is hoped that the present selection will bear witness to this fact.

In short titles, the twelve prints chosen for this portfolio are: Scene from a Fete in Rome (1634), Marie Sallé (1732), Le Maître de Danse (1745), John Rich as Harlequin (1753), Italian Peasant Dance (1808), Dancing Nymph (1813), Group of Waltzers (1817), Mr and Mrs Conway and Miss Deblin, Park Theatre (1827), Adelaide Mersy and Jean Rousset in the Ballet *Flore et Zéphire* (1828), Fanny Cerrito in the Ballet *Alma, ou la Fille de Feu* (1842), The *Pas de Quatre* (1845), and La Valse à Mabille (1870).

Bibliographer's Praise

"In coverage, description, and annotation Miss Larson leaves nothing to be desired." — Lawrence S. Thompson, in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, reviewing our recent publication, *Swedish Commentators on America 1638–1865; an Annotated List of Selected Manuscript and Printed Materials* (139 pages, $5.50).

Flaxman Separate

The May and June installments of Professor Bentley's bibliography of Early Editions of Flaxman's Classical Designs will shortly be reprinted as a separate pamphlet (60 pages, $1.00).

Irving Census Offprints

A limited number of offprints of the "Census of Washington Irving Manuscripts" published in the January *Bulletin* are available from the Editor, at no charge. Information about any letters or journals not listed there will be particularly welcome and will be transmitted to the committee of Irving scholars that is convening in New York this summer to advance the work of preparing an exhaustive edition of the journals and correspondence.

New Trustee

Roswell L. Gilpatric, former Deputy Secretary of Defense, now a partner in the law firm of Cravath, Swaine, and Moore, has been elected to the Board of Trustees.

Mr Gilpatric served on the Circulation Department Committee from 1953 to 1956 and on the Citizens Advisory Committee from 1951 to 1961. In addition to his government service, Mr Gilpatric has been a trustee of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Aerospace Corporation, and active in local, state, and national bar associations, as well as in organizations affiliated with Yale University. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a director of the Foreign Policy Association.

Whitman's Yawping Bird as Comic Defense

By SYDNEY J. KRAUSE
Kent State University

SINCE THE COMIC effects in Whitman's verse were first pointed out by Constance Rourke in 1931, they have been explored at length by Richard Chase,[1] but there has been rather little explanation of their function in specific poems. This is regrettable because comic byplay subtilizes Whitman's poetry, and limits the thesis that it has "no inward complexity." [2] At its best, when comedy is had at the expense of Whitman's own poetic self (in the familiar manner of "American humor"), it exerts a gravitational pull on his flights of cosmic egotism. The result is a self-qualifying tension acquired through irony, which is responsible for much that we value in poetry, but has not been found to be significant or abundant in Whitman's. Observation of how the comic-ironical method works is especially important for an understanding of the crucial concluding section of "Song of Myself" (52), centering on the well known "barbaric yawp." Indeed, there is probably no more intensive or better controlled use of comedy in any comparable passage of *Leaves of Grass.*

The objectives of this paper are to explain how and why Whitman used comic effects in the conclusion of "Song of Myself" to implement the reception of his poetry, and to illustrate more broadly the effectiveness of his comic treatment of serious topics.

1 *American Humor: A Study of the National Character* (New York 1931) p 167–179. *Walt Whitman Reconsidered* (New York 1955).

It should be noted that Chase's view of Whitman as a comic poet has not been generally accepted — see, e g, Floyd Stovall's review of *Walt Whitman Reconsidered* in *American Literature* XXVII (Nov 1955) 432 — and Chase's notion that "Song of Myself" is a "profound and lovely comic drama of the self" (p 59) has been called "aberrant" (Willard Thorp, "Walt Whitman," *Eight American Authors: A Review of Research and Criticism,* ed Floyd Stovall, New York 1956, 301). If properly construed, however, Chase's interpretation seems to me a very useful and enlightening approach to "Song of Myself" and one that enables the reader to capture the peculiar zest and excitement of Whitman's mood. Chase's basic thesis is that "Song of Myself" is "on the whole comic in tone and that although the poem's comic effects are of universal significance [he points to affinities with the "Greek cults out of which comedy evolved," p 70 f], they often take the specific form of American humor" (p 59). Observing that the poem is "full of odd gestures and whimsical acts," Chase sees the Americanism of its humor as inherent in "the fluid, unformed personality exulting alternately in its provisional attempts to define itself and in its sense that it has no definition" (p 60). (Other similar definitional statements may be found on p 70–73, 81, 90, and 92). I am clearly indebted to Chase, but have found him more suggestive in his generalizations and in his comparisons of Whitman with other writers (Twain, Melville, Joyce, et al), than in his applied analyses, which are not pursued in depth.

2 Hugh I'Anson Fausset, *Walt Whitman: Poet of Democracy* (New Haven 1942) 132.

I

The last section of "Song of Myself" opens with the famous lines:

> The spotted hawk swoops by and accuses me, he complains of my gab
> and my loitering.
>
> I too am not a bit tamed, I too am untranslatable,
> I sound my barbaric yawp over the roofs of the world.[3]

Ostensibly, there would seem to be no really "comical" matter in these lines, and even less of it in the remainder of the section.[4] However, running counter to the more general view, as expressed by Barrett Wendell, for example, that Whitman's poetry contained "pretty much everything . . . but humor," [5] Miss Rourke specifically notes that "his famous 'I sound my barbaric yawp over the roofs of the world' might have been shouted by the gamecock of the wilderness, even though the image belongs to cities." [6] To realize the full comic impact of this line one must go beyond Miss Rourke's modifying "might" and "even though," and accept the larger comedy that it is not despite, but because the gamecock shouts over the city roofs, rather than in the wilderness, that he is a poignant comic figure. The combination of poignancy and comedy arises mainly from Whitman's associating himself with this particular "hawk." Unlike the hermit thrush of the Lincoln elegy, who while "avoiding the settlements" floated his "carol" over "the dense-pack'd cities," this bird is a wild city dweller. As will be seen when we come to the all important identification of the bird, he expresses his love to an

[3] *The Complete Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman,* ed Malcolm Cowley (New York 1948) I 113. All references to *Leaves of Grass* are to this edition, cited as *CPP.*

[4] The last scud of day holds back for me,
It flings my likeness after the rest and true as any on the shadow'd
wilds,
It coaxes me to the vapor and the dusk.

I depart as air, I shake my white locks at the runaway sun,
I effuse my flesh in eddies, and drift it in lacy jags.

I bequeath myself to the dirt to grow from the grass I love,
If you want me again look for me under your boot-soles.

You will hardly know who I am or what I mean,
But I shall be good health to you nevertheless,
And filter and fibre your blood.

Failing to fetch me at first keep encouraged,
Missing me one place search another,
I stop somewhere waiting for you (*CPP* 114).

[5] *A Literary History of America* (New York 1900) 471.

[6] *American Humor* 174.

unresponsive mate by throwing himself into a suicidal dive and discharging a vibrant zoom as he comes out of it. As with the unobserved observer of the twenty-eight bathers in Section 11, the poignancy in the ending of "Song of Myself" emerges from a frustrated yearning and an unreturnable passion. In both instances, the emotional is hinged upon the comic and is toughened by it; so that comedy gives propitious expression to a serious idea.

There are a number of senses in which "Song of Myself" may be deemed comic. Richard Chase observed that it has the "wit, gaiety, and festive energy of all good comedy"; and among major examples of its "comic spirit" he cited that of the omniscient poet "whose pretensions to know himself are mocked . . . by an ironical counter self." [7] In the conclusion of the poem, Whitman elecits the latent comedy of assumptions he had made about the sound of his poetry and his character as poet. These assumptions are a) that as a poetry of nature his verse should partake of unmusical natural sounds; b) that as a poet of democracy he should indiscriminately absorb *everything* into his "omnivorous lines"; and c) that as a poet of optimism he should project both an ebullient personality and a messianic hope. With just a slight change of emphasis, each of these is made distinctly comical. Unmusicality becomes an outright yawp; the democrat puts himself at the disposal of persons who are not even conscious of his ministrations; and the messiah asks those who would be saved to look for him under their boot soles.

Whitman's assumptions saddled him with several predicaments. Unmusicality will be discussed in a later section. As for character, the optimist — an undisillusioned "Birdofredom Sawin" — had at last to contemplate the possibility of his being an ebullient failure. His reaction was a spontaneously comical acceptance of his own absurdity. And that was all to the good, for the comic poses found in earlier parts of the poem were often more theatrical than dramatic, and they were keyed either to bravura or the studied indolence of the 1855 frontispiece.[8] In contrast, the pose at the end was pensive

[7] *Walt Whitman Reconsidered* 58, 21.

[8] Typical of bravura is this whooping, Crockett-like sequence:

> Walt Whitman, a kosmos, of Manhattan the son,
> Turbulent, fleshy, sensual, eating, drinking and breeding,
> No sentimentalist, no stander above men and women or apart from them,
> No more modest than immodest.
>
> Unscrew the locks from the doors!
> Unscrew the doors themselves from their jambs! (Section 24 *CPP* 82).

And, typical of indolence, the following practically follows the engraved daguerreotype of the first edition feature by feature:

and aware of the reader, and it was genuinely self-effacing. By means of the change comedy came brilliantly to the defense of Whitman's poetic character. It enhanced the possibilities of reception, which, along with the "proof" of his status as poet, depended on his being absorbed by the nation "as affectionately as he ha[d] absorbed it."

So heavily did the *completion* of his poem depend on acceptance, and so great was the risk of rejection, that as early as Section 3 Whitman had agonized: "Shall I postpone my acceptation and realization and scream at my eyes." Events were to prove that he had reason to be apprehensive about the reception of his poetry; for the oft repeated charges in the press with respect to the beastliness of its sentiments, the indecency of its language, and above all to the Bedlamite quality of its barbaric utterance,[9] were taken up by respected critics like Howells and Thoreau.[10]

In being aware of the view that would make a love-yawping beast of him, Whitman was able to divert criticism to his own ends by encompassing it. That was at least a partial defense, for while encompassment fitted in with his theme of democratic love, he might not have had to use it if, anteriorly, his treatment of love had not rendered him so vulnerable. In fact, love of the universe and everything in it was not simply vulnerable, it was ipso facto colossally ridiculous. This problem Whitman overcame symbolically by presenting it as the problem of the One and the Many and suggesting that one discovered one's Self through communal immersion.[11] Still, the difficulty was not in bringing the One to the Many. It was in bringing the Many into

---

. . . what I am,
Stands amused, complacent, compassionate, idle, unitary,
Looks down, is erect, or bends an arm on an impalpable certain rest,
Looking with side-curved head curious what will come next,
Both in and out of the game and watching and wondering at it (Section 4 *CPP* 65).

[9] Typical of these views is a review of the first and second editions of *Leaves of Grass* in *The Christian Examiner* LXI (Nov 1856) 472.

[10] Howells had complained that "a man's greatness . . . if emitted in barbaric yawps, . . . is not more [fitting] than Ossian or the east wind." Review of *Drum Taps* in *The Round Table* III (Nov 11 1865) 148. He began this rather tart review by asking, "Will saltpeter explode? Is Walt Whitman a poet?" — and found Whitman's poetic method "unspeakably inartistic" (p 147). (The statement I cite is from the last sentence of the review. I assume that the word "filling" is a misprint for fitting.)

Thoreau remarked: "He does not celebrate love at all. It is as if the beasts spoke." As is well known, Thoreau otherwise gave a laudatory account of the man and his poetry. *The Correspondence of Henry David Thoreau,* eds Walter Harding and Carl Bode (New York 1958) 444.

[11] As he had it in "Starting From Paumanok," "a song make I of the One form'd out of all" (*CPP* 54).

sympathy with the One, in his exposing himself as lover to the ordinary American — not necessarily an obtuse person, perhaps, but a moral sluggard and not profoundly sensitive. How to handle what he had called in Section 4 "The real or fancied indifference of some man or woman I love" — that was the realistic challenge Whitman had to face in order to justify his poetry. He kept coming back to it, almost compulsively, in such poems as "Song of the Open Road," "As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life," "I Saw in Louisiana a Live-Oak Growing," and "So Long!" Yet regardless of how intensely he may have brooded over his reception in those poems (which will be dealt with later on) he never improved on the way he resolved the challenge in "Song of Myself," which was to objectify his own role and depict the conflict between the poet and his intended reader and mate as the climax of a developing comic action.

There is thus an extraordinary piece of self-conscious drama played out in the last section of "Song of Myself." Whitman's initial gambit is the jest that far from being accepted by men, he is jeered at by a bird. In that condition the primary Ego of the poem momentarily, and almost fatally, sees himself being reduced to the absurdity of an unreciprocated giving to an unknowing beneficiary (represented by the accusatory bird), to whom he is incapable of not giving. Whitman's taking the usual behavior of the bird as a personal taunt stems from a premonition of how his effusiveness may strike the masses, whom he is striving to reach. His significantly comic shift in likening himself to the hawk who had derided him ("*I too . . . /* sound my barbaric yawp" — my italics) seems to indicate that the masses may well find him grotesque, without realizing that he and they are one. Having established the protean quality of his comic Self, he then bequeathes himself "to the dirt" and — Herculean even in his modesty — says to those who have been able to hear his song — nay, to bear it — impassively:

> If you want me again look for me under your boot-soles.

It is significant of his role as an unrequited "caresser of life" that in "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," when the "outsetting bard" receives an annunciation of his destiny from the bird, he comes away with the imperative: "Never more the cries of unsatisfied love be absent from me." In "Song of Myself," having styled himself "the mate and companion of people," the poet is committed to being their savior-servant ("when I give I give myself") and, if need be, their fool too for not being recognized. Hence he points out, in the conclusion,

You will hardly know who I am or what I mean,
But I shall be good health to you nevertheless,
And filter and fibre your blood.

Coming from the poet who declared in this the longest lyric poem in our literature, "I want . . . to bestow myself on the first that will take me," these lines are desperately ironic both for the giver and the potential receiver, but, as is proper for a lyric, feelingly so. In a process that is rescued from pathos by its being humorous and optimistic, he intends to strengthen persons who neither know nor understand him, and who will not know they are being improved.

Useful as it is, Whitman's comic tone does not have just the ad hoc purpose of disarming criticism. He maintains it in the understatement of his last three lines, where the light touch makes an invitation, almost a flirtation, of his most serious injunction (look for me and you will find yourself); so that, compared with the value of the injunction, the lightness is appealingly quaint and jocular, qualities that are incidentally conveyed by the humorous associations of a word like "fetch."

Failing to fetch me at first keep encouraged,
Missing me one place search another,
I stop somewhere waiting for you.[12]

The presence of these comic possibilities in the conclusion of "Song of Myself" illustrates Whitman's ability to make the finer adjustments of tone that are indispensable for a lofty subject.

II

To grasp one of the richest examples of how Whitman used comedy in "Song of Myself" one needs to know more about the complaining bird who introduced the coda just described. Whitman used him as more than an arbitrary marplot; for this "spotted hawk" is an identifiable species, whose behavior in courtship — swooping and crying out over the roof-tops, in Whitman's allusion — precisely epitomizes the persistent lover-poet undaunted by indifference. Thus, the bird's typifying behavior metaphorically projects the sacrificial comedy Whitman invented to abide the possibility of non-acceptance.

[12] As a summation, this effectively balances similar thoughts shouted as commandments or boasts at the outset of the poem, as: "Stop this day and night with me and you shall possess the origin of all poems, / You shall possess the good of the earth and sun, . . ." (Section 2 *CPP* 63).

At first, one is disturbed perhaps at the idea of a *spotted* hawk, since, ornithologically speaking, there is no such creature, no such hawk, that is. Rather, on the basis of Whitman's description, it has to be a nighthawk, which belongs to the family of "goatsuckers" (Chordeiles Caprimulgus), a name given them because of the legend that with their enormous mouth (called a "yawning trap" by some)[13] they were thought to have sucked at the paps of goats. Unlike the hawk, the nighthawk preys on insects, and is therefore helpful to man, though, in Whitman's time that did not prevent people from shooting him as a gamebird. At any rate, Whitman's reference was right; and, whether intentionally so or not, the apparent misnomer does seem to be functional.[14] For, as hawk implies a vigorous bird of prey, it is comically more impressive that a raptorial fellow like him should fake a death-dive in order to arouse an apathetic mate, than it is for a peaceable nighthawk to do so. Besides, in his prose as hero-poet, Whitman had cast himself as a celebrant of turbulent passion.[15]

That Whitman knew what bird he wanted we can tell from the fact that his representing the nighthawk as spotted comes from the book he was known to have used on other occasions, preeminently for the mockingbirds in "Out of the Cradle," and previously in "Song of Myself" at least for his references to the razor-billed auk and yellow crowned night heron, two birds very rarely seen on Long Island. This book was Jacob P. Giraud's *The Birds of Long Island* (New York 1844).[16] Whitman would not have

13 Edward Howe Forbush and John Richard May, *A Natural History of American Birds of Eastern and Central North America* (Boston 1939) 282.

14 There is no way of telling whether it was intentional or not. But if Whitman admitted that "the expert ornithologist . . . will detect more than one slip" in his notes on birds ("Specimen Days" *CPP* II 182), departures from fact in his poetry had to be meaningful; and his calling *his* nighthawk a hawk was.

15 He was of course much impressed by "The Dalliance of the Eagles":

> The rushing amorous contact high in space together,
> The clinching interlocking claws, a living, fierce, gyrating wheel,
> Four beating wings, two beaks, a swirling mass tight grappling,
> (*CPP* 258).

16 Courtland Y. White pointed out that in Giraud, "can be found not only support for Whitman's sometimes debatable statements, but also the probable source of his knowledge, and, perhaps, even an immediate inspiration of some of his passages, particularly those of early composition" ("A Whitman Ornithology," *Cassinia* xxxv [June 1945] 14). White convincingly shows the extent to which Whitman borrowed from Giraud for his information about the mockingbird, auk, and heron, but he failed to take note of the nighthawk or of Whitman's drawing on Giraud for his information about the bird. Whitman's use of Giraud has also been noted by Alice M. Chace: "A Note on Whitman's Mockingbird" *MLN* LXI (Fall 1946) 93–94.

gotten an impression of spots from observation of the bird.[17] However, as far as his poetic purpose is concerned the spots on his hawk suggest a striking anomaly. He is a clownish prodigy, who barges incongruously into the poem in comical response to the tender questions at the end of section 51:

> Who wishes to walk with me?
> Will you speak before I am gone? will you prove already
> too late? (*CPP* p 113).

And so, just as it seems as if no one will answer, and the answerer he seeks seems to be hanging back, Whitman reports: "The spotted hawk swoops by and accuses me, he complains of my gab and my loitering." The bird is an interloper and a freak to boot, who instantly gets converted into Whitman's Doppelgänger. As with Poe's raven, the introduction of so strange a bird at this juncture produces an anti-climax, by virtue of which the bird is grotesque and funny.

That distinctive characteristic of the nighthawk on which Whitman wrought the most interesting improvement is the bird's "love song." For its source in the throat he depended either upon his own unscientific observation or upon the vagueness of Giraud, or both,[18] since in spite of a deceptive nasal quality, the noise is actually made by the end feathers of the wings and has been described as a *swo-o-o-onk*.[19] By vulgarizing that sound into a yawp, Whitman created a strange sound for a strange bird, and in that capacity it is well nigh perfect, to say nothing of its appropriateness as an ironic symbol of his verse. For sheer comedy it is unparalleled.

The other aspects of the nighthawk's courtship complete the comic richness of Whitman's allusion to a rara avis by providing a humorous analogue

[17] The nighthawk is brownish black, with a streaked and mottled appearance. Its distinguishing features are not spots — an obscure detail of the tail feathers which Giraud took almost verbatim from Audubon — but rather white bars that are to be found on the underside of the wings, neck and tail feathers and which stand out when one sees the bird in flight.

Audubon had written: "Tail feathers barred with brownish-grey, the four outer on each side plain brownish-black towards the end, with a white spot." On the female: "The white spots on the tail [are] wanting." John James Audubon, *Ornithological Biography* (Edinburgh 1834) II 277, 278. Giraud had written: ". . . the outer four feathers on each side plain brownish-black toward the end, with a large white spot. . . ." As for the female: ". . . the white spots on the tail feathers [are] wanting." *The Birds of Long Island* 32.

[18] Alexander Wilson, whom Giraud cited and followed in a number of instances, had claimed that the bird's characteristic sound was "produced by the sudden expansion of his capacious mouth" (Quoted in *Life Histories of North American Cuckoos, Goatsuckers, Hummingbirds and Their Allies*, ed Arthur Cleveland Bent [Washington DC 1940] 228). Giraud merely attributed a "harsh noise" to it (p 33). Whitman may have consulted Wilson directly, but he probably did not consult Audubon, who correctly attributed the "boom" to the sudden change in the position of the wings which brought the bird out of its dive (*Ornithological Biography* II 274).

[19] *Life Histories* 215. The section on the nighthawk was prepared by Alfred Otto Gross from close observation.

of his role as lover. The male bird's performance normally takes place over the flat graveled roofs of city buildings, where the nighthawk nests; and it has been authoritatively described as "an ardent and amorous performance on the part of the male."

> He may be seen at twilight or early dawn uttering his sharp peent calls as he flies in wide circles sometimes hovering or soaring in the air high above the proposed nesting site. At more or less regular intervals he swoops down often within a few yards of his mate. Just as he seems about to dash into the ground he makes an abrupt upward turn, the vibrating primaries producing the well-known boom.

From that point he descends and begins a comical dance before the largely passive female, spreading his tail and wagging it while he gives his body a peculiar rocking motion and utters "gutteral croaking notes." [20] The boom can be heard for a considerable distance, and one popular ornithologist has described it — in a way Whitman would have appreciated — as coming rather close to the "Bronx Cheer." [21]

III

Of the comical effects alluded to above, Whitman's affinity for unmusical, natural sounds — like those of the nighthawk — was part of his interest in an "organic" style. This affinity contrasts with the serious and lyrical uses he made of the bird song. A glance at both of these matters will clarify what Whitman accomplished by his comic treatment of serious ideas.

To be sure, the boisterousness of "Song of Myself" was in character for the poet who had cried, "not words, not music or rhyme I want" — who began by asserting, "I permit to speak *at every hazard*, / Nature without check," (my italics), referring shortly thereafter to the "belch'd words of my voice" (*CPP* 62, 63), and who wanted to bring out from among the welter of city noises, "howls restrain'd by decorum" (*CPP* 69). However, when Whitman made an analogy between his verses and an unintelligible and dissonant bird call, he was merely culminating many previous intimations that who he was and what he meant were obscure only because the answers lay in natural facts that revealed him immediately, imagistically, and mystically. By such unlikely comparisons as those to the gnat in the air and the drop in the ocean, for example, he was wryly calling attention to the ideality of poetry as uniquely what it is and unexplainable in terms other than its own.

[20] *Life Histories* 208.

[21] Roger Tory Peterson, *A Field Guide to the Birds* (Boston 1962) rev ed, 29th impression, 139.

If you would understand me go to the heights or water-shore,
The nearest gnat is an explanation, and a drop or motion of waves a key,
The maul, the oar, the hand-saw, second my words (Section 47 *CPP* 110).

The point is, if his poetry has the untranslatability of nature, then it would seem to follow organically that reference to harsh noises should "second" his words and become part of their musical medium. In this case, comic inclusiveness helped Whitman to define an aesthetic principle.

On the other hand, when it came to birds and bird songs, in contradistinction to gnats, and the noises of mauls, oars and saws, Whitman's comparisons not only implied an ideal of untranslatable lyricism, but as F. O. Mattheissen pointed out,[22] a naturally attractive, melodic and euphonious musical medium. Singing, warbling, carolling, trilling, and chanting were the terms he used in relating his poems to bird songs. Moreover, birds were an extremely serious motif for him. He listed them in the 1855 Preface among the inspiring subjects that would not give "small themes" (*CPP* II 271); and, needless to say, he proved this by making the songs of the mocking bird and the hermit thrush heuristic experiences in "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking" and "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd"—experiences in which his intuiting that the bird song was "projecting" him and was "the tallying song of [his] soul" empowered him to become a poet and write those poems. In them the bird song attains its highest value as an expression of ineffable grief; it is indeed the most trenchant vehicle for Whitman's elevated treatment of serious themes.[23]

22 *American Renaissance* (New York 1941) 559.

23 So great a sense of sublimity did Whitman derive from the bird song that at the moment of supreme realization in "Out of the Cradle" (lines 144–157) it stimulates a depth of emotion and aesthetic intensity which approximate comparable qualities in Poe's handling of the lamentation of a "bereaved lover." One even notices verbal echoes of "The Raven."

Demon or bird! (said the boy's soul,)
Is it indeed toward your mate you sing? or is it really to me?
For I, that was a child, my tongue's use sleeping, now I have heard you,
Now in a moment I know what I am for, I awake,
And already a thousand singers, a thousand songs, clearer, louder
and more sorrowful than yours,
A thousand warbling echoes have started to life within me, never to die.

O you singer solitary, singing by yourself, projecting me,
O solitary me listening, never more shall I cease perpetuating you,
Never more shall I escape, never more the reverberations,
Never more the cries of unsatisfied love be absent from me,
Never again leave me to be the peaceful child I was before what there
in the night,
By the sea under the yellow and sagging moon,
The messenger there arous'd, the fire, the sweet hell within,
The unknown want, the destiny of me (*CPP* 242).

To understand why he would distort the ideality of the bird song into something so originally ugly and, according to his own view, so unbirdlike as a yawp, one should first note that while he may have abandoned traditional metrics for a melange of rhythms, irregular and prosy lines, there is really no such thing as a yawp, or a yawped line (whatever that may be) in any of Whitman's verse. Nor has anyone who has spoken of the yawp been able to point to one line that sounds like it. Whitman's talk about belches and howls and yawps is after all just that, talk, or the "gab" complained of by the nighthawk at the end of "Song of Myself." Though comical in itself, the yawp is a metaphoric exaggeration which serves as the ironic counterpoint of two rather serious purposes. One goes back to the question of an organic style and the other to the question of his reception.

Whereas he could not literally reproduce a strident yawp, he nonetheless wished to suggest its appropriateness as an organic "accompaniment" for his poetry — something to be realized more through imagery than sound as such. A great deal more significant is the fact that his yawp is the maximal sacrificial gesture Whitman can make in his messianic role as lover and celebrant of "a word of the modern, the word En-Masse. / A word of the faith that never balks" (Section 23 *CPP* 81). He will set aside his pride in his poetry and treat it as so much gammon, if that will help him to gain a reception for it. Sacrifice was the nexus between serious and comical phases of "Song of Myself." As he had pointed out quite early,

> What is commonest, cheapest, nearest, easiest, is Me,
> Me going in for my chances, spending for vast returns,
> Adorning myself to bestow myself on the first that will take me,
> Not asking the sky to come down to my good will,
> Scattering it freely forever (Section 14 *CPP* 73).

Having tried to demonstrate this by precept and example in the body of his poem,[24] he tried to support it by comic-irony in the ending. Comic technique became not only the instrument for a serious motif, it became the embodiment of it.

Ultimately, in both the sacrificial self-disparagement and in the sacrificial jest that mocked his love song, Whitman showed a more profound and truer understanding of love, than he had in the romantically elegiac version of it in "Out of the Cradle." For the boy to comprehend what it meant for the he-bird to have poured out his soul in the song that expressed his grief

[24] The motif of gaining acceptance through sacrifice was particularly strong in Sections 37, 38, 44, and 45, as he neared the conclusion.

over the loss of a mate was one thing. For the poet to continue to love, and not to grieve, even though his love would probably be misunderstood, demanded a larger commitment of soul.

Richard Chase pointed out that "Song of Myself" is "full of odd gestures and whimsical acts," and he said the poem gives us "the comedy and pathos of 'the simple separate person.'" [25] What he failed to point out was the relationship between these two facts: that a person who presses love so far must be an unsuccessful lover and that his being left a separate person, despite all his efforts to the contrary, enjoins on him a comic defense of his position as lover.

The strength of Whitman's comical ending is that one cannot get this serious about it without feeling a tug in the opposite direction. He only *feigned* suicide in order to exaggerate what he had been doing for the reader. It remained for the reader to recognize what was good for him: to accept Whitman's love and complete the intention of the poem.

IV

Finally, the success with which comic innuendoes enabled Whitman to meet the trial of reception can be measured by how well he dealt with it in other poems. In "I Saw in Louisiana a Live-Oak Growing" he stressed the pathos of a love for which there was no recipient whatsoever. It was too agonizing to contemplate; and so, after identifying with the tree in its lonely grandeur, he retreats from the problem confessing that though this evergreen oak might be "Uttering joyous leaves all its life without a friend a lover near, / I know very well I could not" (*CPP* 142). In "Song of the Open Road," he took the opposite alternative of coming forward to beg for acceptance. Having given all of himself to his potential comrade, he plaintively appealed for an equivalent return from him.[26]

In "As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life," he came very close to recapitulating the rejection envisioned in the ending of "Song of Myself." He was made despondent by the thought that his "arrogant poems" seemed rather jejune before the natural forces which had inspired them and were supposedly incorporated in them. What's more, he had not truly depicted his real Self; and so, as with the "gab" and the "yawp" in "Song of Myself," he regarded his poetry as dissolving into so much "blab." Instead of seeing himself

[25] *Walt Whitman Reconsidered* 60, 64.

[26] I give you myself before preaching or law;
Will you give me yourself? will you come travel with me?
Shall we stick by each other as long as we live? (*CPP* 166).

metaphorically mocked by a bird, it was the "real Me," as "yet untouched," that rose to laugh at him.

> O baffled, balk'd, bent to the very earth,
> Oppress'd with myself that I have dared to open my mouth,
> Aware now that amid all that blab whose echoes recoil upon me I have not once had the least idea who or what I am,
> But that before all my arrogant poems the real Me stands yet untouch'd, untold, altogether unreach'd,
> Withdrawn far, mocking me with mock-congratulatory signs and bows,
> With peals of distant ironical laughter at every word I have written,
> Pointing in silence to these songs, and then to the sand beneath (*CPP* 244).

Although there is drama here, the dualism proceeds on too simplistic a level — A as opposed to B. The passage is in this respect less imaginative than the ending of "Song of Myself" with its interplay of mask and antimask, and absorption of the anti-mask through comic sublimation. Far from being comical, the laughter of "As I Ebb'd" is a searing rebuke that leaves him defenseless.

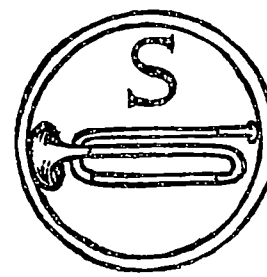
"So Long!" also closely parallels the ending of "Song of Myself," and for the good reason that Whitman had thought of using it as the conclusion for the whole of *Leaves of Grass*. It contains a viable solution to the problem of reception. However, it is a conventionalized solution, and though easy of attainment, he works gropingly towards it. After announcing what is to come after him, he sums up what he has done and sees his effect as residing in the spirit of his poems which will work its influence on succeeding generations ("So I pass, a little time vocal . . . / Afterward a melodious echo, . . . / The best of me then when no longer visible, for toward that I have been inessently preparing" *CPP* 431). However, his confidence in the electric screams that are his poems is somewhat dampened when the question of meaningless "blab" — the "unshut mouth" — comes back to plague him,

> What is there more, that I lag and pause and crouch extended with unshut mouth?
> Is there a single final farewell? (*CPP* 431)

That he may yet propose *himself*, if all else fails, is his final consolation, and upon seeing himself realized in being "immerged from head to foot" in the reader, he is ready to "depart from materials, . . . as one disembodied, triumphant, dead" (432). On these terms, it is solely in the timeless condition of death that true reception is possible. This does well enough when one is

dealing with ultimates; to deal with reception amidst the contingencies of life is something else again. Only in "Song of Myself" where he absorbed the oppositional view in the ambient spirit of comedy did Whitman find a way out of the predicament that his love might very well fail of its immediate purpose.

No doubt the youthful zest of "Song of Myself" had much to do with instilling in Whitman the confidence to be completely original. His use of comedy in the conclusion of the poem to protect its vulnerable love was an ingenious extension of that originality.



Notes on the Early Editions of Flaxman's Classical Designs

By G. E. Bentley, Jr
University of Toronto

PART II

THE TRAGEDIES OF AESCHYLUS

1 1795. COMPOSITIONS | FROM THE | TRAGEDIES OF AESCHYLVS | DESIGNED BY IOHN FLAXMAN | ENGRAVED BY THOMAS PIROLI | [*At the foot of the page is:*] THE ORIGINAL DRAWINGS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE COVNTESS DOWAGER SPENCER. London Published for I. Flaxman Junr Jan. 12. 1795, by J. Matthews N° 441. Strand.

Titlepage plus 30 plates, each with some variant of the same imprint The names of the characters and a quotation are given on each plate. The imprint measures 75 mm. Titlepage platemark: 22.8 × 22.7 cm (framing line: 21.4 × 21.2).

Copies:

a Signet Library, Edinburgh (reported by Moss & Todd). *Watermark:* none.

b London Library. *Watermark:* none.

c National Library of Scotland. *Watermark:* 1794 J WHATMAN.

d Col Moss. *Watermark:* RUSSELL & CO 1801.

e Col Moss. *Watermark:* E[dmead] & P[ine] 1804.

f Harvard. *Watermark:* RUSE & TURNERS 1806. Bound with the unwatermarked 1805 *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

g Illinois. *Watermark:* 1809.

h British Museum. *Watermark:* none. Bound with the Hesiod with the royal arms.

i Cambridge. *Watermark:* none.

j Royal Academy. *Watermark:* 1794 J WHATMAN.

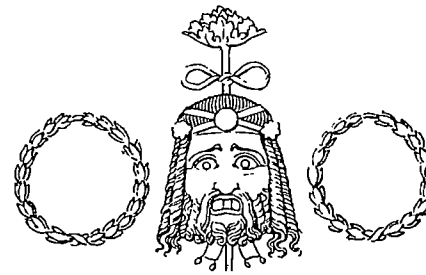
k Ashmolean Museum. *Watermark:* 1794 J WHATMAN. Francis Douce's copy.

l British Museum. *Watermark:* 1794 J WHATMAN. With the Grenville arms.

m Bodley. *Watermarks:* E & P; J WHATMAN 1801; JOHN HAYES 1803; flyleaf: 1822.

n British Museum Print Room. *Watermark:* 1809. Bound after 1822 with the 1805 *Odyssey* and the 1795 *Iliad*.

o Trinity College, Cambridge. *Watermark:* E & P 1801. Inscribed: "Respectfully presented to the Library of Trinity College Cambridge by the Author".



Aeschylus (*1* copy *g*) titlepage vignette by Piroli

2 1795. [*Wording of titlepage exactly like no* 1.]

Titlepage plus 30 plates, each with some variant of the same imprint. The names of the characters and a quotation are given on each plate. The imprint measures 90 mm.

Copies:

a Harvard. *Watermark:* A G C.

b Bibliothèque Nationale. *Watermark:* none.

c John Rylands Library. *Watermark:* A G C.

d Cornell. *Watermark:* A G C. Bound with the 1793 A G C *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

e Col Moss. *Watermark:* A G C.

f Yale. *Watermark:* G L C.

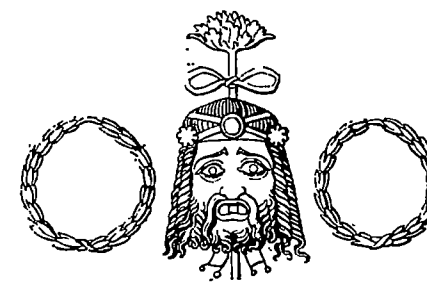
Copies with watermark and imprint measurements not recorded:

g Chicago Art Institute.

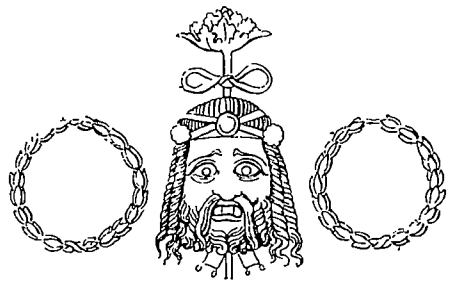
h Huntington Library.

Though extraordinarily similar, the two "1795" variants of Aeschylus are clearly printed from different sets of copperplates, as the varying length of the imprint might suggest. Photographs of the Illinois and Yale copies reveal consistent differences between the two sets of engravings. For instance, on the titlepages the "D" of "DESIGNED" is much closer to the ornament above it in no *1* than in no *2;* the "r" is after the "n" of "Junr" in the former set, while it is over the "n" in the latter; the wreathes beside and the plant above the

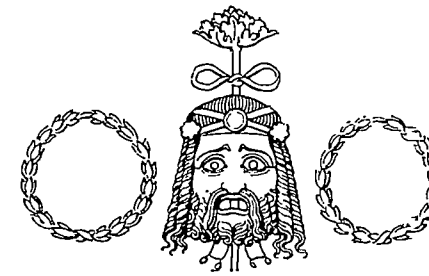
2 copy *f* (Piroli)



5 copy *a* (Dufresne)



6 copy *e* (Piroli)



7 copy *i* (Piroli)

head of Aeschylus are clearly different; the feet of the animal (goat?) are separated in the former but together in the latter. Similarly in the second plate, the faces of Prometheus and the lefthand man subduing him are different, in the former the right eye of Promethus is a circle, in the latter a semicircle.

It will be noticed that the watermarks recorded in the former edition are all English, while those of the latter are all Continental. The latter clearly remained in Italy and was probably printed and sold by Piroli in Rome. The former was printed in England for Flaxman by his aunt Jane Matthews and by the Longman firm, and was eventually reissued with additional plates by Flaxman's executors in 1831.

The Aeschylus designs were commissioned by the Countess Dowager Spencer, a cousin of Mrs Hare-Naylor. Flaxman's own account books tell us something about the publication and profits of the Aeschylus. In particular, they make it clear that he was the holder of the copyright. In August and September [1793] Piroli acknowledged receipt of 107 "S" (?soldi) from Flaxman for "Aeschylus." [31b] This seems to be clear evidence that the English plates were engraved in Italy by Piroli, and were brought back to London by Flaxman in the autumn of 1794. It seems quite possible that the Italian sets were actually on sale before those in England. Flaxman himself seems to have sold some of the copies, for he was paid a guinea each for three sets of the Aeschylus in 1795. Most of the sales, however, were made through commercial print and book sellers such as his aunt.

	£	s	d
1795 Mrs Matthews. No 441 Strand			
Decr 22d Recd on Account of the Tragedies of Eschylus —	10	10	–

[31b] BM Add MSS 39,784 F, f 35. The page is not dated more precisely than "Augto 3," "10 Sbre," but it appears in Flaxman's notebook for 1792 to 1794, and refers to 1793 since the Flaxmans had left Rome by August 1794. Presumably the imprints were added to the plates later just before Flaxman left Rome.

1796		
May 28	Rec^{d} on Acc^{t} of D^{o}	20 — —
[*In July 1796 he received from Edwards for 6 copies*		*4.17.6*]
1798		
Feb^{y}	Rec^{d} of Messrs Arch for Eschylus	3 16 6
	Rec^{d} for D^{o} in Books	2 6
....		
1801	Mr Evans for Eschylus	
March 26	Rec^{d} for Eschylus & Naval letter	14 14

The last entry may be partially explained by the fact that in 1799 Evans published Flaxman's *Letter to The Committee for Raising The Naval Pillar,* with three plates by Blake.

These figures suggest that until her death in 1800 Flaxman's aunt Jane Matthews printed sets of his Aeschylus for him from time to time and sold them herself and through a number of booksellers, including Edwards, Arch, and Evans. Sometime after she died, perhaps in 1803 when Flaxman was arranging for the new editions of his Homer designs, Longman largely took over the publication of the Aeschylus as well. The Longman records concerning Aeschylus sometimes reveal puzzling disparities between the number of copies received and the number sold, and in the list below the occasional figures in square brackets have been supplied to account for otherwise inexplicable sales. Flaxman was given sums corresponding to 16s per copy up through 1803; to £1.5.0 through 1818; and £1.10.6 from 1819 through 1830. Between 1804 and 1835 Longman sold 345 copies of Flaxman's Aeschylus and paid £413.3.0 in cash and credit to Flaxman and his family.

In the Longman books there is evidence of Aeschylus deliveries up to 1803 [19]; in 1804 (25); October 5th 1805 (18); November 20th 1805 (20); January 10th 1806 (25); December 10th 1806 (12); December 22nd 1806 (13); January 25th 1808 (25); March 1809 (25); February 27th 1810 (25); July 1810 (25); September 1st 1813 (25); February 1814 (2); 1818 [12]; April 28th 1819 (25); April 5th 1828 (4); December 1828 (4); January 21st 1829 (6); March 29th 1830 (6). On the assumption that the Aeschylus was printed in runs of about twenty-five sets and that Longman took most if not all of the runs, these figures would indicate printings in [1803], 1804, 1805, 1806, 1808, 1809, 1810, 1813, 1819, [1821?], [1828?].[32] The variation in the

[32] Commission & Divide Ledger; Commission Ledger I ff 155–156; II f 81; III f 19; IV f 191. These same accounts reveal occasional gifts of the Aeschylus to Flaxman's friends; odd payments for boarding one or two sets of the Aeschylus at a time; payments to Cox & Barnett for printing twenty five copies of Aeschylus (at about 5s 3d per set) in July 1810 and again in February 1811; and debits for the books the Flaxmans bought from Longman.

watermarks of the recorded copies is an indication of these frequent small printings. Probably there are similarly obscured printings of many of the other editions of Flaxman's designs which will not be discovered until some datable peculiarity of the paper is observed. Many of the problems of such stereotype printing are different in kind from those of ordinary printing, and the information in these notes is clearly not exhaustive.

3 1795. ΦΟΥ | ΑΙΕΧΥΛΟΥ | ΤΡΑΓ ΩΔΙΑΙ | ΕΙΠΤΑ | ET DOCUIT MAGNUMQUE LOQUI, NITQUE COTHURNO. | GLASGUAE; | IN AEDIBUS ACADEMICIS, | EXCUDEBAT ANDREAS FOULIS ACADEMIAE TYPOGRAPHUS. | EDINBURGI, PROSTANT VENALUS APUD GULIELMUM LAING: | LONDONI, APUD T. PAYNE, B. ET I. WHITE, ET T. EGERTON. | MDCCXCV.

Copies:

a British Museum. *Watermark:* none.

b Bodley. *Watermark:* 1794 J WHATMAN.

c Harvard. *Watermark:* E & P 1801; HALL & TAPLIN; J RUSE 180[3?]; RUSE & TURNERS 1805.

According to David Murray, *Robert & Andrew Foulis and the Glasgow Press*, Glasgow, 1913, p 122, fifty-two copies of the Foulis Aeschylus were printed, plain copies at £3.3.0, eleven large paper copies at £10.10.0, and copies with Flaxman's designs at £20. The plates in the British Museum, Bodley and Harvard copies are from the English 1795 series. It is clear that sometimes copies of the Foulis Aeschylus were perfected with Flaxman plates printed long after 1795; a copy in the Fitzwilliam Museum has the 1831 plates inserted.

4 1802. Vier Tragödien | des | AESCHYLOS | übersetzt | von | FRIEDRICH LEOPOLD | GRAFEN ZU STOLBERG. | Hamburg, | bei Friedrich Perthes. | 1802. [*Halftitle*:] Vier Tragödien | des | AESCHYLOS. | Mit 16 Kupfern nach Flaxman von G. Hardorf.

German translation of Aeschylus with twelve plates (despite the sixteen announced on the half-title) numbered 2, 4–7, 9–15, though not in order. No lettering on the plates, not even the name of the designer or engraver. Size of plate 2: 12.4 × 15.8 cm; much smaller than the preceding editions.

Copy:

a British Museum

5 1803. COMPOSITIONS | D'APRÈS | LES TRAGÉDIES D'ESCHILE | DESSINÉES PAR JOHN FLAXMAN | SCULPTEUR ANGLAIS | [*Design of a Greek bearing a sword to a reclining man.*] | A Paris chez Nitot Dufresne Graveur Editeur, Rue du Helder Hôtel Mirabeau N° Onze. | Déposé à la Bibliothèque Nat^le^

Titlepage plus 30 plates, with the names of the characters and descriptions of the subjects in French.

Aeschylus *1* pl 2 detail, copy *g* (Piroli)

Copies:

a Bibliothèque Nationale.

b New York Public Library. *Watermark:* none. Bound with the undated Paris *Oeuvres* (see *Odyssée* no *10*).

For information about this publication, see *Odyssée* no *3*, which gives the date of 1803. The plates in this French Aeschylus are very similar to the English prints, but they are clearly from a different set of engravings.

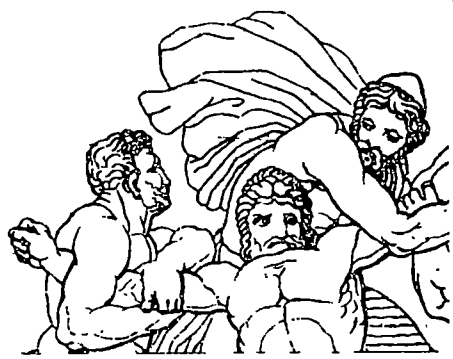
6 1818? COMPOSITIONS | FROM THE | TRAGEDIES OF AESCHYLVS | DESIGNED BY IOHN FLAXMAN | ENGRAVED BY THOMAS PIROLI | THE ORIGINAL DRAWINGS IN THE POSSESSION OF THS COVNTESS DOWAGER SPENCER. [*No imprint.*]

Titlepage plus 30 plates. Titles in English. Photographs of the two editions of the 1795 Aeschylus and the 1803 Eschile, when compared with the [1818?] Aeschylus (copy *e*), reveal that these are four quite separate sets of engravings and not reworkings of the same plates. Plate 1 platemark: 22.1 × 19.4 cm (framing line: 20.6 × 16.6).

Copies:

a Col Moss. *Watermark:* G A M.

b Ruthven Todd. *Watermark:* VAN DER LEY.



2 copy *f* (Piroli)

5 copy *a* (Dufresne)

6 copy *e* (Piroli)

7 copy *i* (Pirole)

c Col Moss. *Watermark:* PIETRO MILIANI FABRIANO.

d Vatican. *Watermark:* P M. Bound with the Vatican *Iliade* and *Odyssée.*

e New York Public Library. *Watermark:* P M. On the original cover is the label "Thomas Piroli et Fils Graveurs en Cuivres et Négotiants d'Estampes . . . [*as on the 1818?* Odyssée *no* 7d]." On the flyleaf is a price list of Nicola de Antoni in Rome, indicating that this copy was sold at least once in Rome.

f New York Public Library. *Watermark:* D & C BLAUW. Bound with the BLAUW *Iliade* and *Odyssée.*

g Fitzwilliam. *Watermark:* PMF.

h Victoria and Albert. *Watermark:* none.

For suggestions about the place and date of this edition, see *Odyssée* 7.

7 1831. COMPOSITIONS | FROM THE | TRAGEDIES OF AESCHYLUS, | DESIGNED BY JOHN FLAXMAN, | ENGRAVED BY THOMAS PIROLI, | AND FRANK HOWARD. | London, Publish'd April 15th 1831, by Miss Flaxman, & Miss Denman, 74 Upper Norton Street, Fitzroy Square.

Thirty-six plates comprehending the new titlepage above, the former titlepage (see Aeschylus no *1*), the 30 old plates plus four new ones signed "F. Howard Sculpt" (plates 4, 10, 12 and 23), the plates numbered 1–36, each with the former imprint erased and the imprint above substituted. The names of the characters and quotations are given on each plate. The label is made from the top four lines of the new titlepage.

Copies [unexamined]:

a Chicago.

b Chicago Art Institute.

c Edinburgh University.

d GEB. *Watermark:* none.

e GEB. *Watermark:* none.

f Edinburgh University.

g Library of Congress.

h Liverpool Free Public Library

i New York Public Library. *Watermark:* none.

j New York Public Library. *Watermark:* none.

k New York Public Library. *Watermark:* none.

l Royal Academy.

m Victoria and Albert.

n Victoria and Albert.

o Sir John Soane Museum.

p GEB.

This publication is simply a reprint of the English 1795 plates, with the inscriptions altered and five new plates added. On May 4 1831 Flaxman's sister Mary Anne wrote to Sir John Soane:

> Our new edition of the designs of Aeschylus, is just come from the Printer. . . . I beg leave to add that the plates of Aeschylus are the original Roman engravings by Piroli, that only the five additional subjects are engraved by Mr F. Howard — the price is £2–2–0 the same as the firs[t] edition. . . .[33]

The first printing probably consisted of fifty sets.[33a] I have no record of further printings and can only guess whether it was a reprint or a remainder which Henry G. Bohn offered in 1841 as

> FLAXMAN'S COMPOSITIONS FROM THE | TRAGEDIES OF AESCHYLUS. | A Series of Thirty-six beautiful Outlines, engraved under Flaxman's | inspection, by PIROLI, MOSES, and HOWARD. | Oblong folio, Published at £2.12s.6d.—REDUCED TO £1.5s. | *In extra boards.*[21]

Bohn then in turn sold the plates to Bell and Daldy, who published them in two forms.

8 1870. See *Odyssey* 12.

9 1870. COMPOSITIONS FROM | THE TRAGEDIES OF AESCHYLUS, | DESIGNED BY | JOHN FLAXMAN, R.A., SCULPTOR. | ENGRAVED BY THOMAS PIROLI, MOSES, AND HOWARD. | [*Bell emblem.*] | LONDON: | BELL AND DALDY, YORK STREET, | COVENT GARDEN. | 1870.

This is simply a reissue of the plates from the composite edition above in which the 1831 plates were used.

Copies:

a Victoria and Albert. *Watermark:* none.
b Victoria and Albert. *Watermark:* none.

Drawings

The Aeschylus designs were dispersed early (some appeared in the Christie sale of Sir Thomas Lawrence, May 20–21 1830), and are now widely scattered. Twenty-seven drawings are in the Royal Academy, and some others are in University College, London, the John Rylands Library, the Fogg Art Museum (7), Princeton University (2), and the British Museum Print Room.

33 Letter in the Sir John Soane Museum, London.

33a In Maria Flaxman's bankbook (BM Add MSS 39,784 D, f 7) is a debit of £13.18.3 on March 31st 1831 to Lahee, the man who had printed Blake's Job engravings. In July 1810 Cox & Barnett had charged £6.11.9 for paper and working of twenty-five sets of Aeschylus, and if we presume that Lahee's rates were about the same his bill would represent fifty sets.

Dante (2 copy *e*) titlepage (Piroli)

5 copy *j* (Piroli)

DANTE

1 1793. LA DIVINA COMEDIA DI DANTE ALIGHIERI CIOE L'INFERNO, IL PURGATORIO, ED IL PARADISO COMPOSTO DA GIOVANNI FLAXMAN SCULTORE INGLESE, ED INCISO DA TOMMASO PIROLI ROMANO 1793 [*and at the foot*] In Possesso di Tommaso Hope Scudiere, Amsterdam.

Copy:

a Col Moss. Proofs of title plus 38 Inferno plates plus 33 Purgatorio plates plus one unnumbered; no Paradiso.[34] *Watermarks:* [Inferno] J HONIG & ZOONEN and [Purgatorio] an R, the monogram of Adriaan Rogge. Title-page inscribed "The Countess Dowager Spencer from the Author".

On July 22 1793 Nancy Flaxman told William Hayley that the engravings after Flaxman's designs to the *Iliad, Odyssey* and Dante were completed, and the first two published, but that the third was not published because of the selfishness of the man who had commissioned them, Mr Hope.[35] Clearly Hope wanted to enjoy the designs privately rather than sharing them with the world at large, and he may have permitted only one or two proof sets to be taken to be sent, like the one above, to Flaxman's patroness. Thomas Hope (1770?–1831), a dilletante, traveler, collector, and student of architecture, was the eldest son of a wealthy banking family of Amsterdam; the first state of the Dante plates was probably made for him in 1793. About 1796 he returned to England because of the French occupation of Holland

[34] In the Christie sale of "Hope Heirlooms," July 25th 1917 (lots 359–365), were two sets of the 1793 Dante (111 plates); the 112 Dante drawings plus "over 60" drawings for Homer and Aeschylus; the 1795 Aeschylus; but not the 1793 *Iliad* or *Odyssey*.

[35] Letter in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

and Italy, and the second state of the Dante plates below (no *4*) was probably made between 1803, the date of the watermark, and 1807, to contrast with the commercial Paris edition of 1802. I have located no other copies of this 1793 Dante besides nos *1* and *4*, but Col Moss says quite positively that the "1793" edition is decisively different from the 1802 edition below. The platemark in 1793 is approximately 21.0 × 16.7 cm; in 1802 the platemark is 16.5 × 13.0 cm. The expressions on faces differ, 1793 errors are corrected in 1802, there is no word of Tommaso Hope in 1802, and so on.

2 1802. LA DIVINA COMEDIA | DI | DANTE ALIGHIERI | Cioé l'Inferno, il Purgatorio, ed il Paradiso. | Composto da Giovanni Flaxman Scultore Inglese ed inciso da Tommaso Piroli Rom^no^ 1802. | [*Bust of Dante surmounted by an angel, both over a devil.*] | [*At the foot is:*] Si vende dall'Incisore Sud^o^ a Strada Gregoriana N° 203.

Titlepage plus 38 plates of l'Inferno, plus 39 of il Purgatorio, plus 33 plates of Il Paradiso. Plate 1 platemark: 18.0 × 13.4 cm (framing line: 16.5 × 11.5).

Copies:

a Bibliothèque Nationale. *Watermark:* none.

b Cornell. *Watermark:* no initials in watermark.

c John Rylands Library. *Watermark:* none.

d Library of Congress. *Watermark:* P M (in the Inferno; none in the Purgatorio or Paradiso).

e Yale. *Watermark:* P M.

f Vatican. *Watermark:* P M. Without the Purgatorio or Paradiso.

3 1802. [*The same as no 2 above, except that Piroli's address is altered to:*] N° 34.

The same plates as no 2.

Copies:

a Col Moss. *Watermark:* P M.

b British Museum. *Watermark:* none.

c Tate Gallery. *Watermark:* PIETRO MILIANI FABRIANO 1836.

It seems likely that the titlepage to no *2* above was altered because Piroli was no longer at No 203 Strada Gregoriana. There seems to be no reason to doubt the dates of 1802. The 1836 in the watermark of *3c* indicates that the plates were still being used over thirty years after they were first engraved.

Nos *2* and *3* are a different set of engravings from nos *1* and *4–5*, and their publication was probably unauthorized. In 1802 Piroli evidently copied his working sketches after Flaxman and produced the above works. It may have been this edition which stimulated the authorized edition of 1807.

The work was still being sold many years after the date of the imprint, for it was included with a text of 1815–1816, and in his 1840 *Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Books in all Languages* James Bohn offered it thus:

These copies of the AUTHOR'S OWN original Edition, have recently been discovered in the stock of an old warehouse, where they had been forgotten.

4 1807? LA DIVINA COMEDIA DI DANTE ALIGHIERI CIOE L'INFERNO, IL PURGATORIO, ED IL PARADISO DISEGNATA DA GIOVANNI FLAXMAN SCULTORE INGLESE, ED INCISA DA TOMMASO PIROLI ROMANO 1793. [*At the foot is:*] In Possesso di Tommaso Hope Scudiere, Londra.

Copy:

a Col Moss. Proofs of the titlepage plus Inferno plates 16, 17, 26, 27, plus Purgatorio plates 11, 14, 31, plus 6 (out of 33) Paradiso plates. *Watermark:* LE[P]ARD 1803.

The watermark demonstrates that the proofs were pulled after 1803, and they were probably the first attempts to alter the plates to make them suitable for publication in 1807. As the *Annual Biography and Obituary* for 1828 stated,

> The plates, from the designs illustrative of Dante, were purchased from Mr. Flaxman by Mr. Thomas Hope, who kept them by him for several [*fourteen*] years, and then sold them to Messrs. Longman and Co. [*in 1806.*]

5 1807. COMPOSITIONS | BY | JOHN FLAXMAN, SCULPTOR, R.A. | FROM | THE DIVINE POEM OF DANTE ALIGHIERI, | CONTAINING | HELL, PURGATORY AND PARADISE. | WITH QUOTATIONS FROM THE ITALIAN, | AND TRANSLATIONS FROM THE VERSION OF THE REVEREND H. BOYD, | TO EACH PLATE | LONDON. | Published May 1. 1807, by Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, | PATERNOSTER ROW.

Supplementary titlepage: COMPOSITIONS | FROM | THE HELL, PVRGATORY, AND PARADISE, | OF | DANTE ALIGHIERI, | BY IOHN FLAXMAN, SCVLPTOR. | [*Head of Dante, surmounted by an angel, both over a devil.*] | Engraved by Thomas Piroli, from the Drawings in Possession of Thomas Hope Esq[r] 1793. | [*Below the framing line is:*] LONDON, Printed for LONGMAN, HURST, REES, & ORME, Paternoster Row, R. H. EVANS, Pall Mall, W. MILLER, Albemarle Street, & I & A. ARCH, Cornhill, May 1. 1807.[36]

[36] Oddly enough, a Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme advertisement dated December 1 1808 (bound with my copy of Benjamin H. Malkin's *A Father's Memoirs of His Child,* 1806) combines information from both titlepages:

> A SERIES of ENGRAVINGS to illustrate | DANTE, | Engraved by Piroli, of Rome, from Compositions, | By JOHN FLAXMAN, R.A. | in the Possession of Thomas Hope, Esq. |
>
> This Work consists of 111 Plates, illustrative of the Inferno, Purgatorio, and Paradiso of Dante, with Descriptions in Italian, and the parallel Passages from Mr. Boyd's Translation. In folio, price 4*l.* 4*s.* in Boards.

The ad also mentions the *Iliad* and *Odyssey.*

Two titlepages plus 38 Hell plates, 39 Purgatory plates (the last plate unnumbered), and 33 Paradise plates. Plate 1 platemark: 20.6 × 16.0 cm (framing lines 19.1 × 13.5).

Copies:

a Cornell.
b Edinburgh University.
c GEB. *Watermark:* none.
d Harvard.
e Huntington Library
f Illinois.
g Library of Congress.
h Liverpool Free Public Library.
i Princeton.
j Yale.
k Cambridge. *Watermark:* none.
l Bodley. *Watermark:* none.
m British Museum. *Watermark:* none. With the royal arms.
n British Museum. *Watermark:* none. With the Grenville arms.
o Royal Academy. *Watermark:* none.
p Sir John Soane Museum. *Watermark:* none.

The first titlepage is clearly the "New Character" titlepage referred to in the Longman accounts below, while the second is equally clearly the "old Character" titlepage referred to there. The "old Character" evidently refers to the use of "I" and "V" for "J" and "U," and to the long "S" which was, of course, old fashioned by 1807. The second titlepage is very nearly a translation of no *4* above, and it is interesting that in neither is Flaxman described as "R.A.", though he has been a Royal Academician since 1800. It seems possible that the second title was actually engraved on the same plate as no *1*, with the Italian erased. (Since the only copies recorded of nos *1* and *4* were in the now dispersed Moss collection, they cannot be compared with no 5.) This might explain why it cost £1.3.6 less to engrave the "old Character" titlepage than the "New" one, since no new copper would have been needed for the former.

This edition is not uncommon. The designs were clearly known among the cognoscenti before its publication, for *The Athenaeum Magazine* for February 1807 (p 172) reported that Flaxman's one hundred nine Dante designs "are at length preparing for publication". The number of designs is interesting. It evidently does not include either the two titlepages or the unnumbered thirty-ninth Purgatorio plate.

The Longman accounts for the Dante are as follows: [37]

	Flaxmans Dante	May 1806 [*corrected to 1807*]	
Plates	Mr Hope	111	200/ –/–
	Mr Lowry	cleaning	6/ 6/–
	Suffield erasing Writing — 111		2/ 2/–
	D° new writing 110 — at 10/6		57/15/–
	Engraving Title old Character		1/11/6
	---------- New do	do	2/15/–

[37] The accounts are from Impression Book No 3, ff 82 (for May 1807) and 196 (for September 1807 and June and December 1808).

Gordon	57 proofs at 3d	–/14/3
	27 Sets do at 2d	25/ 0/0 [38]
	Paper for do	8/ 9/6
	Boarding 24 [*at about 2s. 2d. apiece*]	2/11/9
Cox & B	112 proofs [*at 3d. per pull*]	1/ 8/–
"	57 do [*at 3d.*]	/14/3
"	Printing 100 sets— 112 plates at 5/– [*per 100 pulls*]	28/ –/–
Paper	5 Rm 12g plate. Roy. [*at about £5.14.8 per ream*]	31/17/10
	Boarding 100 do 3/	14/ 8/– [39]
	Flaxmans Dante Sept 1807	
Working 50 Setts	112 Pls & Titles [40]	14/ 5/–
Papers for Do		15/14/–
1808 June 11	[*Printing*] 50 Setts Do — Do	14/ 5/–
	Papers for Do 2 Rms 16 grs 130/.	18/ 4/–
Dec 3	50 Do — Do & Titles	14/ 5/–
Paper	Do 2 Rms 7½ grs. @130/.	15/ 8/9
	Do 8½ grs. @130/.	2/15/3
	Boarding 150 @ 3/	22/10/–
	Advertising 210	32/17/5
		[£537.17.6]

There was one further printing of fifty sets in March 1827 before the work was "Sold Natali Feb 20 1833 With 20 copies £100".[40a] I cannot trace this set of Dante plates further.

6 1815–1816. LA DIVINA COMMEDIA | DI | DANTE ALIGHIERI | CORRETTA SPIEGATA E DIFESA | DAL | P. BALDASSARRE LOMBARDI M.C. | NEL MDCCXCI. | RISCONTRATA ORA SOPRA PREZIOSI CODICI | NUOVAMENTA EMENDATA | DI MOLTE ALTRE VAGHE ANNOTAZIONI | E DI UN VOLUME ARRICCHITA | IN CUI TRA LE ALTRE COSE SI TRATTA DELLA VISIONE | DI FRATE ALBERICO | TOM. I [II] [III]. | INFERNO [PURGATORIO]

[38] 27 sets of 112 engravings printed at 2d per pull should come to £25.4.0, not £25. I do not know why an odd number like 27 should have been pulled, but the paper seems to have been quite cheap — since three reams and a bit would have been needed for 3,024 pulls, the cost was only about £2.16.6 per ream, instead of the £6.10.0 paper used later. The high cost of the printing (27 sets for £25 compared with 100 sets for £28 later) suggests that perhaps these were "proofs."

[39] This price should be £15.

[40] Since one of the 112 plates was the titlepage, the "Titles" here must refer to the cover labels. The extra 5s here is perhaps for working the 50 labels which do not seem to have been included in the cost of working 100 sets above. Similarly the extra 4s 4d in the price for paper in the next entry perhaps includes the cost of ⅔ of a gram of paper for the slips of paper used for cover labels.

[40a] Copy Register Volume IV. Perhaps the buyer was the Tommaso Natale who had published a translation of *L'Iliade di Omero* in Palermo in 1807.

[PARADISO] | ROMA MDCCCXV [MDCCCXVI] [MDCCCXVI.] | NELLA STAMPERIA DE ROMANIS | *Con Licenza de' Superiori.*

The three volumes of text are supplemented by a fourth volume, LE PRINCIPALI COSI | APPARTENENTI | ALLA DIVINA COMMEDIA | CIOÈ | IL RIMARIO NE SUOI VERSI INTIERI, | LA VISIONE DI ALBERICO, ED ALTRO CHE LA CONCERNE, | PARECCHIE NOTE ED OSSERVAZIONI AGGIUNTE, | LA VITA DEL POETA, | L'ESAME DELLA SUA OPERA, | LA BIBLIOGRAFIA, L'INDICE EC. EC. | ROMA MDCCCXVIII. | NELLA STAMPERIA DE ROMANIS | *Con Licenza de' Superiori.*

The plates are those first published in Paris in 1802 (the titlepage ends "N°. 34"). The Flaxman designs are bound throughout the first three volumes, and a few diagrams are added.

Copies:

a British Museum. Engraving *watermark:* chain lines, with a crest cut off.

b Bodley. Engraving *watermark:* none. Bound like the British Museum set.

Piroli's address given on the engraved titlepage is the chief evidence for the order of nos. 2 and 3 above, and these in turn help to date the 1818? *Iliade, Odyssée* and Aeschylus.

7 1822. ATLANTE DANTESCO | Da poter servire ad ogni edizione | Della | DIVINA COMMEDIA | Ossia | L'Inferno, il Purgatorio ed il Paradiso | Composti | DAL SIG^{R}. GIOVANNI FLAXMAN | E già incisi dal Sig^{r}. Tommasso Piroli | Ed ora rintagliati | Dal Signor Filippo Pistrucci | Con aggiunta da nuovi intagli | Milano | Presso Batelli e Fanfani, e si pure presso il Pistrucci suddetto. | MDCCCXXII.

Supplementary titlepage: Atlas Dantesque | De la | DIVINE COMÉDIE | Pouvant servir à toutes les éditions | Ou | L'ENFER, LE PURGATOIRE, ET LE PARADIS | Gravés par m^{r}. Thomas Piroli | D'après les dessins | DE M^{R}. JEAN FLAXMAN SCULPTEUR | Nouvelle édition | Gravée par m^{r}. Phillippe Pistrucci | et augmentée de | nouvelles figures de sa composition. | Milan | Chez Batelli et Fanfani, et chez m^{r}. Pistrucci, | MDCCCXXII.

110 plates after Flaxman plus ten designed by Pistrucci. According to the brief engraved preface in Italian and French by Antoine Fortuna Stella, the work was originally sold in "cahiers de six estampes", with a promise that if the work was successful it would be followed by the *Iliade.* Titlepage platemark: 18.2 × 14.4 cm (framing line: 16.0 × 11.5).

Copies:

a Bibliothèque Nationale.

b Bodley.

c British Museum.

d Library of Congress.

e Vatican.

8 1867. ILLUSTRATIONS | OF | THE DIVINE POEM | OF | DANTE ALIGHIERI | BY | JOHN FLAXMAN, SCULPTOR R.A. | WITH DESCRIPTIONS FROM THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE | REV. HENRY FRANCIS CARY | LONDON | BELL AND DALDY YORK STREET COVENT GARDEN | AND 186 FLEET STREET | 1867.

110 plates (lacking the two titlepages of 1807) printed at the tops of the folio pages. The page numbers, engraved Italian and English quotations, titles, and line references of the 1807 issue have been removed, but the Italian names of the characters remain. To these have been added printed quotations below the plates indicating the scene illustrated. The plates seem to be those of 1807 otherwise unchanged. Plate 1 platemark: 20.7 × 15.8 cm (framing line: 19.3 × 13.3).

I have no information as to what happened to these copperplates between 1833 and 1867 or after 1867.

Drawings

Flaxman's 111 designs for the Dante plates, including the titlepage in Flaxman's hand worded exactly as in no *1* above, are in the Harvard College Library, sumptuously bound in a volume with the Hope crest on the boards. Apparently contemporary tracings of the 111 designs are in University College, London, and other sketches are in the British Museum Print Room, the Rosenwald Collection of the Library of Congress, Princeton University, and the Huntington Library.

HESIOD

1 1817. COMPOSITIONS FROM THE | WORKS DAYS AND THEOGONY OF HESIOD. | [*The words of the title appear at top and bottom of the first design.*] | DESIGNED BY JOHN FLAXMAN, R.A. P.S. | ENGRAVED BY WILLIAM BLAKE. | Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, London, Jan. 1, 1817.

Half-title, titlpage, and 36 plates in stipple engraving. Plates numbered 1–37, beginning with the titlepage; page 20 misnumbered 37 in some copies (British Museum, Royal Academy, GEB), correctly numbered in others (Bodley, British Museum Print Room, Royal Academy, GEB). Plates 1–2, 12–21, 24, 28–37 with the imprint as above; the rest (plates 3–11, 22–23, 25–27) dated "Nov. 1, 1816." Most of the plates have as well a verse at the bottom of the engraving, after which is some variant of "Elton's Hesiod — Works." There is a paper label on the cover made from the same copperplate as the half-title, which reads: THE THEOGONY WORKS & DAYS AND THE | DAYS [41] OF HESIOD | ENGRAVED FROM THE COMPOSITIONS | OF IOHN FLAXMAN R·A· SCVLPTOR. | LONDON.

[41] There is no separate work by Hesiod called "The Days." The half title is also wrong in putting the "Theogony" before the "Works & Days." This second mistake probably explains why plate 20, the last plate of the "Works and Days", was originally numbered "37", the last plate in the book.

Copies:

a Bibliothèque Nationale.
b British Museum.
c Chicago Art Institute.
d Columbia.
e Edinburgh University.
f GEB. *Watermark:* none.
g GEB. *Watermark:* none.
h Harvard.
i Huntington.
j Illinois.
k Library of Congress.
l Liverpool Free Public Library.
m London Library.
n Metropolitan Museum, New York.
o Metropolitan Museum.
p Metropolitan Museum.
q Michigan.
r New York Public Library. *Watermark:* none.
s Princeton.
t Princeton.
u University of Chicago.
v University College, London.
w Yale.
x Bodley. *Watermark:* none.
y British museum Print Room. *Watermark:* none.
z Royal Academy. *Watermark:* none.
aa Royal Academy. *Watermark:* none.
bb GEB. *Watermark:* none.

The designs for the *Iliad, Odyssey,* Aeschylus, and Dante were clearly committed to copper very shortly after they had been conceived; but, equally clearly, the Hesiod designs were mulled over for at least ten years. In *The Athenaeum Magazine* for February 1807 (p 172) the gossip about current literature included the statement that Mr Flaxman "is employed upon compositions from the Greek poet Hesiod." The proofs of Blake's engravings now in the Bodleian Library are inscribed with pencil dates from October 27 1814 to October 18 1816, presumably indicating when they were brought round for judgment or approval to Thomas Reader, a partner in the firm who later owned the proofs.[42] On February 24 1816 a contract was drawn up:

> Mr Flaxman agrees to furnish a series of Drawings to illustrate Hesiod and Messrs Longman & Co agrees to be at the expense of engraving the same.[43]

The profits were to be shared equally, but there were not very large profits to share. According to the Longmans Green & Co accounts (Impression Book No 6, f 70), the expenses were as follows:

1817		
Feb	Flaxmans Hesiod (200)	
	Engraving 37 plates @ 5 guineas, Blake[44]	194/ 5/–

[42] Reader also owned four of the *Iliad* drawings and five *Odyssey* designs added to the editions of 1805, which Col Moss later acquired.

[43] BM Add MSS 39,791, f 21.

[44] The engraving expenses are given in detail in a volume of Miscellaneous Publication Expenses, ff 269r–268v[*sic*] under "Blake's Hesiod." These figures indicate that Blake was paid £5.5.0 each for his engravings on September 22nd (2 plates), October 7th (2), 27th (2), November 15th (2), December 3rd (2), and 30th (2) 1814; February 10th (3), March 11th (2), June

Copper for do	do [44a]	13/13/–
Writing to 37 plates @ 7/ .	Jeffreys [44b]	12/19/–
alterations		1/ 6/–
Printing 200 sets @ 6/–. [*per hundred*] Cox & B[*arnett, printers*]		22/ 4/–
proof [45]		2/ –/–
7½ reams plate medium 80/ . [46]		30/ –/–
Rylance reading MS		–/10/6
Boarding 200 [47] 2/9		26/ 8/–
Advertising		30/ –/–
		33£ 5 6
Engraving label		10 6
Paper & print of 200 do [48]		12 –
		34£ 8 –

According to the Longman records,[48a] sixty-five copies were sold by September 12th 1817, and Flaxman was given his half share (£59.0.8) from the sale of fifty-four more copies before his death in 1826. From then until

15th (1), December 7th (2) 1815; January 4th (1), April 10th (2), 18th (1), May 17th (2), June 29th (2), August 26th (2), October 18th (2), December 10th (2), 1816; and January 23rd 1817. An article discussing these figures will appear in *The Library* for 1964.

44a The price of the copper was paid to Blake, in varying sums from 2s 8d to 12s 11d each, when he brought in his plates, except that on February 10th 1815 he brought in three plates and was paid for four pieces of copper. Presumably the extra copperplate was to replace one accidentally spoiled.

44b Jeffreys was paid for adding the writing on June 21st (fourteen plates), December 10th 1816 (twenty plates) and February 10th 1817 (plates 1, 12, 37), and for "altering writing" on December 10th 1816 (six plates) and January 28th 1817 (five plates).

45 Cox & Barnett were paid 6d per pull for fourteen proofs on June 21st; for twelve proofs on December 7th; for six proofs on December 28th 1816; for thirty-one proofs on January 11th; and for four proofs on February 15th 1817. These proofs were evidently taken so that the writing could be proofread. The total charge for proofs, £1.13.6, is curiously at variance with the £2.0.0 figure given above.

46 This pays for the paper for the 200 ordinary sets (7,400 prints), but not for the paper for the proofs, which Cox & Barnett probably supplied. In Divide Ledger I, f 35 (where some of these costs are repeated) is an additional notation: "I ream 4 g plate Medium [*paper £*]4 16 " / to reprint & plates / Cancelling plates in b'd copies [*P*] 5[*s*]." This is enough paper to print two hundred copies of five plates, but the charge is only sufficient to print two hundred plates in all. I cannot reconcile these difficulties.

47 At 2s 9d apiece, this pays in fact for boarding 192 copies, not 200. Perhaps the other eight were sold loose, to be bound by the purchasers. Boarding here includes both labor and materials, for there is no separate charge for paper. The small labels below were pasted to the boards, so that the paper charge for the labels would be negligible.

48 At 6s per hundred, this does not pay for the printing or paper of the half-title, which I cannot account for elsewhere either. These would have come to about £2.4.0.

48a Impression Book VI, f 70; Divide Ledger I, f 35; III, f 103; Copy Register IV.

1838 sixty-three further copies were sold, producing £55.13.10 for his executors. Eventually the eighteen copies still left in 1838 were divided equally between Longman and Flaxman's executor Maria Denman. The account in the Longman books is closed with the notation: "1838 March 7 To Coppers & Copyright Sold by Miss M. Denman to H. G. Bohn — for [£]50 0 0"; "Bal[ance] ½ Miss Denman [£]25 0 0[;]½ L[ongman] & Co [£]25 0 0".

Bohn evidently reprinted the plates, for in 1841 he offered

> FLAXMAN'S COMPOSITIONS FROM THE WORKS | OF HESIOD. | A Series of Thirty-seven beautiful Outlines, engraved under Flaxman's | inspection, by BLAKE. | Oblong folio, Published at £2.12s.6d. — REDUCED TO £1.5s. | *In extra boards.*[21]

The Flaxmans were very concerned with the progress of Hesiod. In July 1816 Nancy Flaxman asked her husband to "tell me . . . how Hesiod goes on", for he was apparently still working on the designs five months after the contract had been signed.[49] On December 28 1816 she told the Rev William Gunn that "the drawings of Hesiod are all Finished and the plates nearly so",[50] and the plates themselves, dated November 1 1816 (fourteen of them) and January 1 1817 (the other twenty-three) bear her out. The printing schedule was adhered to closely: on February 1 Nancy wrote that the Hesiod was to be published in March; [51] the book was announced in the *Edinburgh Review* for March and the *New Monthly Magazine* for April; [52] and on July 29 1817 Nancy told the Rev Gunn that the book had in fact been published in March.[53] Though the Hesiod appears from the publishing record to have been the least successful of Flaxman's series of classical designs, it seems paradoxically to be the most common today.

> 2 1818? COMPOSITIONS TIREES DES OUVRAGES, DES JOURS, ET DE LA THEOGONIE D'HESIODE DESSINEES PAR JEAN FLAXMAN R.A. P. S. GRAVEES PAR PIROLI. [*No imprint.*]
>
> Titlepage plus 36 plates in line engraving.

49 BM Add MSS 39,780, f 364.

50 BM Add MSS 39,790, f 40, a transcript of the letter made by Maria Denman, Nancy Flaxman's sister.

51 BM Add MSS 39,780, f 366.

52 *Edinburgh Review* XXVIII (March 1817) 261; *New Monthly Magazine,* VII (April 1 1817) 246: "Compositions in Outline from Hesiod's Theogony, Works [Weeks in *ER*] and Days, and the Days. Engraved by J. Blake, from the Designs by John Flaxman, R.A. ["Printed to correspond with the Outlines from Homer, &c." added in *ER*] fol. 21. 12s. 6d." The mistake about "J." Blake is clearly due to a careless advertising agent, but the meaningless repetition of "Days" seems to be the fault of the writing-engraver who lettered the half-title just as it is given in the advertisement.

53 Maria Denman's transcript is BM Add MSS 39,790, f 42.

Copies:

a Bibliothèque Nationale. *Watermark:* none.

b Col Moss. *Watermark:* G A M.

c Ruthven Todd. *Watermark:* P M F. Bound with the *Iliade* (G A M) and *Odyssée* (P M F).

See the 1818? *Odyssée* no 7 for suggestions about the place and date of this edition.

3 1821. L'OEUVRE DES JOURS ET DE LA THEOGONIE D'HESIODE. | COMPOSES ET DESSINES PAR JOHN FLAXMAN | ET GRAVES PAR Mme SOYER | 1821. | A PARIS chez Bance, Rue St. Denis, No. 214. | Delpech, Quai Voltaire. | Bénard, Boulevard des Italiens.

Copy:

None seen.

The title and contents are merely taken from no 4 below.

4 1835? [*Exactly like no 3 above.*]

Copy:

a New York Public Library. Bound with the composite *Oeuvres* of Bance — see *Odissée 10.*

I presume that the work issued in the composite volume was merely a reprint of an earlier work otherwise identical except in binding.

5 1870. See *Odyssey 12.*

6 1870. COMPOSITIONS FROM THE | WORKS AND DAYS, AND THEOGONY | OF | HESIOD | DESIGNED BY JOHN FLAXMAN, R.A., SCULPTOR. | ENGRAVED BY WILLIAM BLAKE. | [*Bell emblem*] | LONDON: | BELL AND DALDY, YORK STREET, | COVENT GARDEN. | 1870.

This is simply a reissue of the plates from the composite edition above in which the 1817 Hesiod plates were used.

Copies:

a Victoria and Albert. *Watermark:* none.

a Victoria and Albert. *Watermark:* none.

Drawings

The drawings for Hesiod plates 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12–14, 16–26, 28, 30, 31, and 33–35 are in the British Museum Print Room; a few more are in University College, London, and Princeton (3); and one is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

The early popularity of Flaxman's classical designs was, as these notes suggest, very considerable. Between the first publication in 1793 and Flaxman's death in 1826 there were some twenty-five editions of the five works

in four different countries. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* proved the most popular with at least seventeen printings each, followed by Aeschylus with sixteen, Dante with ten and Hesiod with three.

They tended to be published as sets and were frequently bound together by early owners or dealers. The *Iliad, Odyssey,* Aeschylus, and Dante were all engraved in Rome by Piroli, perhaps using some method of duplicate engraving for the first three. Piroli published the *Iliad, Odyssey,* and Aeschylus in Rome, while Flaxman shipped the duplicate plates to England. The *Odyssey* was lost en route, but the *Iliad* and Aeschylus were published in 1795 by Flaxman's aunt Jane Matthews. In 1803 Michel Nitot Dufresne engraved the *Iliad, Odyssey,* and Aeschylus in Paris and sometimes sold them as a unit. At the same time Longman bought the 1795 *Iliad* plates from Mr Hare-Naylor, commissioned a new set of the *Odyssey* plates (which had not yet been published in England), and published the two works together, with additional designs. Longman had already been handling the Aeschylus for several years, and in 1806 they bought the Dante plates from Mr Hope to add to their Flaxman list. At about the same time (1804 and 1807) the publisher Goeschen in Leipzig was commissioning the Schnorr family to produce plates after Flaxman for the *Iliad* and *Odyssey.* In 1817 Riepenhausen's engravings of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were published in Berlin, and Longman published the first edition of Hesiod in London. Very shortly thereafter Piroli copied the Hesiod designs and published them with the new undated editions of the *Iliade, Odyssée* and Aeschylus.

This is extraordinarily impressive testimony to the steady international popularity of Flaxman's designs. The popularity is the more impressive when we reflect that even a fifth printing of one of these works (the *Iliad*) was very expensive — £2.12.6, the equivalent of perhaps six weeks rent to a journeyman like Blake — and that these works without printed text of any kind must always have appealed to a specially enlightened and limited audience. It seems likely that most of the print-connoisseurs in the cultural capitals of Italy, Germany, France, and England were familiar with Flaxman's classical designs during the crucial years of the development of romanticism between 1793 and 1826. Flaxman's influence upon romantic painters and poets must have been very great indeed, though it has been too long neglected. Perhaps these notes may make it possible to estimate more justly the nature and extent of this influence.

Postscript: On the Duplicating of Engravings With Reference to Flaxman's Classical Designs*

By RICHARD J. WOLFE
The New York Public Library

THE METHOD employed to transfer Flaxman's classical designs from engraved copies onto new copperplates was possibly one of the techniques described in Robert Dossie's *The Handmaid to the Arts,* a mid-eighteenth century treatise on the technical aspects of painting, drawing, coloring, engraving and etching, and other branches of artistic expression.[1] The processes outlined here consisted of either calking or counterproving a design onto a varnished plate which was then etched. Both techniques were probably employed for copying engravings by at least 1745, when they appeared in printed form in Abraham Bosse's manual on etching and engraving, if not at an even earlier date.[2] Reference to them in these two early

* In the foregoing article Dr Bentley has enumerated three factors which complicate the description and accurate dating of editions of John Flaxman's classical designs. The third point (see p 283), which he has not been able to explain, concerns the method or methods whereby engravers were able to duplicate engravings of Flaxman's designs so accurately and so faithfully that they can sometimes only be distinguished from the originals with the aid of a magnifying glass. The present note is an attempt to offer, through reference to material contained in contemporary works on engraving and etching, an explanation of the probable techniques employed in reproducing Flaxman's designs.

1 Robert Dossie *The Handmaid to the Arts. The Second Edition, with Considerable Additions and Improvements* (London, J Nourse 1764) 2 v. The descriptions of calking and counterproving appear in Sections 8 and 9 of Chapter 4 in Volume 2 (p 102-111). I have not had the opportunity of examining a copy of the earlier edition, issued by Nourse in 1758. However, I assume that it too must contain material relating to these methods of duplicating engravings. Dossie names Abraham Bosse as the source of his information.

2 Abraham Bosse *De la Maniere de Graver à l'Eau Forte et au Burin. Et de la Gravûre en Maniere Noire. Avec la Façon de Construire les Presses Modernes, & d'Imprimer en Taille-Douce. Nouvelle Edition. Revûe, Corrigée et Augmentée du Double, et Enrichie de Dix-Neuf Planches en Taille-Douce* (Paris, C-A Jombert 1745). A new edition, slightly enlarged, was published under the same title by Jombert in 1758. The methods of calking and counterproving are explained on p 57–62 of both editions. Actually, a description of calking on the varnish had appeared a century before in an earlier version of this work, *Traicté des Manieres de Graver en Taille-Douce sur l'Airin,* published by Bosse himself at Paris in 1645. And calking was known in Germany and England from 1652 and 1662 respectively, for Georg-Andreas Böckler's *Kunstbüchlein Handelt von der Radier- und Etzkunst* (Nürnberg 1652) was a German translation of the Bosse manual and William Faithorne's *The Art of Graveing and Etching* (London 1662) constituted a loose translation of it into English. A description of counterproving may have appeared in an intermediate edition of the Bosse work, enlarged by Sébastien Le Clerc and published under the original title by P Émery, Paris, in 1701, but not having seen a copy of this I cannot say for sure. That these methods were probably standard ones is proved by descriptions of them — or of slight modifications of them — in a number of later manuals, including Mauel de Rueda's *Instruccion para Gravar en Cobre* (Madrid 1761), Johann Conrad Gutle's *Kunst in Kupfer zu Stechen, zu Radiren und zu Aezen* (Nürnberg & Altdorf 1795) and A-M Perrot's *Nouveau Manuel Complet du Graveur* (Paris 1865).

works affords ample evidence that both methods must have been familiar to the engraving trades of England and the continent by the 1790s, when Flaxman's outlines began to be published in a number of duplicated editions.

A design could be calked or counterproved in two ways, depending upon the direction the final print was to take with respect to the original picture. The method more commonly used was that which caused the print to face contrary to the direction of the original design. This was easier to effect, with regard to both copying and engraving, but it probably required that lettering or descriptive matter be accomplished separately. According to Dossie the contrary method — the one allowing the print to face in the same direction as the original — was used only in copying small subjects and in cases where the final print absolutely had to turn in the same direction as did the subject it duplicated, for it demanded that the engraving be done in reverse with the aid of a looking glass.

Calking consists of rubbing the back of a drawing or tracing with coloring matter and then passing a blunt style or needle over the lines, so as to leave a tracing on the surface placed beneath. The method described by Dossie to accomplish this is as follows. The engraver fastened a transparent piece of paper which had been varnished and dried over the design he wished to emulate and traced its outline in red chalk. He next applied a coating of red chalk to the reverse side of the tracing, being careful to remove any excess. After fastening the tracing to a copperplate covered with either a hard or a soft varnish, he traced over the outline with a "stift" or calking needle, causing another red outline of the original picture or design to be transferred to the plate. After removing the paper, he gently worked over the outline on the plate with the fleshy part of his hand until all surplus color had been removed and the lines, which had been red before, had turned whitish and had become fixed to the varnish. The plate was then etched in the usual manner. If the engraver wished to preserve the drawing or tracing, he could interpose a sheet of paper between it and the plate, applying the coat of chalk to the interleaf instead of to the tracing itself. And, where necessary or desirable, white lead could be used in place of red chalk.

In counterproving, the engraver made a tracing of the original on varnished paper, as before, but with ink made of soft red chalk tempered with water. He then dipped a large piece of paper into water and also moistened the back of the tracing somewhat, being mindful that no water soaked through onto the drawn side. Next, he placed a large copperplate on the table of a printing press and after adding a piece of damp paper to this, laid on the tracing with the drawn side facing upwards. This he covered

with the moistened sheet prepared to receive the impression, and with damp paper and felt blankets, whereupon he passed the plate and its charge under the press. After removing the moistened sheet, which now contained a proof of the drawing, he laid it face down on a varnished plate and passed these under the press. This last action caused a counterproof of the tracing to be imprinted on the varnished plate. Either method achieved the required effect, but, to quote Dossie, counterproving produced an outline which had "more spirit than can be given by calking with a stift."

It should be immediately apparent that either method described above resulted in a print which faced in a direction contrary to that of the original picture or design. To achieve the opposite of this — which had to be done when duplicating the engraved Flaxman designs — the engraver could either reverse the varnished sheet with its tracing and, after placing a piece of paper with a coating of red chalk on its verso between it and the plate, calk the outline onto the plate so that it would face in a contrary direction and, upon printing, turn the way of the original. Or he could employ the counterproving method, simply omitting the intermediate stage which involved the use of a moistened piece of paper, and transfer a proof of the design right from the tracing onto the plate. In this case, the sketch could be drawn with white lead, which marked it sufficiently on the blackened varnish. Both techniques would reverse the outline on the plate so that it would print correctly on paper. As noted before, when either of these methods was employed, the final engraving had to be done with the help of a looking glass. However, in the case of the Flaxman designs, which consist mostly of sketched outlines and large block lettering with little shading present, this last consideration would hardly be a complicating factor. In fact, the requirement to engrave in reverse might help explain why in copies of the engravings of Flaxman's classical designs the outlines of faces, bodies, and other important features are so faithfully reproduced as almost to defy detection, while stars, flowers, small inner outlines, and slight nuances in shading are less exact. Because of size, less attention was probably given to copying the latter exactly, and possibly much of this work may have been done with indifference and in a freehand style.

The Engagement Controversy 1649-1652
An Annotated List of Pamphlets

By JOHN M. WALLACE
The Johns Hopkins University

THE ROLE played by providence in seventeenth-century political thought has come into increasing prominence in the works of modern historians, and its significance for the early years of the century has been further illuminated by Professor Haller's recent book, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation.* For the period after the Glorious Revolution, Professor Gerald Straka in his *Anglican Reaction to the Revolution of 1688* (Madison 1962) has shown that the new Whig regime found some of its most influential support, not in contract theories of government, but in a belief that providence had a divine right to overthrow princes and to alter the forms of state. For the crucial middle years of the Interregnum, the importance of "providential" thought to the loyal royalists has been studied most acutely by Mr B. H. G. Wormald in his *Clarendon,* but no comparable study exists for a leading Puritan, and especially for any loyalist who was willing to change his allegiance from king to parliament in 1649. Every student of the civil war knows that the New Model army even went into battle crying "Providence" and that the defeats of the king were attributed by the Puritans to God's favor towards their cause; the strength of their original appeal to the people, however, was based largely on other more rational grounds, and these were — at first — badly shaken by the king's execution. But providence stood firm, and there remains among the pamphlets written in the first years of the Interregnum a series of tracts which has never been studied as a whole, and which reveals, among other things, how embarrassed the Rump Parliament was by its newly-acquired power, and how urgently it appealed to providence to justify its authority. In effect, its chief spokesmen abandoned for two or three years the high-minded claims of the revolution to represent the people, and fell back on the categorical assertion that the victors had a just title to rule by right of providence. The occasions for the promotion of this view were manifold, because the widespread hatred of the Rump made every Act and action of theirs a rallying-point for the opposition, but it is possible to single out two days in 1649 which can be seen to have had important consequences for the history of Puritan opinion.

The first was 22 March when the Rump published *A Declaration of the Parliament of England, Expressing the Grounds of their Late Proceedings,*

and of Setling the Present Government in the Way of a Free State. It had been ordered to be printed five days earlier, and appeared in Latin as *Parliamenti Anglia Declaratio,* and in other languages also. Twenty-seven pages long, it was a full-scale rehearsal of propaganda in the old style. An agreement of the people was the foundation of government; Charles's tyrannical record was reiterated, and his anointment denied special significance; the son was disinherited with the father, and various objections — such as the unrepresentative nature of the House and the danger to the pre-Norman laws — were dealt with in a conventional way. The *Declaration* closed with a catalogue of parliament's noble intentions, the pious expectation of fair dealing from abroad, and the hope of a "cheerful concurrence" at home with the great work now in hand. From this document one would gather nothing had been changed by the king's death, and that the old arguments had lost none of their validity. The *Declaration* belongs with the vindications of the theory and practice of Independency which are to be found during the early months of 1649 in such works as John Canne's several tracts, Milton's *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, The Peoples Right Justly Asserted, The Execution of the Late King Justified,* Franciscus Leinsula's *The Kingdoms Divisions,* and the academic controversy which "Philodemius" carried on with Henry Hammond. The failure of these works to take account of a radical change in public sentiment is suggested by the fact that it was not the *Declaration* which aroused much controversy but the defense of it by Francis Rous — which established temporarily a new orthodoxy. He wrote *The Lawfulnes of Obeying the Present Government,* within a month, for "any [who] be not so far satisfied as to think that setlement lawfull," and he attempted to prove that the lawfulness of the authority was irrelevant to the lawfulness of obedience. Rous was one of the most respected Presbyterians, who had joined the Independents shortly before the king's execution, and his title-page was designed to obtain the hearing, as his argument the submission, of these most virulent enemies of Independency. His was the one pamphlet which we can probably assume all his successors had read, and the scrupulously moderate and reasonable tone he adopted was one of his chief bequests to them. Rous was subject to immediate attack, for he had made the tacit admission that the new government lacked a just title. He expanded his argument for a second edition within four months, but if I am right about the attribution of another pamphlet, *Bounds & Bonds,* it was Anthony Ascham who first came notably to the defense of the defense, and attempted to draw the fire which the *Lawfulnes* had provoked.

The furor which Rous initiated was still active when, on 11 October (the second of the two days to which reference has been made) the Rump pub-

lished the *Resolves of Parliament Touching the Subscribing to an Engagement, by or before the First of January next.* The idea of an "Engagement," by which certain people were obliged to swear to be "true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it is now Established, without a King or House of Lords," was not a new one, because a similar oath had been tendered to the Council of State in February, and its wording had proved extremely difficult.[1] Fairfax, for example, had flatly refused to swear anything which could be interpreted as his acknowledgement of the justice of the king's murder. The October *Resolves* proposed that this oath be extended to include not only the general and the army, but all ministers, aldermen, masters of colleges, fellows, schoolmasters, clerks, and others — almost, it appears, the entire literate population, and certainly all the classes of men who would be able and vocal enough to denounce it as a hindrance to tender consciences. The main reason in causing parliament to make such a provocative order at this time may well have been the general unrest which showed itself at Lilburne's trial, and which had prompted another *Declaration of the Parliament* on 27 September, directed primarily against the Levellers. From this moment the loyal Presbyterians were, metaphorically, up in arms, and the Engagement dispute had properly begun. The Engagers, as they came to be called, took their cue from Rous, Ascham, and John Dury (who had written in March a little tract about non-interference in state-matters), and the arguments which had first been fully aired during the summer were now repeated and amplified. The extension of the Engagement oath, on 2 January 1650, to all male citizens of the age of eighteen and over did little more than exacerbate the existing wrath and lend an excuse for preaching on the subject everywhere. One should note at least that Dury's much-read *Considerations* and Gee's *Exercitation* (the most learned of the Presbyterian attacks on the oath) appeared in December, before the Engagement was mandatory for the whole nation. Technically this list should begin with works published after 11 October, but as the earlier arguments merge indistinguishably into those called forth by the oath, March is a more reasonable *terminus a quo.*[2]

The mark of an Engager was his willingness to lend his passive support to a usurper who commanded lawful things, regardless of the usurper's

[1] S. R. Gardiner, *The History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate* (London 1903) I 4–7.

[2] The October *Resolves* has not been reprinted. Gardiner (I 193–194) outlines the circumstances of the general Engagement Act, the text of which is given in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum 1642–1660*, ed C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait (London 1911) II 325–329. "An Act for Giving Further Time for Subscribing the Engagement" was passed two days before the deadline of 25 February 1650, and in February 1651 an "Act Constituting a Council of State" contained a clause banishing city ministers who had refused to swear the oath (II 348, 500–503).

claim to legitimacy. He obeyed for the sake of peace, in order to prevent further bloodshed, and he did so on the understanding that illegal government would continue only for an interim period, until a more stable constitution could be formed. His appeal to providence automatically implied that the army ruled by right of conquest. The principal text in Romans xiii appeared to impute the duty of non-resistance as clearly to the subjects of a usurper as of a lawful monarch, and the three standard sources of political argument — history, natural law, and Biblical commentary — were ransacked to prove that this duty was in fact imperative. Judging from their usual tone, the Engagers thought of themselves as "the spirits of all that were moderate," as Dury later called them,[3] and the effectiveness of their position, aiding as it did the irresistible power of the army, may be judged by reflecting that in 1652, when Francis Osborne published his flippant Engagement pamphlet in a modish essay style, the question was virtually a dead letter. The partial repeal of the Engagement oath on 4 November 1653, and its total repeal on 19 January 1654, did no more than remove useless lumber from the Statute Book.[4] Long before the Protectorate, the evil which the anti-Engagers had foreseen had occurred, and a majority of the nation had taken the oath, including, one imagines, large numbers who would not have hesitated to break it had the opportunity arisen. That the Engagement pamphlets had much to do with this cynical swearing need not be questioned; but that does not exonerate historians from perceiving the patent sincerity of most of them, or the very real force of their case during one of the most disturbing periods of English history. As I have said elsewhere, if the Restoration vindicated Clarendon's loyalty to the king, it also justified the political quietism of the Engagers.[5] Their views play a decisive part in the history of English loyalism — a book yet to be written — because they made all subsequent changes of government more easy to accept, and there is some evidence to show that the spirit which produced the Engagement theory flowered later in the demands to Cromwell to accept the crown. Moreover, there can be no doubt at all that one of the reasons why the defenders of the Revolution settlement after 1688 were so sure of themselves was their familiarity with the Engagement arguments. Ascham was republished in 1689, Sanderson's unpublished tract was printed during the 'seventies, and to read many of the items in Professor Straka's bibliog-

3 *A Declaration of John Durie* (London 1660) 18.

4 *Acts and Ordinances* II 774–775, 830–831; the decision was confirmed six months later (II 1131).

5 In a review of Irene Coltman's *Private Men and Public Causes* (London 1962) in *JHI* XXIV (Jan – March 1963) 151.

raphy is to feel a strong sense of déjà vu. Indeed, the similarity of the arguments Straka reproduces with those of the Engagers is sometimes no less than extraordinary, and one may enjoy the irony of observing the non-jurors occupying the seat of the Presbyterians, and the other Anglicans that of the Engaging Independents.

Most of these comments will appear familiar to some readers, and their purpose, like the list itself, has been to attempt a clarification, not to profess originality. Clarification would probably have been unnecessary had Gardiner not overlooked the dispute — for that is the only interpretation which can be given to his remark that Marchamont Nedham's ideas in 1650 were "absolutely detached from the theorists of his day." More recently, Miss Irene Coltman has devoted a long chapter to discrediting Anthony Ascham — interesting though she often is — without mentioning his followers, and Dr Hinton (reviewing her book) has stated "Ascham's solution [to the constitutional crisis] was not typical." [6] This list should show that it was. In 1913 G. B. Tatham recorded some information about responses to the oath in Cambridge, and George Lewis showed he had read Baxter on the Engagement; Paul Hardacre and Merritt Y. Hughes have commented on the work of Ascham, Rous, and Dury, and Professor Frank has spotted that large sections of Nedham's *Case of the Common-wealth* were reprinted in *Mercurius Politicus*.[7] However, only Professor Zagorin has perceived that the Engagers were a vital force in their time, and his summaries of the arguments of Ascham, Rous, Dury, Nedham, and Osborne constitute the one valuable introduction to the subject.[8] The failure of his observations to receive the recognition they deserve may be attributed to his partial presentation of the Engagers' ideas. He does not set them in the context of the oath, hence dissipating their coherence as a group, and his distaste for all Engagers — his insistance, with the Presbyterians, that they confused might with right — has led him to call their arguments "the unofficial theory of the commonwealth," and to conclude that Cromwell and the thinkers close to him "obviously" did not subscribe to these views. Certainly they were unofficial when they first appeared, but parliament was quick to reward their perpetrators, and within a short time the "unofficial" opinions took

[6] Gardiner I 254; Coltman, *Private Men* 197–239; R. W. K. Hinton in *The Historical Journal* V (1962) 204.

[7] Tatham, *The Puritans in Power* (Cambridge 1913) 131–137; Lewis, *Robert Sanderson* (London 1924) 101–103; Hardacre, *The Royalists During the Puritan Revolution* (The Hague 1956) see index under "oaths"; Hughes, ed Milton's *Complete Prose Works* Vol III (New Haven 1962) introduction; Joseph Frank, *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper 1620–1660* (Cambridge, Mass 1961) 205–210.

[8] *A History of Political Thought in the English Revolution* (London 1954) 62–70, 121–131.

their place side by side with the "official" — or, as I should prefer, "old" or "revolutionary" — positions. The "old" theory naturally never died out completely, even in the Engagement pamphlets, but it did not count for much when the question of the whole nation's obedience was being hotly debated.

One comment about background might be made. Leaving aside precedents in the royalist casuistry of the civil war, the Engaging voice is to be heard very clearly in the months before the king's death, when even a Leveller could demand an armistice and an accommodation was being earnestly sought by nearly everyone except the army junto. Were it possible to trace anything like an orderly sequence of argument, there would be two especially good reasons for dating the controversy from this time, rather than from March 1649. One is the interminable dispute about the validity of the Solemn League and Covenant with its clause to protect the king's person and his heirs — a quarrel which the Engagement oath insured the continuity of, with greater intensity — and the other is the appearance in July 1648 of Ascham's *A Discourse: Wherein is Examined, What is Particularly Lawful during the Confusions and Revolutions of Government.* In the long run, this work was more important than Rous's *Lawfulnes,* the second edition of which called attention to Ascham, and recommended the *Discourse* to readers. Even before its republication in a new and longer form, it attracted Gee's attention as a principal object for refutation. For the Engagers, the probability that Ascham had intended his main thesis to suggest the expedience of the king's abdication was unimportant by comparison with the utility of the argument itself: that plenary possession makes a lawful power. Historians who wish to believe the Engagers were a cowardly bunch of time-servers should consider whether Ascham's *Discourse* does not reveal the main intention of Engagement theory to have been genuinely irenic, and aimed in its first lucid manifesto at saving the king's life.

The list which follows is based on a reading of Thomason tracts in the British Museum for the period concerned, although I read many of them first in the Folger Library. A few tracts have probably been missed, and a few deliberately omitted when the constitutional issues they discussed are tangential to the main controversy.[9] Similarly, general sermons and "cases"

[9] The most doubtful exclusions are J[ohn] H[all], *The Grounds & Reasons of Monarchy Considered* (Edinburgh 1650); Anthony Norwood, *New Errors Made Palpable by an Old Light* (London 1652), and Peter English, *The Survey of Policy* (London 1653) which is a compendium of both old and new theory after the controversy had died down. John Sadler's *Rights of the Kingdom* (London 1649) has also been purposefully omitted. The newspapers gave much publicity to the March *Declaration,* and subsequently the pro-Government news-sheets reported the widespread acceptance of the Engagement — and some opposition, especially in the North. Apart from the reprinting of Nedham's *Case* I have come across no serious contributions to Engagement theory in the newspapers.

by such men as Thomas Whitfield, which would certainly have tended to lend support to the Engagers' position, have not been included: it seemed best to stick to the main line. In any case, a list which attempted to include all references to the Engagement would be endless and confusing. Fortunately, most of the dates which Thomason supplied appear to be substantially accurate, insofar as some of them can be checked against a dated preface or imprimatur, and on no occasion can he be detected obviously violating chronology. All dates of days and months supplied are Thomason's unless otherwise stated. As for the most part there is very little evidence about the dates of later editions of the chief pamphlets, these have been listed under the first entry. In one instance (no. 13) the second edition has determined the position of a work in the list. Pamphlets in support of the oath are numbered with an asterisk.

1 * [Francis Rous] *The lawfulness of obeying the present government. Proposed by one that loves all Presbyterian lovers of truth and peace, and is of their communion.* London 1649

25 April. 13 p. Arguments from Biblical, Roman, and English history, supported by quotations from Paraeus, Alsted, and others to prove that obedience is lawful, though the change of government may be unlawful. Former oaths invalid. Closes with a plea for readers with the same "calme, cleare, peaceable spirit" as the author's.

—— London 1649 [2nd ed], "with some other additions to a former edition." 22 p. This appeared before 27 August, when Thomason records *Bounds & Bonds*, which refers to a mention of Ascham on p 15 of this ed that does not occur in 1st ed. Additions include three more quotations from Paraeus (p 7–8), a passage about the evil consequences of disobedience (p 9–10), and further long quotations from Suarez, Lessius, and Salon (p 15–22). Omitted is the final paragraph of the 1st ed ("Thus have I gone towards peace . . .").

—— London 1650 [2nd imp of 2nd ed] A reissue after the general Engagement oath, lacking only a line border on the title-page.

2 [Nathaniel Ward] *A religious demurrer, concerning submission to the present power.* N.p. n.d.

26 May 1649. Signed ABCD at the end and dated 4 May. 8 p. For the attribution of authorship see 39 (below). The alteration of the state by a minor party is unlawful. Plea for restoration of a mixed, regulated monarchy. The legality of parliament is his first "doubt," its actions his second. A brief postscript answers Rous on the interpretation of Romans xiii.

3 *An enquiry after further satisfaction concerning obeying a change of government beleeved to be unlawfull.* London 1649

29 May. 12 p. Puts the case of an imaginary "Eutopia" which exactly corresponds (in the author's view) with the reality in England. Obedience to the government would be lawful if the aims of the new rulers were bad, or if their "comparative badnesse" only were in question; but the change was not "an act of authority" and hence may not be obeyed. In the author's insistence on the agreement which must precede or follow a conquest one observes especially clearly how the Presbyterians now commanded many of the old revolutionary arguments, whereas parliament was left with the royalists'. The reliance on Burroughs' statements in this tract suggests he may be the author.

4 T. B., ΛΌΓΟΙ 'ΑΠΟΛΟΓΗΤΙΚΟΊ: *Foure apologicall tracts exhibited to the supreme, self-made authority, now erected in, under the Commons name of England.* N.p. 1649

4 June; preface dated 30 May. 31 p. Each tract examines a word or phrase of 1 Peter ii.3, "Submit ye therefore to every humane ordinance of man for the Lords sake." Links many heretical sects to disobedience; an attack on the whole idea of democracy in church and state.

5 *A second part of the religious demurrer; by another hand. Or, an answer to a tract called The lawfullnesse of obeying the present government. By a lover of truth and peace.* N.p. n.d.

6 June 1649. Thomason has added, besides the date, "against Mr Rous" and "printed by Tho: Underhill." 8 p. A sharp pamphlet, emphasizing obligations to previous engagements, the inapplicability of Rous's examples to the English situation, and the need to establish a lawful power. The question should be about *de jure,* not *de facto* govt. Obedience may be withheld while the government is still being settled.

6 *The grand case of conscience stated, about submission to the new and present power. Or, an impassionate answer to a modest book concerning the lawfullnesse of submitting to the present government.* N.p. n.d.

22 June. 16 p. Insists throughout on the distinction between a legal and usurping authority. Submission now implies the assertion of the government's legality. The author is at considerable pains to allow a just title to Claudius, Caesar, and Nero, whom Rous had declared were usurpers whose authority was acknowledged.

7 * *A combate betweene two seconds. One for obeying the present government. The other, the second part of a demurrer; undeservedly called religious.* London 1649

2 July. 18 p. Opens with a tribute to Rous's integrity as a politician and his humanity to the poor, etc. Demurrer advised to read Ascham, whose work has remained unanswered, and not to use the back door of "perhaps" so often. Many good laws made even by papists, and many usurpers exist among the list of English kings. Finds support in Calvin, Bucer, Paraeus, Gualterius, Peter Martyr. Ascham himself is the most likely author of this tract, and *Bounds & Bonds* (below) refers to *A combate* as a good answer to the demurrer.

8 * Enoch Grey, *Vox coeli, containing maxims of pious policy: wherein severall cases of conscience are brifly discussed.* London 1649

23 July. 51 p. Much advice about justice and prudence, ending with a strong claim for the people's authority (old theory), but the final appeal for compliance, the handling of the non-obligation of the old covenant, and especially the summary of reasons for obedience to unjust powers (e g the example of Athalia, p 41–42) suggest that Grey had read Rous and found his arguments of supplemental value.

9 * [Anthony Ascham] *The bounds & bonds of publique obedience. Or, a vindication of our lawfull submission to the present government, or to a government supposed unlawfull, but commanding lawfull things. . . . In all which a reply is made to the three answers of the two demurrers, and to the author of the grand case of conscience, who professe themselves impassionate Presbyterians.* London 1649

27 August. 66 p. This tract is always attributed to Rous, presumably because it is a defense of his *Lawfulnes,* but the attribution is certainly wrong, and Ascham is (in my opinion) the indisputable author: (1) Rous declared firmly at the end of the 2nd ed of the *Lawfulnes* that he now "desire[d] leave to returne to my more proper worke, whereof I have so much in my hands that I cannot well expect a life now come far into the yeare accounted to be the terme of life, should have time to dispatch" (incidentally, a confirmation of the attribution of *Lawfulnes* to Rous, who was seventy in 1649);

(2) the author declares that the attacks on Rous have already been refuted "in that discourse to which they have bin referred" (i e Ascham's *Discourse* in *Lawfulnes* [2nd ed] p 15); (3) Ascham was the authority on possession forming a legal title, to which argument *B&B* frequently returns; (4) the treatment of assertory and promissory oaths follows the *Discourse* so closely, even verbally, that its author, if not Ascham, was a plagiarist; (5) distinctions between conquest and victory, and between commutative and distributive justice are made in *B&B* and developed at greater length in the new parts of Ascham's *Of the confusions*; (6) examples drawn from foreign history are common to *B&B* and the *Discourse*, and show a knowledge of the subject not found in other tracts in this controversy; (7) both works make free with Titius and Sempronius as names with which to tag casuistical points; (8) the uncommon word "genarcha" is used in *B&B* and in *A reply to a paper of Dr Sandersons*, which (I agree with A. à Wood and Professor Zagorin) is Ascham's later reply to his critics; (9) the style of *B&B*, far from being similar to that of the *Lawfulnes*, as Zagorin suggests, is more metaphorical and aggressive than Rous's, and employs that graphic detail which is foreign to Rous's method. It is like Ascham's style.

The right afforded by plenary possession is the principal argument of Part 1 (p 1–37), the consistency of obedience with the Solemn League and Covenant of Part 2 (p 38–66). Part 2 emphasizes the tacit conditions in all oaths.

—— London 1650. 2nd ed. "Corrected and amended." 62 p. I take this entry from the *Catalogue of the McAlpin Collection*, ed C. R. Gillett (New York 1928) II 714. I have not seen a copy of this ed and the McAlpin copy has now disappeared.

10 * *Some considerations about the nature of an oath more particularly relating to our nationall covenant.* London 1649

Dated on t.p. 4 Oct. 1649, a date which Thomason has also written out in his own hand. Imprimatur Theodore Jennings, 17 Sept. 12 p. A powerful and reasonable attack on promissory oaths, and especially the Covenant, as snares; ending with a plea to parliament to find other ways of making judges do their duty. The careful dating of this tract may be intentional — a week before the Engagement oath. Although anti-Presbyterian, the argument would also operate against such an Engagement. An ms note in a contemporary hand on the back of the Folger copy annotates "we swear to maintain ye laws of ye land & to discover malignan[ts] a contradiction" and suggests that all men should have equal protection from the law until they have broken a law; imposed oaths always bring into power those who will swear anything, and penalize those who do not swear easily. (The forfeiture of legal rights was one of the penalties for not taking the Engagement.)

11 * [Henry Robinson] *A short discourse between monarchical and aristocratical government. Or a sober perswasive of all true-hearted Englishmen, to a willing conjunction with the parliament of England in setting up the government of a common-wealth.* London 1649

24 Oct. 20 p. The title-page, and the pages about former engagements not standing in the way of "conjunction" clearly link this pamphlet to the main controversy. Chiefly "old" theory, however, and a plea for the middle way between the old malignants and the new levellers. A summary may be found in W. K. Jordan, *Men of Substance* (Chicago 1942) 180–187, though Jordan finds the author "stood quite alone in his [pragmatic] analysis of the teleology of political events" (p 183). The attribution to Robinson is not conclusive, though it depends on information supplied by Firth to W. A. Shaw for the *DNB*, and the similarity might be noted between this tract and Eutactus Philodemius' *The original & end of civil power* (London 1649: dated Gray's Inn, 20 April 1649). The latter is generally attributed to Ascham, but I agree with Zagorin that the attribution is doubtful.

12 * Anthony Ascham, *Of the confusions and revolutions of goverments.* London 1649

None of the eight copies I have seen has "governments" in the title, though most catalogues spell it thus. This important work probably appeared in November 1649 and

consequently is placed here. *An exercitation* (below) was recorded by Thomason on 18 December; Gee was answering Ascham's 1648 *Discourse*, as his references prove. On 1 December Thomason recorded *A resolution of conscience . . . in answer to a letter sent with Mr Ascham's book*, and that this was *Of the confusions* is confirmed by the title of Ascham's response to the criticism (23 below). It can be assumed that *Of the confusions* appeared some time, and probably shortly, before 1 December, and not enough in advance of that date for the Exercitator to have read it. He would have refuted the new book had it been available.

The principal additions which this book makes to the *Discourse* are Part 1, ch v and vi (p 17–31); Part 2, ch ix (p 85–95); ch x (p 103 bottom-104 only); ch xi-xvi (p 104–159). There are also minor verbal changes. The additions show Ascham trying to prevent his treatment of natural law from being useful to the Levellers — by limiting his remarks about necessity; he reinforces his earlier statements about oaths, and the final six chapters explore his central thesis about dominion more fully by suggesting that the continuation of justice and good laws is not dependent on the person of the magistrate. In effect, he is pushing to its logical conclusion the commonplace that no particular form of government was of God. *Of the confusions* rises above the dispute it enhanced and is, I think, the most valuable and formative discussion of constitutional theory during the Interregnum. He argued forcibly for positions which, when the Protectorate was well-established, must have been conceded by most of the multitude which accepted Cromwell's personal rule.

13 * J[ohn] D[ury] *A case of conscience resolved: concerning ministers medling with state-matters in their sermons.* London 1649

29 March; imprimatur Joseph Caryl, 15 March. 30 p. The 1st ed which precedes the controversy Rous started. It is a simple statement that private persons — as Calvin directed — should not interfere in affairs of state. Publication postdates the parliament's *Declaration*, but the imprimatur precedes it. Reprinted in *Harleian Miscellany* (London 1810), VI 196–212.

—— London 1650 [2nd ed] "resolved more satisfactorily then heretofore. . . . Where a ground is layed to satisfie the scruple of the demurrer, and of the grand case of conscience."

8 November 1649 [sic], imprimatur Caryl, 3 October. 195 p + 5 p outline. The same subject infinitely extended. This ed is the first of Dury's numerous contributions to the debate proper.

14 William Prynne, *The arraignment, conviction and condemnation of the Westministerian-juncto's Engagement. With a cautionarie exhortation to all honest English spirits, to avoid the danger of perjurie by taking of it.* N.p. 1649

14 p (misnumbered 16). The likelihood that this appeared in November, or even earlier, is strong. It is Prynne's full vituperative treatment of the first Engagement oath, condemned as every kind of treason and as a desperate threat to English liberties, property, and foreign alliances. On 22 December Thomason recorded *Summary reasons against the new oath and Engagement. And an admonition to all such as have already subscribed it*, but this proves to be identical with *The arraignment*, with the exception of the altered title.

15 *Be it knowne and declared to all the world . . .*

11 November 1649. This single sheet, Thomason records, "was posted upon divers church-dores in London" and it listed the names of nine ministers who had taken the Engagement, although they had formerly taken the Covenant: Messrs Delamarsh, Carter senior, Carter junior, Nye, Caryl, Corbet, Bond, Lightfoot, Rayner. On 30 November appeared another list, the same as the first but with four additional names: Dury, Stirry, Simson, Valentine. It closes, "Reader, as thou wouldst not be a Soule-Murtherer, thou art intreated to let this paper stand for a warning to others."

16 * Albertus Warren, *The royalist reform'd or considerations of advice, to gentlemen, divines, lawyers. Digested into three chapters. Wherein their former*

mistakes are examined, and their duties of obedience, unto the present authority, succinctly held forth as rationall, and necessary. London 1650

26 November 1649 [sic]. 44 p. A witty tract, addressed to what Nedham would call the "humorous man" who will listen to reasons of utility. "Integrity is the best policy" (p 44). In his development of the thesis that it is not material to salvation what civil government a man lives under one perceives that Warren had been much influenced by Ascham. The Engagement is not a cruel obtrusion but a careful indulgence for the safety of the whole. Moreover, a new parliament would be extremely dangerous while Ireland remained unsubdued.

17 [Robert Sanderson] *A resolution of conscience, (by a learned divine) in answer to a letter sent with Mr Ascham's book, treating how far it may bee lawful to submit to an usurped power.* N.p. 1649

1 December. 6 p. Ascham has not convinced him further than he was convinced already, i e that it was lawful to pay taxes and submit "to som other things" that he would have done if not commanded (p 1–2). He will submit to the force of the government, but not the authority. Closes with a scathing denial of what he takes to be Ascham's two first principles: that self-preservation is the first obligation in the world, and that no oath binds further than the taker intended to bind himself at the time of making it. Sanderson's "Of the Engagement" which was well-known after 1688 is dated 20 December 1650, but was not published at the time, by his express wish. It appears first as no 7 in *Eight cases of conscience: occasionally determined* (London 1674) and then later in *Nine cases* (1678, 1685). Sanderson, who never took the oath, does not forbid his correspondent to take it, however, provided that he can do so with a clear conscience. In fact the argument tends to prove that the "lowest construction" which may be put on the oath, and which would admit taking it, is the one of which Sanderson approves. Also he observes that "it is strongly reported and believed, that the King hath given way to the taking of the Engagement" (1674 ed, p 113). Reprinted in *Works* (1854) v 17–36.

18 * J[ohn] D[ury] *Considerations concerning the present Engagement, whether it may lawfully be entered into; yea or no?* London 1649

4 December; dated by Dury, and by Caryl's imprimatur, 27 November. 24 p.

—— London 1650. 2nd ed. 22 p (smaller type). The same text as the 1st ed with minor verbal corrections. In the British Museum copy Dury is printed "Eury," and someone has changed the letter and added "A very temporizing knave."

—— London 1650. 3rd ed "enlarged, with an answer to a further scruple offered by a Letter out of the Country." 26 p. This letter (p 23–26) is dated 18 December 1649, and the scruple it considers is that of former oaths contradicting the Engagement. The 2nd and 3rd eds were in print by 21 February 1650 (see *A second parcel of objections*, p 10).

—— London 1650. 4th ed. A reprint of the third ed; it had appeared by 4 April 1650 (*A second parcel*, p 32). Hence there were four eds in four months.

As the number of editions suggest, this was the most read (and referred to) of Dury's Engagement pamphlets, and it is also the most comprehensive. He proves the Covenant is both consistent with the Engagement, and void. He repeats much of his case about the impropriety of meddling, and his treatment of plenary power suggests that he too had read Ascham carefully. He develops the necessary relationship of protection and obedience and argues that, even if the government is guilty, peace and unity demand obedience. Also the usual invocation of providence.

19 [Edward Gee] *An exercitation concerning usurped powers wherein the difference betwixt civill authority and usurpation is stated.* N.p. 1650

18 December 1649 [sic]. 88 p. One of the heaviest guns against the oath, directed principally against Ascham's *Discourse* and Rous. Sustains throughout the distinction between power and right. "All power is of God" cannot be taken in an absolutely literal

sense. Usurpation is a self-created, self-authorized power, and if force gives a just title then the maxim that all power is from the people must be called in again (p 14). Gee considers ways in which consent is transferred from people to governors, some of them sufficient to make a right, others not. He grants that lawful commands may be obeyed, e g taking up arms against an invader, paying taxes, and going to law, but the government's right must be carefully denied, and no civil office may lawfully be accepted. He denies that the present power has gained the consent of the people, and attempts to prove that the English usurping kings and Roman emperors, beloved of the Engagers, all had the concurrent or subsequent consent of the people.

This tract has sometimes been attributed to Hollingsworth or Herle. The McAlpin catalogue (II 696–697) records a printing with a slightly variant title-page.

20 [Edward Reynolds] *The humble proposals of sundry learned and pious divines within this kingdom. Concerning the Engagement intended to be imposed on them for their subscriptions.* London 1649

19 December. 5 p. When providence shakes the foundations of states and disables one government from affording protection it is not contrary to the will of God, or the light of nature, or the judgment of the learned, or the practice of Christians in former ages, or to our own principles and former engagements to submit in lawful things; but it is unlawful to swear an oath contrary to a former obligation. The writers hope to be spared the dilemma of choosing between sin and affliction. Dury replies to this in *Just re-proposals.* The suggestions that a "solemn debate" might clear their consciences probably led to the "conferences" held in February and March 1650 (see 48 below).

—— London 1650 [2nd ed] 6 p. The text is unchanged, but the print is larger and italics have been added for emphasis.

21 * *Conscience puzzel'd, about subscribing the new Engagement.* N.p. 1650

20 December 1649. 8 p. An unengaged man may certainly swear, all governments being of themselves equally lawful; those bound by former oaths may swear if "Commonwealth" is taken to mean merely the whole company of men and women in the nation, and if "true and faithful" is read either negatively (not to be turbulent), or positively in the sense of obeying all things honest and necessary. The pamphlet ends with one of the clearest statements that England is now a conquered nation, and it is therefore "lawfull for a people to make the best conditions they can with the Conquerors" (p 7).

22 * T. B., *The Engagement vindicated.* London 1650

7 January. 13 p. A sweetly reasonable preface containing one of the most formal invocations of providence in the series. T. B. considers oaths (when binding, etc.), the nature of government, the Engagement (less binding than former oaths and not inconsistent with them), the essential lawfulness of the government — though in all points it is not constituted as in a continued peace it might be — and he closes with an analysis of the present enemies of the kingdom. The success of the Irish campaign may atone for some of the defects of the present settlement.

23 * [Anthony Ascham] *A reply to a paper of Dr Sandersons, containing a censure of Mr. A. A. his book Of the confusions and revolutions of goverment.* London 1650

9 January. 18 p. Sanderson's paper (17 above) is reprinted, but the *Exercitation* is also rebutted in this reply. A brief repetition of Ascham's main points. In the confused moral state of the world, and among the fictions with which princes uphold their claims, plenary possession is all we can be sure of. "For non-obedience can expect nothing but non-protection" (p 10). Closes with the quotation from *The City of God* which also terminates *Of the confusions.* "Many things which are not of God's expresse ordination last long, and many things of Gods liking last but a little, as *Iehus* power" (p 14).

24 * *The grand case of conscience concerning the Engagement stated & resolved. Or, a strict survey of the Solemn League & Covenant in reference to the present Engagement.* London 1650

9 January. 22 p. A much clearer version of Dury, proving the two oaths are compatible. The preservation of the king proved inconsistent with the true aims of the Covenant, but the Engagement is consistent with those aims, i e the preservation of the commonwealth, true religion, and liberty. Wood attributed this tract to Milton but his authorship has not been accepted since the 18th century. See J. Milton French, *The Life Records of John Milton* (New Brunswick, NJ 1949) II 291. On p 285 French has mistaken a reference to no 65 in this list for a reference to Dury.

25 * John Dury, *Just re-proposals to humble proposals.* London 1650

15 January; imprimatur Caryl, 7 January. 30 p. An answer to 20 (above). One of Dury's interminable perambulations around the idea of the Engagement's basic simplicity, and its consistency with the true intention of the Covenant.

26 * Robert Spry, *Council of states-policy.* London 1650

20 January; dated from Plymouth 30 October 1649. 55 p. Only the postscript (4 p) deals directly with the Engagement and readers are referred to Dury's *Considerations.* In the remainder of the book a scholar explains to a countryman the nature of a state's strength and legislative authority. He is biassed towards a regulated monarchy, but is prepared to accept the present government because of the virtue, wisdom, and valor of those now in power.

27 [John Lilburne] *The Engagement vindicated & explained, or the reasons upon which Leiut. Col. John Lilburne, tooke the Engagement.* London 1650

23 January; dated on title-page December 1649; licensed 22 January. 6 p. Lilburne explains that at first he intended to take the oath until he found that "Commonwealth" did not mean to the parliamentary juno what it meant to him. He will be true and faithful only insofar as the government is true to its trust, and maintains the foundations of government: annual parliaments, trials by jury, and conformity with fundamental laws and liberties, etc.

28 * N. W., *A discourse concerning the Engagement: or the Northern subscribers plea opposed to their dissenting neighbors importune animosities against Engaging to be true and faithful, &c.* London 1650

29 January. 24 p. Known to Engagers as *The Northern subscribers plea,* this is justly one of the better-known tracts, being more eloquent than most. It opens with a highly metaphorical tribute to the power of providence. The second principal argument for Engaging is the mutual relation of protection and obedience, the third that the old Covenant is void. If the nation has owned its leaders in declarations, thanksgivings, and humiliations, it cannot desert them now. Pamphlet perhaps most notable in its clear implication that the government cannot be considered permanent in its present form.

29 * *A logical demonstration of the lawfulness of subscribing the new Engagement. . . . in four arguments.* London 1650

30 January; imprimatur Joseph Caryl, 26 January. 8 p. 1. That which we ought to do anyway — to live peaceably — we may promise to do. 2. The present authority has power by devolution, not by invasion or intrusion. Full possession would justify obedience to a worse title than the government now commands. 3. Providence has established the existing state, and the Engagement is consistent with the Covenant as "we did covenant to serve providence" (p 7). The civil war was a solemn appeal to providence "so if any usurp Government, and confirm their Usurpation by Conquest, their Usurpation and Conquest is not Gods Ordinance, but their Acts of Government, ordered to the right ends of Government, are Gods Ordinance, and to be obeyed" (p 5). 4. The Engagement is consistent on other grounds with the essential meaning of the Covenant.

30 * [John Dury] *A disengag'd survey of the Engagement. In relation to publike obligations.* London 1650

7 February. 22 p. Another attempt to prove the former oaths both void, and consistent with the new one. Providence and the impossibility of performance nullify oaths. The equity and not the letter of the oath should be followed. "Authority *de facto*, must be obey'd *ex debito*" (p 21). Dury's treatment of justice under a *de facto* power suggests he is following Ascham. Mentions the demurrer and eulogizes the author of *Lawfulnes*. Rous's authorship must have been well known.

31 *Arguments and reasons to prove the inconvenience & unlawfulness of taking the new Engagement.* N.p. n.d.

14 February 1650. 8 p. An answer chiefly to 22 (above). Ahab could not have justly demanded Elijah to be true and faithful to him in the matter of Naboth's vineyard. A small party has turned out the lawful rulers, and the king's heirs still live. The oath is designated to hinder the bringing of delinquents to trial; it necessitates an increase of taxes, deprives men of their liberties, and makes England stink to neighbor nations.

32 [Edward Gee] *A vindication of the oath of allegiance in answer to a paper disperst by Mr Sam: Eaton, pretending to prove the oath of allegiance voyd. . . . By the author of the Exercitation concerning usurped powers.* London 1650

14 February. 48 p. Eaton's three "positions" are printed first: according to Eaton later (46 below) this was their first publication. Gee then confutes the arguments that oaths are conditional; that an oath to an heir is not made in judgement (as a good one has to be) because no one can tell how an heir will turn out; and that an oath can be cancelled by the power that made it, i. e. parliament.

33 *A pack of old puritans. Maintaining the unlawfulness & inexpediency of subscribing the new Engagement.* London 1650

22 February. 35 p. An answer to Dury's *Considerations* and *Just re-proposals*. Dury has confuted himself. Also refers to the *Northern subscribers plea* and to a tract he calls an "Explanation of the Covenant, in reference to the taking the Engagement." There is permissive providence only for the new changes of state. The powers that be have not yet alleged openly that England is a conquered nation.

34 [William Prynne] *A brief apologie for all non-subscribers.* London 1650

28 February. 14 p. All the rebels in English history branded as Engagers. One Engager has already hanged himself. Dury and Caryl are the oath's "busie Champions" (p 13). Opprobrium on the royalists who have taken it, and on "a most wicked and base Maxime of theirs, lately taken up among them, that, *He is a fool that will not take it, and he is a knave that will not break it*" (p 14).

35 * [John Parker] *The government of the people of England precedent and present the same.* London 1650

5 March. 18 p. As the government is the same now as before it is lawful to take the Engagement. "Old" theory for the most part, but the development of the idea that kings are merely conduit pipes of a permanent law and hence are themselves almost supererogatory owes much to Ascham.

36 * S. W., *The constant man's character. Intended to be sent first as a letter. . . . The scope whereof is . . . . to prove the fitness and necessity (as matters now stand) of complying with, and submitting unto this present government.* London 1650

18 March; the "letter" is signed S. W. and dated February 1649 [1650]. 77 p. A long history of the difficult relations between king and parliament. A free use throughout of

the words "conquest" and "conqueror." P 64–72 directly on the Engagement. One of the estates in parliament has been excluded before. Obedience due to the powers that be, not those that have been or will be. Those refusing to engage will continue the dividing process indefinitely, so that concord will never be reached. The ultimate questions are *"Whether there be a Necessity or not of entring into such a League or Engagement: Whether the Conquest be fully made, or there need no Engagement for compleating it?* [etc]" (p 69–70).

37 * Lewis de Moulin, *The power of the magistrate in sacred things . . . . With . . . . a digression concerning allegiance, and submission to the supreame magistrate.* London 1650

28 March; imprimatur Nathaniel Brent, 25 February 1649 [1650] Dedicated to Bulstrode Whitelock, Richard Keble, John Lisle. 151 p. The preface states that this was written to answer many complaints which the author heard when he signed the Engagement at Oxford. The "digression" (p 20–46) argues that England has always obeyed *de facto* monarchs. The "power" of Romans xiii includes usurped power (Calvin). Even the Turk would have to be obeyed if in power in England (p 29, 31, 37). The alliance between providence and conquest is made especially clear (p 21–32). There would be danger of setting up an *imperium in imperio* were the church to claim too much jurisdiction.

38 * *The exercitation answered.* London 1650

3 April (27 March appears also to have been written in, and smudged). 57 p (paginated 55). The five references to *The fuller answer* (p 8, 12, 16, 23, 41) would suggest that the writer was Charles Herle himself. A systematic and important reply to 19 (above), which he acknowledges as the ablest defense of disobedience. Maintains, like Rous, the clearest distinction between an intruder in actual possession, who is certainly of God's ordinance, and the illegal means by which he may have intruded. Usurpers in the act of intrusion may be resisted. Quotations from many Biblical and historical authorities. The four chapters provide (1) A "taste" of the Exercitator; (2) arguments that the parliament is not a usurper and (3) that former oaths do not oblige against the present government, and (4) that obedience is due to powers in possession. A more bitter and sneering Engagement pamphlet than most.

39 [Nathaniel Ward] *Discolliminium. Or, a most obedient reply to a late book, called, Bounds & Bonds, so farre as concerns the first demurrer and no further. Or rather a reply to Bounds onely, leaving Bonds to the second demurrer and grand casuist.* London 1650

23 April; signed B and dated on final page 15 February 1649 [1650] 54 p (mispaged). Thomason attributes this to Ward. Referring to the mention in *B&B* of a "Discourse," the author comments: "I know not what discourse he means, for my part I never saw any such discourse till the first *Demurrer* was finished, presently after I met with one which occasioned that brief additional Postscript." From this one may deduce that Ward (if Thomason is correct) was also the author of the first reply to Rous. Ward is probably slighting Ascham deliberately by refusing to know which discourse he means, because it is obvious in *B&B* that the "Discourse" is Ascham's and not Rous's.

Answers the arguments from necessity, providence, good intentions, and successes. Only two forms of lawful power exist, hereditary and elected (p 7). Demands unequivocally a "mixt frame of Government well-temper'd, and proportion'd" (sig G3r). The Engagement will be as great a snare to the parliament later as it is to tender consciences now. The wittiest of the anti-Engagement pamphlets.

40 * Thomas Hobbes, *De corpore politico.* London 1650

4 May. 195 p. This work is included not because Hobbes wrote it in response to the controversy, but in order to emphasize how much of his political theory did in fact sustain Engagement theory. Hobbes's influence on English thought was probably at no

time more direct than now, and largely through the medium of Anthony Ascham. On the voiding of covenants when they became impossible (p 16), and on the release from subjection by conquest (p 89–90, 96–97), the *De corpore* can be said to enforce Engagement theory directly. Dominion may be acquired "Thirdly, By a new Captivity, where the servant having done his Endeavour to defend himself, hath thereby performed his Covenant to his former Master, and for the safety of his life entring into a new Covenant with the Conquerour, is bound to do his best Endeavour to keep that likewise" (p 95–96; ed Molesworth IV 152). The appendix of the 2nd ed of the following item contains quotations from *De corpore*, which Nedham recommends "(together with the whole *Treatise*) . . . to all *Non-Subscribers*." That Hobbes's theory in *Leviathan* makes him the supreme Engager has recently been implied by Charles Blitzer, *The Commonwealth of England* (New York 1963) p 128.

41 * Marchamont Nedham, *The case of the common-wealth of England stated.* London n.d.

8 May 1650. 94 p. For two recent accounts of this well-known tract, see Zagorin, p 121 ff, and Joseph Frank, *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper 1620–1660* (Cambridge, Mass 1961) 205–209. Nedham differs from other Engagers chiefly in being more explicit and uninhibited in his view of the conquest which has taken place. An interpretation of providence is the basis of his argument. He answers the Exercitator directly (p 23–24).

—— London 1650. 2nd ed "with Additions." The text of the 2nd ed is unchanged except for the addition of "An Appendix, added out of *Salmasius*, and M. *Hobbs*" (p 103–111). The pagination of Part II of the 2nd ed is in disorder and sig F3 is lettered G. From that point the signatures of the 2nd ed are one letter ahead of the 1st ed.

42 *Traytors deciphered in an answeare to a shameless pamphlet, intituled a declaration of the parliament of England.* N.p. 1650

31 May, Thomason adding "Hague: Sam Browne." 87 p. A late rebuttal of the same *Declaration* which Rous supported with his *Lawfulnes*. A detailed passage-by-passage refutation, "a continued narrative of [Parliament's] Usurpation." Martial power is all the government can lay claim to.

43 [William Prynne] *The time-serving Proteus, and ambidexter divine, uncased to the world: containing two letters of M. John Dury (the great champion for the new Ingagement, faithfully extracted out of the originalls under his own hand).* N.p. 1650

Undated by Thomason, but precedes the following pamphlet. 6 p. Not a contribution to the opposition's theory but an attempt to discredit Dury. Reprints Dury's letters to Joseph Hall and Laud and makes sarcastic observations in the margins about Dury's ordinations in Anglican and Presbyterian churches. Now he is metamorphosed into an Independent "and since, into the first printed Advocate for the New Ingagement, proving a Divine of as many various Editions, as there are severall impressions of his inconsiderate Considerations" (from the title-page).

44 * John Dury, *The unchanged, constant and single-hearted peace-maker drawn forth into the world.* London 1650

11 June. 18 p. A prefatory letter from Hartlib to the reader is dated 31 May 1650. Dury's letter to Hartlib, which is his defense against Prynne, is dated 30 May. He denies Prynne's accusations of time-serving. He is basically a Presbyterian, and his rule is to obey whoever happens to be in authority over him.

45 [Edward Gee] *A plea for non-scribers. Or the grounds and reasons of many ministers in Cheshire, Lancashire and the parts adjoyning for their refusall of the late Engagement.* N.p. 1650

11 June. 70 p + 66 p Appendix. An important answer to the Northern subscribers. The argument is essentially two-part: the unjustness of the present power, and the force of

former engagements. The Appendix is especially useful in that it lists all the Engagers' main points (among which the "old" theory that the power of the people is represented in parliament occupies only a small place) and contains the most careful refutation of the Engagers' arguments from providence (p 1–18). "The last of their reasons, and that which brings up the reare and serves when all Arguments besides are put to the worse, is that of Conquest" (p 38, Appendix). A subsection (p 39–66) examines oaths in detail.

46 * Samuel Eaton, *The oath of allegiance and the national covenant proved to be non-obliging: or, three several papers on that subject.* London 1650

1 July; 4 + 23 + 51 p. Thomason's entry for 4 October is the same edition, but sigs B1-4, containing Eaton's original "Positions," are omitted. The tracts consist of (1) Eaton's two "positions" which Gee had published earlier (32 above); (2) a reprint of Gee's answer; (3) "A Reply to an Answer Pretending to Refute some Positions which tended to make the Oath of Allegiance Void, and not obliging." Employs the arguments from providence and conquest, but the "Reply" is notable for being one of the longest accounts of oaths by an Engager, and much clearer than Dury. The final 2 pages treat the Engagement explicitly, denying it to be absolute or single. The people have power to change the government in the future when they see cause.

47 *J[ohn] D[ury] *Objections against the taking of the Engagement answered. Or some scruples of conscience, which a godly minister in Lancashire did entertain against the taking of the Engagement.* London 1650

3 August, "written at St James' this 9 June 1650." The letter from the minister, which Dury prints first, is dated 9 May. 24 p. The late government, though lawful, was not expedient; the ties to the monarchy no longer bind; one is not engaging *against* the king's heir; the desire for liberty must not be made the occasion for more strife — there must be a supreme power in the state; jealousy dictates the objection to arbitrary governors, though Dury hopes for chosen representatives from time to time. The last scruple to be answered is that conscientious men have been trampled on because they would not take the oath, while atheists and cavaliers are respected only because they take it: obey force in all lawful things is Dury's final advice.

48 * *Memorandums of the conferences held between the brethren scrupled at the Engagement; and others who were satisfied with it. On Feb 15 and March 1 1649.* London 1650

21 August, in Thomason's handwriting, but entered in the catalogue under 15 February. The main hindrances to affection for the present government are the frustrated hopes of religious reformation, and inequalities in the administration of justice (p 3). The first conference argues for compliance on the grounds of plenary possession, providence, the necessity of government, the relation of protection and obedience, the expediency of swearing, and the impossibility of distinguishing between not-acknowledging and open opposition. The first conference, in short, tried to establish the parliament's right to a passive, then to an active, obedience; the second proposed to find an easy way of by-passing the scruples, but it was generally agreed that the way of satisfaction was the only feasible one; the third argued, in the old style, that parliament had a just legislative title.

49 *Some considerations in relation to the Act of 2 January, 1649 for subscribing the Engagement.* N.p. n.d.

23 October 1650. 8 p. Eight terse and excellent reasons against the utility of the oath, which creates more difficulties than it solves. Concludes (1) that the magistrates should trust God with their government, as the oath will not stop incendiaries; (2) that conscientious men "wholly for them [the govt.] in their judgements," but who will not swear, are now in the same category as parliament's worst enemies; (3) that persecution is now in some ways worse than under prelacy. Some "queries" and practical suggestions for repealing or modifying the oath follow. See Parker's answer (59 below).

50 * G[eorge] W[ither] *Respublica Anglicana or the historie of the parliament in their late proceedings.* London 1650

28 October. 47 p. A comprehensive pamphlet dealing with the calumnies of Clement Walker, the necessity of secluding M.P.'s, the overthrow of the monarchy, the invasion of Scotland, and, finally, the Engagement. Refers to Milton's *Tenure* and Dury's *Disengaged survey.* Old and new theory jostle each other — Wither uses any argument that might help. Subscribes to the view, among others, that necessity knows no law, that all governments were first military tyrannies, and that the sword gives a just title. Reprinted by The Spenser Society (1883).

51 * John Dury, *Two treatises concerning the matter of the Engagement.* London 1650

2 November; dated on final page 24 May. 61 p. The first treatise is a reply to Dury's *Considerations,* written in the same agonizingly sincere manner as Dury's own work. Dury's answer (p 21–61) repeats his former positions, especially the duty of private persons to ask no questions. The Engagement says nothing against monarchy per se; it would be possible for parliament to set up a new king tomorrow (p 58). To the argument that the Israelites would never have escaped their captivity had they obeyed usurpers, Dury replies that there is a great difference between what a private person and a state may do (p 51–52).

52 [Edmund Hall] *Lazarus's sores licked; or, an answer to these three positions: I. That Christ paid tribute to Caesar. II. That Caesar was an Usurper in Judea, and had onely bare possession, but no right at all. III. That bare possession . . . gives title sufficient to the usurper, and is ground sufficient for people to subject to that usurper.* London 1650

9 November. 19 p. The title is self-explanatory. A providential right by God's permission, if not supported by a civil right, allows no authority. Caesar's right by conquest was sustained by the Israelites' consent.

The author's opening words, "From this Text the Doctor [Lazarus Seaman] endeavoured to prove (as my selfe and others understood him) . . ." and a statement in the preface about the impudent defense of a dangerous error in both Cambridge and London, imply that Seaman has been preaching, rather than writing, in favor of the oath. I find it hard to believe that Seaman's part in the controversy was not larger than this one attack on him would suggest. His library contained at least thirty-three of the tracts on this list, the most notable omission being Ascham's *Of the confusions* — although he owned *Bounds & bonds* and *A reply to Dr Sanderson* (*Catalogus variorum . . . librorum . . . Lazari Seaman,* ed William Cooper, London 1676). His sermon, *A glasse for the times* (1650) is not polemical, though as a call to charity it would tend to encourage subscribing.

53 John Tatham, *The distracted state, a tragedy. Written in the yeer, 1641.* London 1651

29 November 1650. Dedicated to John Sidley, Bart. Complimentary verses by I. R. R. D., G. Lynn. 30 p. The evidence for reading this play as a satire against the Engagers is given in "The Case for Internal Evidence (10): The Date of John Tatham's *The Distracted State,*" *Bulletin of The New York Public Library* LXIV (1960) 29–40.

Two of the following three tracts were printed in 1650, the third probably in that year.

54 * *A briefe resolution of that grand case of conscience.* London 1650

6 p. Denies that all conquest confers a right and holds that a king cannot voluntarily resign his kingdom. The difficulty lies in the intermediate state between the involuntary dedition of the king, and his renewal of his claim. The subjects must do nothing to

jeopardize that claim, such as taking new oaths of allegiance, but they may submit "to such things of an inferiour nature . . . provided that they acknowledge not the lawfulness of the present usurped Power, nor act as Ministers or Instruments thereof" (p 5–6). This is exactly Filmer's position, an uneasy compromise between the two sides.

55 * J[ohn] D[ury] *A second parcel of objections against the taking of the Engagement answered.* London 1650

106 p. Four letters and Dury's replies, with an appendix answering 45 (above). All dated between 9 February and 19 October 1650. This is Dury at his best, the crystallization of his main arguments. He refuses to decide whether he would have to oppose a more rightful party offering opposition. God orders acts of providence to a good end, and Dury accepts the logical implications of this view. The future is in God's hand and, for the present, Dury's conscience must be ruled by a rule, not by the appearances of events.

56 *An answer to Mr. J. Dury: or, animadversions upon his Considerations concerning the present Engagement.* N.p. n.d.

Caption title only. 8 p. Dury breaks his own rule about not meddling. Emphasizes Dury's begging of questions, his inconsistencies. Obedience due to lawful authority only; private citizens must exercise some private judgment: the public good (the purpose of the oath) could be better served than by settling an unjust power. Refutes the protection / subjection argument by suggesting that obedience to a gang of thieves would then be obligatory [but the Engagers admitted this]. Former oaths not invalid, and the Engagement is not consistent with them.

57 * *A word of councel to the disaffected.* N.p. n.d.

9 January 1651. A double sheet containing Latin verses to Fairfax and Cromwell, and, on the second page, three poems in English addressed as above. The third of these is entitled "To the same about Engaging." It runs as follows.

Are you so ty'd to th' Covenant that ye dare
Not promise 'gainst what formerly ye sware?
Is not that Covenant that ye should resist
All Hostile bands that 'gainst Religion list?
The Kirk confesseth that her powers are such,
That she's deceived, do but ye as much;
But ye are ty'd to Fathers, and their Heirs.
What say ye then if God new powers prepares.
To present Rule his Word commands, ye bow;
Shall Gods Command be crossed by your Vow?
His word obliging bonds from Conscience takes;
His word forbidding, oathes unlawful makes.
You'l say to such as have a legal call:
But God himself doth bid submit to all.
You'l say to good and just, not bad ye dare:
But God bids yeeld unto the powers that are;
And in so doing, promises to bless
Men with a quiet life in Godliness;
For they that Titles do so far extend,
Will kindle fires that burn unto the end:
Who swares to future powers, doth strife increase;
Who swares to present, is a friend of peace.
Thus heavenly wisdom doth direct to be
Submiss 'neath present, from past powers free,
Marking the streams in which his acting run,
Praying, *thy will, O Lord, on earth be done.*

58 [Henry Hall] *Digitus testium, or a dreadful alarm to the whole kingdom. . . . Or a short discourse of the excellency of Englands lawes and religion. Together with. . . . a serious view of the new oath or Ingagement, with 22. queries upon the same. And also objections made against the non-subscribers thereof answered.* London 1650

12 January 1651. 31 p. This pamphlet is anonymous in the principal catalogues but has sometimes been attributed to Edmund Hall, presumably because of the similarity of the title to two other works of 1651 which Wood attributed to him — *Lingua testium* and *Manus testium movens.* My attribution is based on Richard Baxter's statement in his autobiography (*Reliquiae Baxterianae,* ed Matthew Sylvester [London 1696] p 64) that he wrote twenty queries against the Engagement and shortly "met with them *verbatim* in a Book of Mr. *Henry Hall's* as his own: (one that was long imprisoned for writing against *Cromwell*)." The tract develops from a history of English law into a history of important oaths framed to defend England from the papists. Independency

was the Trojan Horse with a thousand heresies in its belly. The discussion of the Engagement is set off from the remainder of the work by very small type (p 17–31). Those taking the oath are guilty of perjury. Much querying of the phraseology of the oath, and the typical Engagement arguments — Romans xiii, Christ's acknowledgement of Caesar, providence, etc — are rebutted. God's providential acts can only be followed when they concur with God's will as revealed in His precepts. The Engagement will assist papists. Seventy people were blown up on the night the oath was announced: God's judgment is plain.

59 * H[enry] Parker, *Scotlands holy war . . . . as also an answer to a paper, entituled Some considerations in relations to the Act of 2. Jan: 1649. for subscribing the Engagement.* London 1651

17 January. The "Answer to a paper," p 68–78. Lists eleven objections to the oath and answers them individually: its inconsistency with former oaths, partially to malignants, obscurity and ambiguity, illegal penalties, inefficacy, want of charity, rigor to harmless men, enmity to reconciliation, diffidence in God, excess punishments, and opposition to Christian liberty.

60 *A copie of a letter against the Engagement. As it was sent to a minister who perswaded his neighbour that he might subscribe.* N.p. 1650

1 February 1651. 13 p and brief postscript. The usual "evasions" of the Engagers enumerated and refuted. To swear the oath, thereby meaning to preserve our estates for the king later, is to do evil that good may come. The oath is more than a parole, and no arguments from providence or personal reservations can justify taking it. One may infer also that Charles II's presumed consent to the oath was a more popular argument than the written evidence would suggest.

61 * R. F[letcher] *Mercurius heliconicus. Or, the result of a safe conscience: whether it be necessary to subscribe to the government now in being.* London 1651

3 February. 7 p. 110 lines of withering verse, beginning "Crowns were but gallant robberies at first. / And Conquerors heroick theeves that durst / Attempt the worlds inslaving, why should we / Repine then to behold a Monarchy / Rak'd up in dust?" Chiefly a recapitulation of the argument for obedience from providence. The blatancy of it is reminiscent of Nedham.

62 * *Englands apology, for its late change: or, a sober perswasive, of all disaffected or dissenting persons, to a seasonable engagement, for the settlement of this commonwealth. Drawne from the workings of providence. The state of affaires. The danger of division.* London 1651

12 February, misdated 15th in Thomason catalogue. 38 p. "God hath walked up and downe in garments of bloud for this almost ten yeares," yet hearts are still hardened (p 2). Primarily a defense of the commonwealth on the basis of the victories of the New Model army, and hence of the rights conferred by conquest and the direct intervention in English history of God's providential Hand. The last bulwark against tyranny is the parliament "which in due time wee shall have most free, and stablished, if our owne fond affections to strangers and prejudices of our friends, doe not undoe it all" (p 38).

63 * John Dury, *Conscience eased: or, the main scruple which hath hitherto stuck most with conscionable men, against the taking of the Engagement removed.* London 1651

25 February; dated Westminster 8 December 1650. Another of Dury's forays into the tacit conditions in all oaths; supreme powers cannot be bound unalterably, and expediency will often demand changes for the public good. Oaths are subordinate to the main rules of the Christian faith, and can be modified by unforeseen accidents and emergencies.

64 * R. Fletcher, *Radius heliconicus: or, the resolution of a free state.* N.p. n.d.

28 February 1650 [1651]. A single sheet with 106 lines of verse ("Fame is the life of action. He that will / Grasp at a world must not be scar'd with ill"). Similar to 61 (above) except that the poem is a defiant trumpet against servility, second thoughts, or squeamishness about the justice of the free commonwealth. The day of delivery from tyranny has arrived. Hence Fletcher, in his two verse tracts, follows the structure of Nedham's argument in *The Case of the Common-wealth.*

65 * Ephraim Elcock, *Animadversions on a book, called, A plea for non-scribers.* London 1651

8 July. 61 p. Apparently written nine or ten months earlier, shortly after Gee's *Plea* (45 above). The best example of the atypical Engagement tract, based almost entirely on "old" theory — the right of parliament to dethrone kings, etc. Arguments drawn from law, history, and contemporary writers, and claiming parliament's positive right to claim obedience. The fundamentals of the commonwealth have not been disturbed by the king's death, and the present state "is not a thing of yesterdayes erection" (p 37).

66 * Richard Saunders, *Plenary possession makes a lawful power.* London 1651

28 July; preface dated 19 May; sermon preached 23 March 1650. 26 p. A sermon out of Ascham. Christians should resist invaders, but not after they obtain plenary possession. The oath is not permanently obligatory if the status quo should change. A very clear appeal to the justification from providence.

67 * J. Drew, *The Northern subscribers plea, vindicated.* London 1651

August. 71 p. Much on providence, for which the Engagers have been accused of harboring a passion. Drew recalls how willingly the Presbyterians appealed to providence during the civil war. Present successes show that the parliament has more than God's mere permission. Conquest affords a just title, even to Nimrod. Protection / allegiance argument employed, and Dury's thesis about the proper role of the individual in state affairs. King's children have no claim until they succeed *de facto.* A useful pamphlet with most of the main arguments, and a confidence born of the success of the Irish and Scottish campaigns.

68 * William Jenkin, *M. Jenkin's recantation, or his humble acknowlegement by way of petition to the parliament. Wherein he confesseth his sorrow for his actings against the state, and the unsuitableness thereof to his calling and profession. As also the parliaments answer to his petition.* London 1651

14 November. 6 p. A simple deference to providence, and contrition for refusing hitherto to acquiesce in the righteous pleasure of God. A personal example of how strong the argument from providence was. Other printings of Jenkin's confession occur on a single sheet (B. M. call no 599 1. 24) entitled *The humble petition of William Jenkin,* and in *Certain conscientious queries from Mr. Will. Jenkin: being the grounds of his late petition and submission to the present power* (London 1651).

69 * John Rocket, *The Christian subject . . . Wherein are answered those ordinary objections, of haeresy, tyranny, usurpation, breach of covenant. Which some make as a sufficient plea to take them off from a chearfull obedience to this present government.* London 1651

16 November. (6) + (8) + 151 p. Dedicated to Bradshaw. A long treatise, departing from 1 Timothy ii. 1–2, on the necessity and efficacy of a subject's prayers for his magistrate. Rocket denies the present government is tyrannical or usurping in the proper sense of the terms, but the power even of a usurper is good, though not his person: *"Error Personae, non Officii"* (p 119). The fact that the government is not perfect is the better reason to pray for it. Although the passive subjection of the subject is everywhere implied, Rocket's emphasis on the positive duty of prayer is a new departure in the controversy.

70 * Thomas Carre, *A treatise of subiection to the powers. Preached almost a yeer since, and now copied out for the presse; yet not to flatter any, but to inform all.* London 1651

The BM copy is incomplete, ending in mid-sentence at p 48. Dated "From my Study, July 31, 1650." Preached in September, Carre says, of the previous year to his congregation of Mickfield, Suffolk. One of the most absolute and sycophantic statements about the need for subjection to all powers, whatever their virtue or vice. Carre insists that he "meddle[s] only with the visibility of the Power," questions of succession being irrelevant. However, Carre is as ready as Nedham to avail himself of every argument, and there is much "old" theory and denigration of the king in this sermon. Resistance permissible while usurper is intruding, yet not after the conquest is made. This Carre should not be confused, as he is in Wing, with the pseudonymn for Miles Pinckney.

71 * Francis Osborne, *A perswasive to a mutuall compliance under the present government. Together with a plea for a free state compared with monarchy.* Oxford 1652

18 February. Dedication to Cromwell dated 1 January 1652. 41 p. Opens with the assertion of the great clemency of the present rulers, who rule by conquest. All governments originate in foul beginnings. In time England may be as free as the United Provinces or Venice. The "plea for a free state" (p 11–41) recounts the evils of monarchy and the usual advantages of a republic. Thus Osborne follows the pattern of using both new and old theory first firmly established by Nedham. Reprinted in *Somers Tracts*, ed Sir Walter Scott, VI 153–177.

72 * Sir Robert Filmer, *Observations upon Aristotles politiques, touching forms of government. Together with directions for obedience to governours in dangerous and doubtful times.* London 1652

25 May. 51 p. The relevant second pamphlet (p 45–51) applies paternal theory to the exigencies of the Interregnum. A usurper, ruling by God's permission, has a better claim to obedience than anyone except the lawful ruler, and self-preservation, as well as the preservation of the rightful governor, will dictate the subject's compliance. A long period of time will graft a usurper in office, even though a divine right can never be destroyed. Usurpers may be obeyed not only in lawful but in indifferent things. Reprinted in *Patriarcha and Other Political Works*, ed Peter Laslett (Oxford 1949) 231–235.

Mr Laslett has called my attention to unpublished tracts by Filmer in the Bodleian (MS Tanner 233) which contain two pertaining to the Engagement. The first (p 38–74) is incomplete, and is primarily concerned in suggesting ways in which dissimulation is possible. A man may surrender to a greater power in order to preserve himself and the loyal party (p 69). The second tract argues that the oath may be taken insofar as the "Commonwealth" remains unchanged (though lacking a part) and because justice should be maintained. Submission is due until the former constitution is revived. The promissory (as opposed to declaratory) part of the oath binds us to nothing evil. While resisting the idea of any active compliance with the government, Filmer's concessions must have been deemed sufficient by the parliament. The oath was finally construed by a leading royalist in such a way that it could be easily taken and easily broken.

Latest Publications NYPL

Sixty-Four Treasures. Illustrated. 20 pages. 50 cents
A Catalogue of the Library's exhibition of its Treasures for World's Fair visitors.

Literature as a Mode of Travel: Five Essays and a Postscript. With an Introduction by Warner G. Rice. Illustrated. 120 pages. $4.00

Simon Wheeler, Detective. By Mark Twain. First edition, from manuscripts in the Berg Collection. Edited and introduced by Franklin R. Rogers. With 5 collotype illustrations. Clothbound. xxxix, 204 pages. $5.00

A Bibliography of Ship Passenger Lists, 1538–1825; Being a Guide to Published Lists of Early Immigrants to North America. Compiled by Harold Lancour; third edition, revised and enlarged by Richard J. Wolfe, with a List of Passenger Arrival Records in the National Archives by Frank E. Bridgers. Clothbound. 140 pages fully indexed. $5.00

New in the Berg Collection, 1959–1961: An Exhibition. By John D. Gordan. Illustrated, 4 plates. 36 pages. $1.00

Stravinsky and the Dance: A Survey of Ballet Productions, 1910–1962. Edited by Selma Jeanne Cohen, with an Introduction ("Stravinsky and the Muses") by Herbert Read. Profusely illustated. 60 pages. $2.50 (For index, see next volume)

Stravinsky and the Theatre: A Catalogue of Decor and Costume Designs for Stage Productions of his Works, 1910–1962. Profusely illustrated. Index to works, portraits, and artists in this and the preceding volume. 60 pages. $2.00

Imogen: A Pastoral Romance: From the Ancient British. By William Godwin. Reprinted from the 1784 Edition, with an Introduction by Jack W. Marken and Critical Discussion by Martha Winburn England, Burton R. Pollin, and Irwin Primer. Frontispiece. 121 pages. $2.50
A lost novel found.

A Bibliography of Slavic Dictionaries. Compiled by Richard C. Lewanski.

Volume I: Polish. (1959) 64 pages. $2.00

Volume II: Belorussian, Bulgarian, Czech, Kashubian, Lusatian, Old Church Slavic, Macedonian, Polabian, Serbocroatian, Slovak, Slovenian, Ukrainian. xvii, 366 pages. $5.00

Volume III: Russian. xlii, 400 pages. $5.50

Swedish Commentators on America, 1638–1865: An Annotated List of Selected Manuscript and Printed Materials. By Esther Elisabeth Larson. 139 pages. $5.50

The Arents Collection of Books in Parts and Associated Literature; A Supplement to the Checklist, 1957–1963. By Perry O'Neil. Illustrated. 36 pages. May. $1.00
The original checklist of the Collection by Sarah Augusta Dickson (1957; 88 pages; $2.00) is still available from the Library's Public Relations Office.

Forthcoming:

The Early Editions of Flaxman's Classical Designs, by G. E. Bentley, Jr. Illus. 60 pages. $1.00

American Secular Music 1801–1825: A Bibliography. By Richard J. Wolfe. 3 volumes. (Price before Oct 1 1964: $30.00.) $35.00

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

President, GILBERT W. CHAPMAN
First Vice-President, ROY E. LARSEN
Second Vice-President, JOHN M. SCHIFF
Secretary, BETHUEL M. WEBSTER
Treasurer, GRANT KEEHN
Assistant Treasurer, UNITED STATES TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK
Director, EDWARD G. FREEHAFER
MRS VINCENT ASTOR
C. WALLER BARRETT
ROSWELL GILPATRIC
MORRIS HADLEY
ARTHUR A. HOUGHTON, JR
DONALD F. HYDE
DEVEREUX C. JOSEPHS
MRS MILLICENT C. McINTOSH
NEWBOLD MORRIS
THOMAS L. PERKINS
ROLAND L. REDMOND
DAVID A. SHEPARD
FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN
NORMAN H. STROUSE
WALTER N. THAYER
MRS ARNOLD WHITRIDGE

THE MAYOR, THE COMPTROLLER, AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, *ex officio*

HONORARY TRUSTEE
ELIHU ROOT, JR

STAFF OFFICERS

DIRECTOR, Edward G. Freehafer
DEPUTY DIRECTOR, John Mackenzie Cory
ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR, James Wood Henderson (Actng)
CONTROLLER, Mrs Angela M. Lyons
EXECUTIVE OFFICER, Bayard Schieffelin
CHIEF OF THE PERSONNEL OFFICE, Alan L. Heyneman
CHIEF OF THE PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICE, Miss Marion L. Simmons

REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

Central Building, Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street. Annex, 521 West 43rd Street
JAMES WOOD HENDERSON, Chief

EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT, Gilbert A. Cam
AMERICAN HISTORY AND GENEALOGY DIVISION, Gerald D. McDonald, Chief
ANNEX REFERENCE SERVICES, 521 West 43rd Street, Saro John Riccardi, Chief
ARENTS COLLECTIONS, John D. Gordan, Actng Chief
ART AND ARCHITECTURE DIVISION. Karl Kup, Chief
BERG COLLECTION, John D. Gordan, Chief
BOOK DELIVERY DIVISION, David C. Maclay, Chief
DANCE COLLECTION, Miss Genevieve Oswald, Curator
ECONOMICS DIVISION, John Fall, Chief
INFORMATION DIVISION, Archibald P. DeWeese, Chief
JEWISH DIVISION, Abraham Berger, Chief
MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, Robert W. Hill, Keeper of Manuscripts
MAP DIVISION, Gerard L. Alexander, Chief
MUSIC DIVISION, Philip L. Miller, Chief
ORIENTAL DIVISON, John L. Mish, Chief
PERIODICALS DIVISION, Barron M. Franz, Chief
PREPARATION DIVISION, Robert E. Kingery, Chief
PRINTS DIVISION, Karl Kup, Chief
RARE BOOK DIVISION, Lewis M. Stark, Chief
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY DIVISION, George S. Bonn, Chief
SLAVONIC DIVISION, John L. Mish, Chief
SPENCER COLLECTION, Karl Kup, Adviser
THEATRE COLLECTION, George Freedley, Curator

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

Headquarters: Donnell Library Center, 20 West 53rd Street, New York, N. Y. 10019
MRS JEAN ORTH GODFREY, Chief

ASSISTANT CHIEF, Miss Mary Dana
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES, Mrs Julia Brody, Coordinator
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT, Mrs Dorothy Homer
TECHNICAL SERVICES, Mrs Sydney G. Marcu, Coordinator
ADULT SERVICES, Miss Katherine L. O'Brien, Coordinator
CHILDREN'S SERVICES, Mrs Augusta Baker, Coordinator
YOUNG ADULT SERVICES, Miss Margaret Scoggin, Coordinator
MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES & RECORDS CENTER, James Katsaros, Administrator

Circulation Department, *continued*

List of Branches and Librarians

MANHATTAN

COORDINATOR, Miss Casindania Eaton

ASSISTANT COORDINATOR, Walter Roziewski

AGUILAR. 174 East 110th Street.
Miss Marie Ferrigno

BLOOMINGDALE REGIONAL. 150 West 100th Street.
Miss Erna Obermeier

CATHEDRAL. 564 Lexington Avenue.
Robert Powers

CENTRAL CHILDREN'S ROOM. Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street.
Miss Maria Cimino

CENTRAL CIRCULATION. Fifth Ave. & 42nd St.
Miss Mary C. Hatch

CHATHAM SQUARE. 33 East Broadway.
Miss Virginia Swift

COLUMBIA. Room 101, Butler Lib., Col. Univ.
John Slade

COLUMBUS. 742 Tenth Avenue.
Miss Eliza Perry

COUNTEE CULLEN REGIONAL. 104 West 136th Street.
Miss Esther Walls

DONNELL LIBRARY CENTER. 20 West 53rd Street.
Miss Loda Hopkins

EPIPHANY. 228 East 23rd Street.
Miss Regina Sludock

FIFTY-EIGHTH STREET. 127 East 58th Street.
Raymond Harris

FORT WASHINGTON REGIONAL. 535 West 179th Street.
Mrs Winifred Carruthers

GEORGE BRUCE. 518 West 125th Street.
Howard Rickert

HAMILTON FISH PARK. 415 East Houston St.
Mrs Mary Pieper

HAMILTON GRANGE. 503 West 145th Street.
Mrs Dorothy Pitman

HARLEM LIBRARY. 9 West 124th Street.
Mrs Rosa C. Brown

HUDSON PARK. 10 Seventh Avenue South.
Mrs Alice Vielehr

INWOOD REGIONAL. 4790 Broadway.
Miss Clara Rees

JACKSON SQUARE. 251 West 13th Street.
Miss Ruth Shinnamon

LIBRARY FOR THE BLIND. 166 Avenue of the Americas.
Miss Charlotte C. Harrison

MACOMB'S BRIDGE. 2650 Seventh Avenue.

MUHLENBERG. 209 West 23rd Street.
Miss Alice McQuaid

MUNICIPAL REFERENCE LIBRARY. 2230 Municipal Building.
Eugene Bockman

Public Health Division. 125 Worth Street. Room 224

MUSIC LIBRARY. 127 East 58th Street.
Mrs Catharine K. Miller

NATHAN STRAUS. 20 West 53rd Street.
Miss Elizabeth A. Boyle

NINETY-SIXTH STREET REGIONAL. 112 East 96th Street.
Miss Irene Patjens

115TH STREET. 203 West 115th Street.
Miss Anne Judge

125TH STREET. 224 East 125th Street.
Dale Middleton

OTTENDORFER. 135 Second Avenue.
Miss Mercy Kellogg

PICTURE COLLECTION. Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street.
Miss Romana Javitz

RIVERSIDE. 190 Amsterdam Avenue.
Miss Myrtle Reynolds

ST AGNES REGIONAL. 444 Amsterdam Ave.
Miss Dorothy Cobb

SCHOMBURG COLLECTION. 103 West 135th Street.
Mrs Jean Blackwell Hutson

SEWARD PARK. 192 East Broadway.
Miss Joan Treble

SIXTY-SEVENTH STREET. 328 East 67th St.
Mrs Margarethe Kortenbeutel Voorhis

TOMPKINS SQUARE REGIONAL. 331 East 10th Street.
Mrs Alice Alexander

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS. 1000 St Nicholas Avenue.
Mrs Regina M. Andrews

WEBSTER. 1465 York Avenue.
Miss Edna Thomson

YORKVILLE. 222 East 79th Street.
Miss Emily Davis

THE BRONX

COORDINATOR, Gerald Gold

ASSISTANT COORDINATOR, Miss Mary Barrett

ALLERTON. 2740 Barnes Avenue.
Miss Grace Iijima

BRONX BOOKMOBILES. 321 East 140th Street.
Mrs Mabel Bell

CASTLE HILL. 2220 Cincinnatus Avenue.
Philip Wolcoff

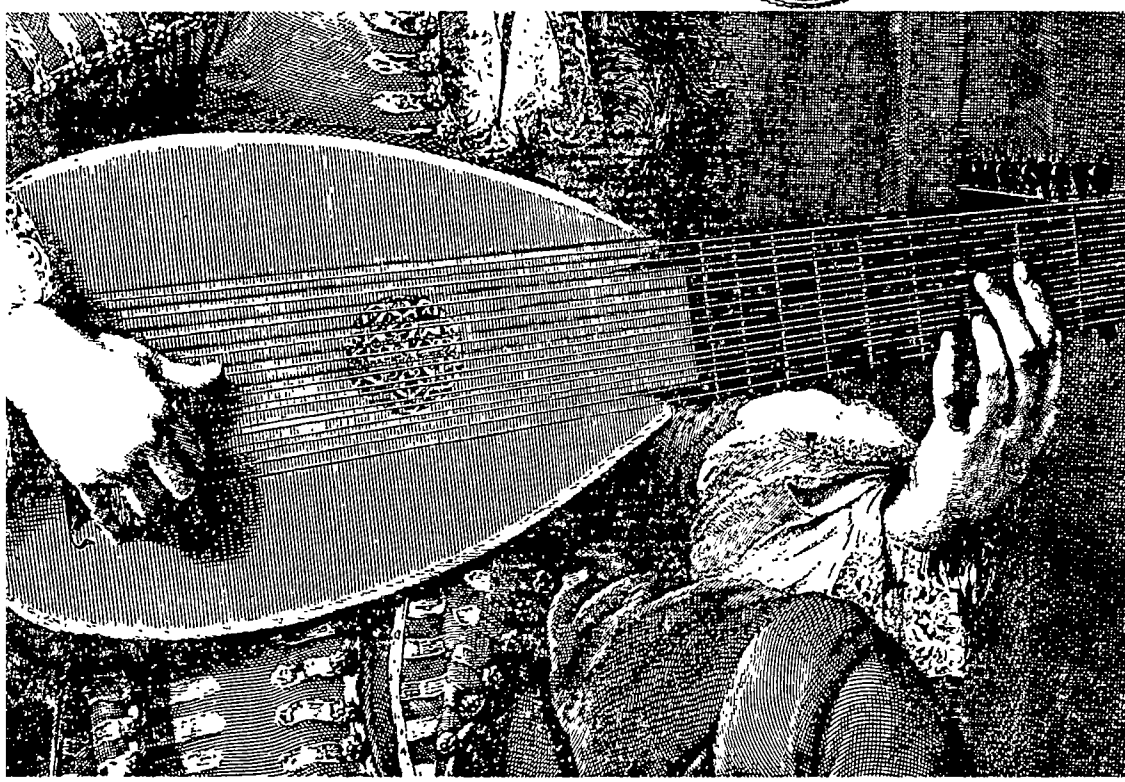
CITY ISLAND. 325 City Island Avenue.
Mrs Stella Webber

SEPTEMBER 1964

BULLETIN
OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CENTRAL LIBRARY.



BULLETIN OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

VOLUME 68 SEPTEMBER 1964 NUMBER 7

CONTENTS

FRONT MATTER:

The Library as Publisher 413
New Roofing and More Room 413
Hallie Flanagan Davis Collection 413
Other Gifts to the Theatre Collection 413
Memorialized in Marble 414
Frank Allison Waite 414

LATEST PUBLICATIONS NYPL 414

AN 18TH-CENTURY LUTE MANUSCRIPT IN THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY by Jeanette B. Holland 415

THE LETTERS OF GEORGE GISSING TO GABRIELLE FLEURY (A Selection: PART I) Edited by Pierre Coustillas 433

THE BARD AND THE BOOK: EDITIONS OF SHAKESPEARE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: AN EXHIBITION by John D. Gordan 462

EXHIBITIONS IN THE CENTRAL BUILDING 480

On the cover: Charles Mouton's lute; detail, enlarged, of an etching by Edelinck (1690). See page 419, note 10.

Printed and published monthly except July and August, by The New York Public Library at Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10018. Subscription $3.00 a year, single numbers 30 cents.

Editor, DAVID V. ERDMAN; WILLIAM H. KNEEDLER, *Editorial Assistant*

Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y. September, 1964. Volume 68. Number 7.

form p5 [1x-2-64 19c]

Front Matter

The Library as Publisher

Our most recent publication, printed in June and free upon request, is the 1964 edition of this Library's *Publications in Print*. It lists nearly 200 titles of books and booklets now in stock, as well as 500 holdings (mostly periodicals) available on microfilm reels. Many back numbers of this *Bulletin* are also for sale.

For our very latest, see the next page.

New Roofing and More Room

Two construction projects were begun this summer which will be completed about a year from now. The south corridor of our first floor is to be double-decked to make more room for the Preparation Division, many of whose handlers and cataloguers are now working in hallways and book stack aisles. And the outmoded skylights which now comprise a substantial portion of the roof are to be replaced by Monel metal. Modern lighting will then be installed in the rooms thus made secure from the weather — the Rare Book Room, the Print and Art Divisions, and the Berg and Arents Collections. Estimated cost: $445,000.

Hallie Flanagan Davis Collection

The Theatre Collection has been given the theatrical and professional papers and books of Mrs Hallie Flanagan Davis, Director of the Federal Theatre Project during the late 1930s. Her gift includes annotated plays and scripts, lectures, administrative papers, published articles and books, letters, photographs, programs, press clippings, and scrap books. These documents illustrate Mrs Davis's avowed interest in "theatre in all its aspects, ancient, contemporary, future."

Now living in retirement in Beacon, New York, Hallie Flanagan Davis was born in South Dakota, studied at Grinnell and Radcliffe Colleges, and began her long career in the theatre as production assistant to George Pierce Baker at the famed Harvard 47 Workshop. Her books on the theatre include *Dynamo*, dealing with experimental theatre, *Shifting Scenes of the Modern European Theatre*, and *Arena*, dedicated "To the Men and Women Who Made Federal Theatre."

In addition to thorough documentation of the Federal Theatre Project from its inception to its demise, the collection illustrates her activities as founder and director of the Vassar College Experimental Theatre, as Professor of Drama at Smith College, and as a Guggenheim Fellow studying playwriting and production methods throughout Europe.

After cataloguing, the materials will be made available for public use in the new Library and Museum of the Performing Arts at Lincoln Center when it opens next May.

Other Gifts to the Theatre Collection

From Miss Clara A. Weiss the Theatre Collection has received an original design by Donald Oenslager for Aristophanes' *The Birds* and an original lithograph by Eugene Fitsch of Robert Edmond Jones directing a production of *Love for Love*, 1925.

A collection of clippings, photographs, and papers of or relating to Bernard Sobel has been given to the Collection by Mr Sobel's sister, Mrs Philip Lee. There are letters from his associates in the theatre and publishing worlds, many from Billie Burke and a letter of 1929 from Florenz Ziegfeld, as well as mate-

rial concerning the Ziegfeld Girls Club and The Lambs Club. There is also material gathered during Sobel's preparation of articles for *Variety* and of his histories of burlesque and vaudeville.

Memorialized in Marble

Since 1953 the Library has been memorializing the receipt of major contributions by carving the donors' names on the pylons in the lobby of the Central Building. Giving to support the Library began in 1848, and the earliest large benefactors were John Jacob Astor, James Lenox, and Samuel J. Tilden.

This June the 76th name was added, that of the J. M. Kaplan Fund, Inc, for a gift of $50,000 to the Central Research Library. The 75th, in April, was that of the Rodgers and Hammerstein Foundation, in recognition of a grant of $150,000 to enable the Library to catalogue its collection of over 90,000 recordings and make them available to the public after the opening of the Lincoln Center Library & Museum in 1965.

Already on the pylons, for annual giving, was the name of the James Foundation of New York, Inc, which this August announced its dissolution and the distribution of ninety-two final gifts including $2,500,000 to The New York Public Library.

Frank Allison Waite

On June 22 Frank Allison Waite died in the New Rochelle Hospital after a two-week illness. Chief of the Information Division from 1913 until his retirement in 1943, Mr Waite had joined the staff of the Library in 1911, first being responsible for the transfer of books from the Astor Library to the new building on Fifth Avenue, and then serving in the Economics Division under his lifelong friend Charles C. Williamson.

Mr Waite's greatest contribution was in the training of young professional librarians and in building up the staff of the expanding Library. Prominent librarians who got their start under his supervision include Keyes D. Metcalf, L. Quincy Mumford, David H. Cliff, Robert B. Downs, Paul North Rice, Charles Gosnell, Edward G. Freehafer, and Archibald P. DeWeese.

Latest Publications NYPL

Dancing in Prints 1634–1870; a portfolio of 12 fine etchings, engravings, and color lithographs; with 20-page Commentary by Marian Eames. Clothbound, 21 x 15 inches. ($7.50 before November 15; $10 thereafter)

American Secular Music 1801–1825: A Bibliography, by Richard J. Wolfe, with an Introduction by Carleton Sprague Smith. 3 volumes clothbound. ($30 before October 1; $35 thereafter)

An 18th-century Lute Manuscript in The New York Public Library

By JEANETTE B. HOLLAND

I Physical Description

AN UNUSUAL and significant anthology of lute compositions is among the recent acquisitions of the Music Division of The New York Public Library.[1] It is a small volume in album format, measuring 20cm x 10cm with a thickness of about 2cm. Its leather-binding with elaborate blind-tooling, lateral clasp in cordate form, and gilt-edged sides, holds ninety-seven paper leaves,[2] of which all but six pages contain lute compositions, notated in French Lute Tablature.[3] The leaves measure 19cm x 10cm, and the writing space covers an area about 18cm x 9cm, with three six-line staffs on each page. The pastedowns on the inside of the cover lack conjugate flyleaves. An entry in modern handwriting, "196 pp," on the front pastedown indicates an earlier totaling of pages. The origin and ownership remain obscure: the siglum "D 112" in the center of this pastedown; the number "21" on its right side with a yet undeciphered word in the style of handwriting represented in the MS; two capital letters "H.B." written in print-style on the back pastedown — none of these provide any solid clues.

The manuscript is neither foliated, nor are the pieces that follow each other in nearly uninterrupted sequence numbered, nor is there any indication of grouping the compositions into specific units.

The paper, brownish and spotted, is relatively thin and not of good quality. Though with no watermark for identification it seems of Austrian or Bohemian manufacture.[4] The gatherings are in tens and fourteens. The color

1 It is classified as * MYO (Music Reserve). The New York Public Library drew attention to this Lute MS by including it in an exhibition of rare music books shown during a reception for the participants in the Eighth Congress of the International Musicological Society on September 10 1961. — The Music Division graciously extended its facilities for this research. Special thanks go to Mr Sydney Beck, Head of the Rare Book and Manuscript Collections in the Music Division, for his kindness in placing the MS at my disposal whenever I needed it.

2 Counting one partly torn-out leaf about two thirds of the way through the volume. This folio was probably unused, since the composition beginning on the verso of the preceding folio is continued directly onto the recto of the following folio.

3 Established as standard form around 1640 by Denis Gaultier (c1600–1672). See W. Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music* (Cambridge, Mass 1949) 70.

4 See comments on paper manufacturing and its geographic distribution by quality in Georg Eineder, *The Ancient Paper-Mills of the Former Austro-Hungarian Empire and their Watermarks*, Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae VIII (Hilversum 1960) 106.

of ink is the same throughout, and the script of titles, names, and abbreviations is in 17th-18th century cursive. The captions seem to have been written by several hands. The letters of the notation reveal the work of two scribes. Most of the one hundred and thirty-six pieces, including two duets, are copied by one hand; a group of six pieces inserted in the second half of the volume, however, show individual traits of a second hand.

II Contents [5]

The volume contains the following material:

	FOLIO
[Partita[6] I] ff.1v–6r, C major	
1 Allamand [7]	1v– 2r
2 Endree	2v– 3r
3 Echo	3v– 4r
4 Aria	4v
5 Menue	5r
6 Bouree	5v– 6r
[Partita II] ff.6r–11v, C major	
7 Praelud.	6r
8 Menue	6v– 7r
9 Rondeau	7v– 8r
10 Untitled	8v– 9r
11 Aria	9v–10r
12 Gavotte C.L.	10v–11r
13 Echo	11v
[Partita III] ff.12r–17v, d minor	
14 Praeludium	12r
15 Allamande	12v–13r
16 Aria	13v
17 Gavotte C.L.	14r
18 Gigue C.L.	14v
19 Menuet C.L.	15r
20 Aria	15v–16r
21 Gigue M.Por(?)	16v–17r
22 Gavotte C.L.	17v–18r
[Partita IV] ff.18r–24v, F major	
23 Praeludium	18r
24 Aria	18v–19r
25 Bouree	19v–20r
26 Gigue	20v–21r
27 Gavotte	21v–22r
28 Courante	22v–23r
29 Menue	23v–24r
30 Menue	24v
[Partita V] ff.25r–28v, g minor	
31 Praelud	25r
32 Aria	25v–26r
33 Bouree	26v–27r
34 Passagl.	27r
35 Aria	27v
36 Bouree	28r
37 Bouree	28v
[Partita VI] ff.29r–31r, A major	
38 Endre	29r
39 Aria	29v
40 Gittonel	30r
41 Bouree/Gavotte	30v
42 Menue	31r
[Partita VII] ff.31v–35v, g minor	
43 Courante Cont:di Logi	31v–32r
44 Gavotte M.Gl:	32v–33r
45 Rondeus Cont:di Logi	33v–34r
46 Boure di Venetia	34v–35r
47 Menue	35v
[Partita VIII] ff.36r–43r, a minor	
48 Praelud:	36r
49 Courante M.A.	36v–37r
50 Aria	37v

[5] The foliation of the MS, the numbering of the pieces, and the grouping of the movements into Partitas according to tonality was done by the author of this study.

[6] This term has been chosen to designate the present grouping of pieces in one key, since at the presumed date of the MS many German and central European suites employ the title *Partita* or *Partie*.

[7] The original spelling in the MS has been left intact in our Table of Contents. The distinct variants of title spelling, such as *Menue, Menuet, Menuett, Minuet, Bouree, Buore, Rondeau, Rondeus,* and also the peculiar spelling of some captions, such as *Endree* and *Passagaglia,* may reflect the copyist's use of sources of different geographic location. The neat and almost flawless script of the letter notation argues against mere inattentiveness in copying, an attitude otherwise common in the 18th century.

	FOLIO
51 Bouree M.Ant:	38r
52 Gavotte C.L.(?)	38v
53 Bouree	39r
54 Ballett	39v
55 Bouree	40r
56 Gigue	40v–41r
57 Menue NB Ws	41v–42r
58 Saraband M.Ant:	42v–43r
[Partita IX] ff.43v–49r, B♭ major	
59 Aria	43v–44r
60 Bouree	44v–45r
61 Minuet	45r
62 Minuet	45v
63 Menue D.M.le Cnz.NB	46r
64 Bouree	46v
65 Echo	47r
66 Saraband	47v–48r
67 Trezza	48r
[Two Minuets in c minor]	
68 Minue	48v
69 Menue	49r
[Partita X] ff.49v–51r, f♯ minor	
70 Aria	49v
71 Menue	50r
72 Gavotte W.	50v
73 Saraband M.G.	51r
[Partita XI] ff.51v–62r, a minor	
74 Echo di ♯	51v–53v
75 Menue (?)C	54r
76 Bouree	54v
(unused page)	55r
77 Untitled	55v–56r
(two unused pages)	56v–57r
78 Menue M.Ant:	57v
79 De M. Gallot Gigue	58r
80 Buore [Bourrée] di Speranza(?) (fragment of folio 59)	58v–60r
81 Menue di Corte W:	60v–61r
82 Saraband	61v
83 Aria di Pianto	61v–62r
[Partita XII] ff.62v–71r, C major	
84 Alla:	62v–63r
85 Untitled [Courante]	63v–64r
86 Rondeus	64v–65r
87 Menue:	65v
88 Gavotte	66r
89 Gigue	66v–67r
90 Gavotte W.	67v
91 Minue	68r
92 Bouree d. W.	68v
93 Marsch [I] [Marsch II] Cadenz C	69r–70r
94 Courante W.A.(?)	70v–71r
[Partita XIII] ff.71v–74r, F major [second copyist]	
95 Aria	71r
96 Men:	72r
97 Sarab.	72r
98 Sarab.	73r
99 Menuett	73v
100 Sarabande	74r
[Partita XIV] ff.74v–80r, d minor [written by the first scribe]	
101 Allamand.	74v–75r
102 Courante	75v–76r
103 Menue.	76v
104 Untitled	77r
105 Saraband: C.Logi	77v
106 Menue C.Logi	78r
107 Boure	78v
108 Minue	78v–79r
109 Minue H.	79v
110 Buore	80r
[Partita XV] ff.80v–84r, d minor	
111 Allamand:	80v–81r
112 Buore	81v
113 Minue	82r
114 Echo	82v–83r
115 Minue L.W.(?)	83v–84r
[Partita XVI] ff.84v–89r, A major	
116a Aria W.	84v
b Variation of preceding piece	84v–85r
117 Buore	85v–86r
118 Buore	86r
119 Gavott.	86v
120 Menue.	87r
121 Aria W.	87v
122 Buore.	88r
123 Minue.	88v
124 Gigue	89r
[Partita XVII] ff.89v–97v, F major	
125 NB la buona Sera	89v
126 Bouree	89v–90r
127 Minue M.Ant:	90v
128 Minue M.Antoi:	91r
129 Courante W.	91v–92r
130 Buore	92v–93r
Rondeus, Da Capo [Buore]	93r
131 Saraband.	93v
Rondeus, Da Capo [Saraband]	94r
[Two pieces for two lutes]	
132 Gavotte [first lute]	94v
Contra [second lute]	95r
133 Sarabande [first lute]	95v
Contra [second lute]	96r
134 Boure	96v
135 Bouree	97r
136 Buore	97v

In summary, the seventeen *Partitas* employ the following distribution of keys:

C major	3 Partitas, nos I, II, XIII
F major	3 Partitas, nos IV, XII, XVII
d minor	3 Partitas, nos III, XIV, XV
g minor	2 Partitas, nos V, VII
A major	2 Partitas, nos VI, XVI
a minor	2 Partitas, nos VIII, XI
B♭ major	1 Partita, no IX
f♯ minor	1 Partita, no X

Two single *Menuets* in g minor separate the B♭-major from the f♯-minor *Partita.*

No specific principle with regard to sequence of tonality seems to be observed in the order of the *Partitas.* In number the *Menuets* (31) and the *Bourrées* (26) predominate as against *Arias* (15), *Gavottes* (11), and *Sarabandes* (10), while *Preludes, Allemandes, Courantes, Gigues, Rondeaus,* and *Entrées* occur in small quantities only. *Marsch, Passacaglia, Ballet, Gittonel,* and *Trezza* [8] each appear only once. Captions of character-pieces include: *La buona Sera, Buore di Venetia, Buore di Speranza* [?], *Aria di Pianto, Menue di Corte.*

With the exception of two instances, Conte di Logi and Gallot,[9] no composer is clearly mentioned by name in the MS. Some pieces bear abbreviated forms of names, such as M.Ant., M.Por., others initials only, such as C.L., M.Gl., M.A., W., Ws., and H.

An attempt to identify the abbreviations or to attribute the character-pieces to their authors by means of comparison with the few existing 17th-18th century lute transcriptions has thus far yielded no results. For such results we shall require a style-analytical study of the material based on references of original, contemporary sources of German, Austrian, Bohemian and French derivation, both handwritten and printed. Such endeavour, however, lies beyond the frame of this brief essay.

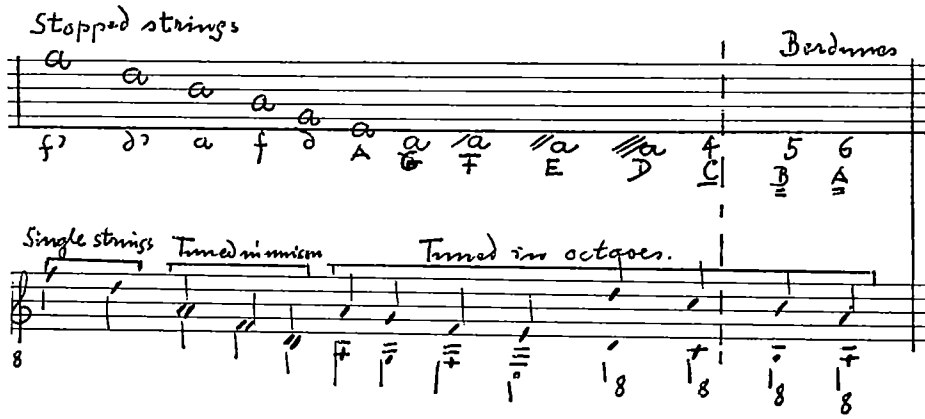
[8] Nothing seems to be known about the meaning of the word *Gittonel.* The *Trezza* occurs as a dance-movement in Joh. Heinr. Schmelzer's *Ballet-suiten* (1668), in Hieronymus Kradenthaller's *Deliciae musicales* (1667), in Jacques Bittner's *Pièces de luth* (1682), and in Heinr. I. Franz Biber's *Harmonia artificio-ariosa* (1712). Josef Klima refers to two *Trezzas* in his *Ausgewählte Werke aus der Ausseer Gitarretabulatur des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Graz 1958).

[9] The latter being associated with only one short piece. Out of one hundred and thirty-six compositions, one hundred and one are entirely unidentified.

III Instruments and Notation

The notation of the compositions contained in the NYPL Lute-MS suggests the eleven-course lute,[10] the lowest note in the tablature being C♯ on the *C* string. Performers of the time, however, might have preferred the thirteen-course lute [11] for its more sonorous and mellow sound. The two instruments are built similarly [12] with twenty stopped strings (two single treble strings [13] and nine paired lower strings, the latter strung in either unison or octaves [14]) running above a fingerboard with nine frets.

The following diagrams show the accordatura for these instruments, (1) represented in tablature,[15] and (2) transcribed into modern notation:



10 See front cover; taken from N. Bessaraboff, *Ancient Musical Instruments* (Boston 1941) 227 fig. 38. Bessaraboff does not give the source from which his illustration was taken. — The original is an etching by Edelinck (1690) copied from a famous oil-portrait of the French lutist Charles Mouton painted by F. de Troy, now in the collections of the *Louvre* in Paris; see André Tessier, "Le Portrait du Luthiste Mouton, par F. de Troy au Musée du Louvre," *La Revue de L'Art* (Paris 1925) 127.

11 See plate following. The author wishes to thank Dr Victor Luithlen, Direktor der Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente, *Kunsthistorisches Museum,* Wien, for sending a copy of this illustration and his permission to reproduce it in this article.

12 Except for the additional B and A bordunes that run alongside the fingerboard and are fastened to a bridge-like superstructure (*Aufsatz*) fixed upon the end of the neck, which is bent back in a right angle.

13 Following a general practice the two single treble strings are each termed "courses," even though they are only single.

14 The above arrangement of lute-stringing is mentioned in J. Perrine, *Livre de musique pour le Luth* (Paris 1680), in Th.B.Janowka, *Clavis ad Thesaurum magnae artis musicae* (Alt Prag 1701), and in J.Chr.Beyer, *Oden* (Leipzig 1760). (Reference in part taken from Hans Radke, "Beiträge zur Erforschung der Lautentabulaturen des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts," *Die Musikforschung* XVI (1963) 40.

15 The letter "a" and the numbers 5,6, below the lowest staff-line signify open strings.

The letters of the alphabet from "a" up to "k" [16] indicate the fret-stops of the instruments, and mensural notes above the tablature-letters are rhythmic symbols.[17]

As the main stock of letter-symbols in French Lute Notation [18] did not change during its period of existence, distinctness in ductus of some signs is to be traced in individual, regional script-types rather than in a chronological development. Occasionally, variants are to be attributed to scribal whimsies. The two hands at work in the NYPL Lute-MS show, in general, the letter-characters of the traditional notation. However, one symbol scarcely found in French MSS of the time directs our attention to such renowned lute centers as Leipzig, Dresden, Vienna, and Prague: [19] it is the odd, strongly downward-curved "d," typical of writing then in vogue there. Contrary to this common, regional script-type two notational symbols, the main scribe's "g" and the second scribe's "4," stand out for their individual graphic strokes. It would be rewarding if comparisons with MSS of German, Austrian, and Bohemian provenience could establish the individual names of the scribes. Such markedly individual musical handwriting may simplify the task of collation.[20]

Of interest also are the end-designs and flourishes joined to the last double-bars of the pieces copied by the first hand.[21] They vary from simple strokes, attached to fermata signs, to letter-like characters and more ornamental scribble; sometimes they even combine all these features in one flourish.[22] There are some especially interesting examples of it in our manuscript:

16 The infrequent letter "m" occurs in the Incipit-Index of sixty-six *Partite per il liuto solo* by Sylvius Leopold Weiss, printed in *Breitkopf Supplemento IV dei Catalogi* (Leipzig 1769).

17 See Illustration p 423.

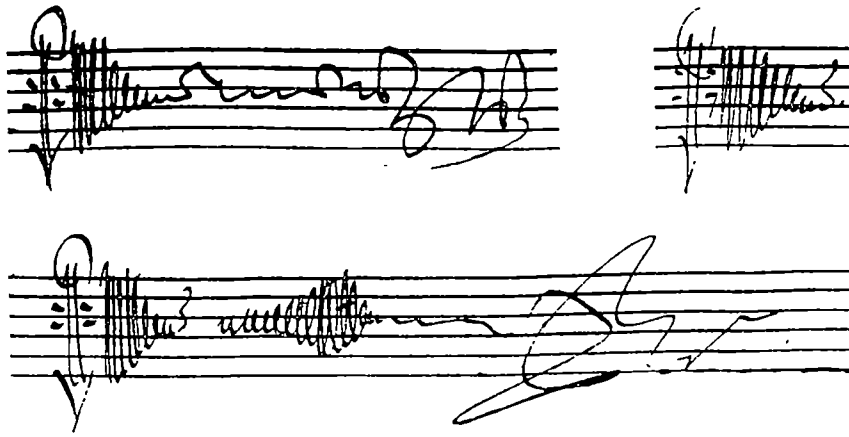
18 Datable from c1640–1800 and mainly in use in France, England, Germany, Austria, and Poland during this time.

19 See, for instance, Esaias Reusner's tablature on p.IX, and Sylvius Leopold Weiss' tablature on p.XIX in Reichsdenkmale 12, *Lautenmusik des 17./18. Jahrhunderts* (1939); Jan Antonín Losy's tablature, reproduced in Jaroslav Pohanka, *J. A. Losy vom Lozimtàl, Pièces de Guitarre,* Musica Antiqua Bohemica 38 (Prag 1958).

20 A tabulation of distinctive notational and graphic elements in lute tablatures is badly needed: this task has been neglected even in recent research concerned with music-notational problems. Results from such effort could certainly further the occasionally frustrating search for author, place, and time of origin of innumerable, still unidentified European lute MSS. See N. Bessaraboff, *Ancient European Musical Instruments* (Boston 1941) 229; E. Winternitz, *Musical Autographs from Monteverdi to Hindemith* (Princeton 1955) I 8,33; W. Gerstenberg, *Musikerhandschriften von Palestrina bis Beethoven* (Zürich 1960) 8.

21 Hans Neemann draws attention to this in his article, "Die Lautenistenfamilie Weiss," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 4 (1939) 183, and attempts to identify some anonymous compositions in a late 18th-century MS in Rostock by means of paraphs found in two Königsberg MSS written earlier in the century.

22 The habit of adding paraphs at the end of an individual composition is characteristic of scribes active c1680–1780.



IV Conclusion

Nothing can be positively asserted about the origin of the MS. The provisional conclusion suggested below is based on two factors: (1) the importance that is given to the name [23] of the composer and lutist, Conte di Logi (1650–1721),[24] and (2) selection and characteristic variants of the repertory.

(1) From bibliographic sources we learn that Conte di Logi (Losy) ranked among the most important Czech lutists at the end of the 17th century, and that he was held in high esteem by renowned contemporaneous composers and lutists in Leipzig, Dresden,[25] Vienna, Prague, and Paris.[26] Pending further information on the MS, one obvious course is to attempt to relate its contents to some well-attested Losy MSS [27] in the holdings of Vienna, Prague and Brno (formerly Brünn) Libraries. Possible parallels might shed light on attribution, chronology, and local derivation of the New York volume.

(2) As mentioned in the section on the contents of the MS, *Allemande, Courante, Sarabande,* and *Gigue* — the typical nucleus of the 17th-century-dance Suites — are considerably less represented in the MS than *Menuet*

23 See p 418.

24 For recent biographical notes about Conte di Logi and for stylistic evaluation of his art of composing, see the introductory part of Pohanka's *Jan Antonín Losy*; Emil Vogl, "Biographie Losys (1650–1721)," *Die Musikforschung* XIV (1961) 189f.

25 Among them the famous German, Sylvius L. Weiss.

26 Together with Jacques de Saint Luc he founded an academy of music in Prague.

27 Dated around 1700, and containing also anonymous pieces and compositions provided with authors' names. Many guitar-pieces in these MSS are transcribed from compositions originally for lute.

and *Bourrée*. Since the latter dances characterize the *Suite* at the beginning of the 18th century, this emphasis in selection points to the period of c1690–1720 in the history of the German *Suite*. Moreover, the *cantabile* concept that comes to the fore in a number of *Allemandes* and *Arias* and the not infrequent *Fortspinnung* technique of these compositions give stylistic support for the above mentioned dating. The inclusion of single dance-movements such as *Trezza* [28] and *Marsch* (in ¾ meter),[29] and of sporadic intabulations of a *Geistliches Lied*,[30] however, indicates earlier influences. This brings the total compass of time evaluation for the repertory of the NYPL Lute MS to about half a century (c1670–1720).

When we combine the above observations of stylistic peculiarities that developed during the first quarter of the 18th century with a consideration of Conte di Logi's death in 1721, the date 1720 emerges as the earliest likely date for the completion of the NYPL Lute MS. As to its place of origin Prague seems a plausible choice, though Leipzig, Dresden, and Vienna might also claim its provenance. Notational evidence that suggests any geographic region, of course, is too ambiguous to allow any firm conclusion. For clarification we must await further research on the baroque lute repertory as a whole.[31]

Appendix

1 Transcription of the composition, shown on the following page. (Ornament and fingering symbols are reproduced in the transcription at their original occurrence in the MS.)

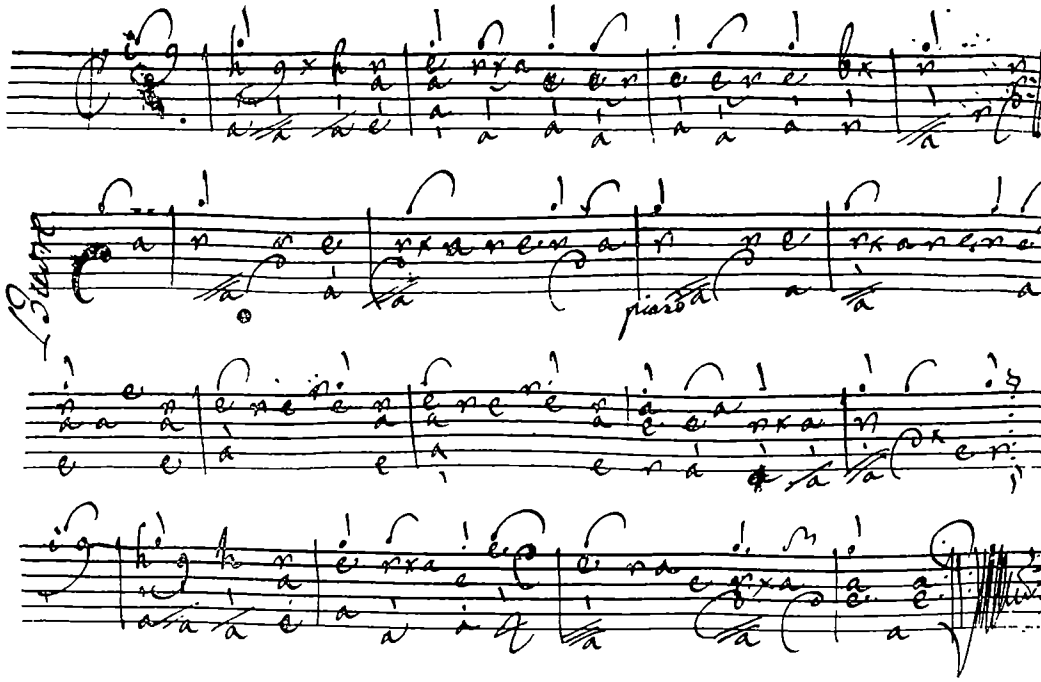
2 *Incipit-Index* of the hundred and thirty-six lute compositions contained in the MS, pages 424 to 432.

[28] An antiquated dance particularly favored in Vienna. See Paul Nettl, "Heinrich Franz Biber von Bibern," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 24 (Wien 1960) 77.

[29] The *Ballet-Marche* occurred in many performances staged under Lully.

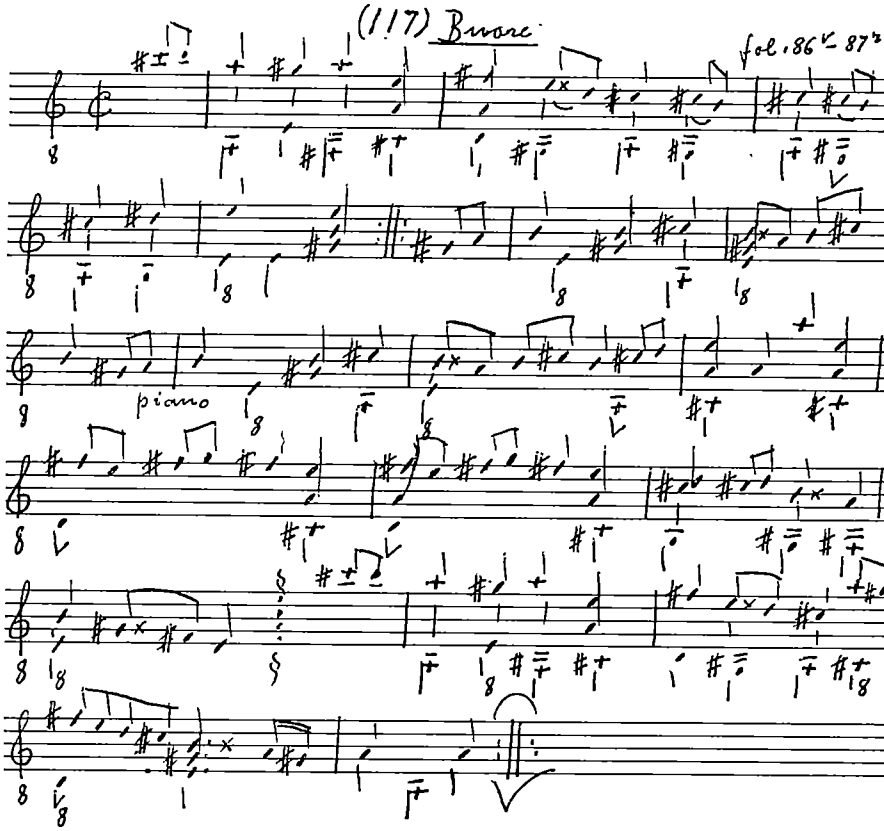
[30] Lute intabulation of Protestant chorales was a practice high in favor during the third quarter of the 17th century. It reached its peak in Esaias Reussner's *Hundert geistliche Melodien evangelischer Lieder* (1676).

[31] The author is indebted to Professor Jan LaRue, New York University, for a critical reading of the manuscript.

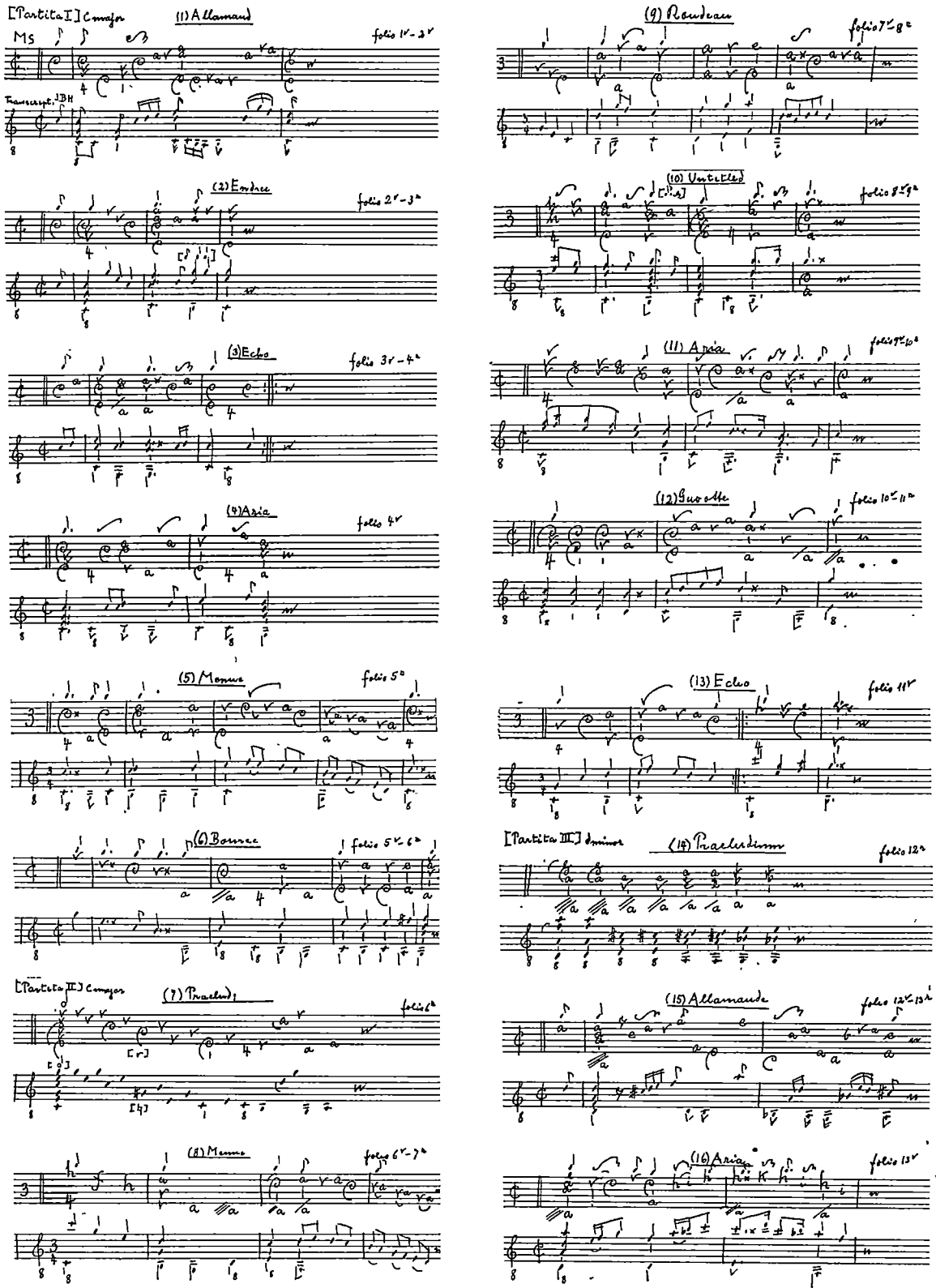


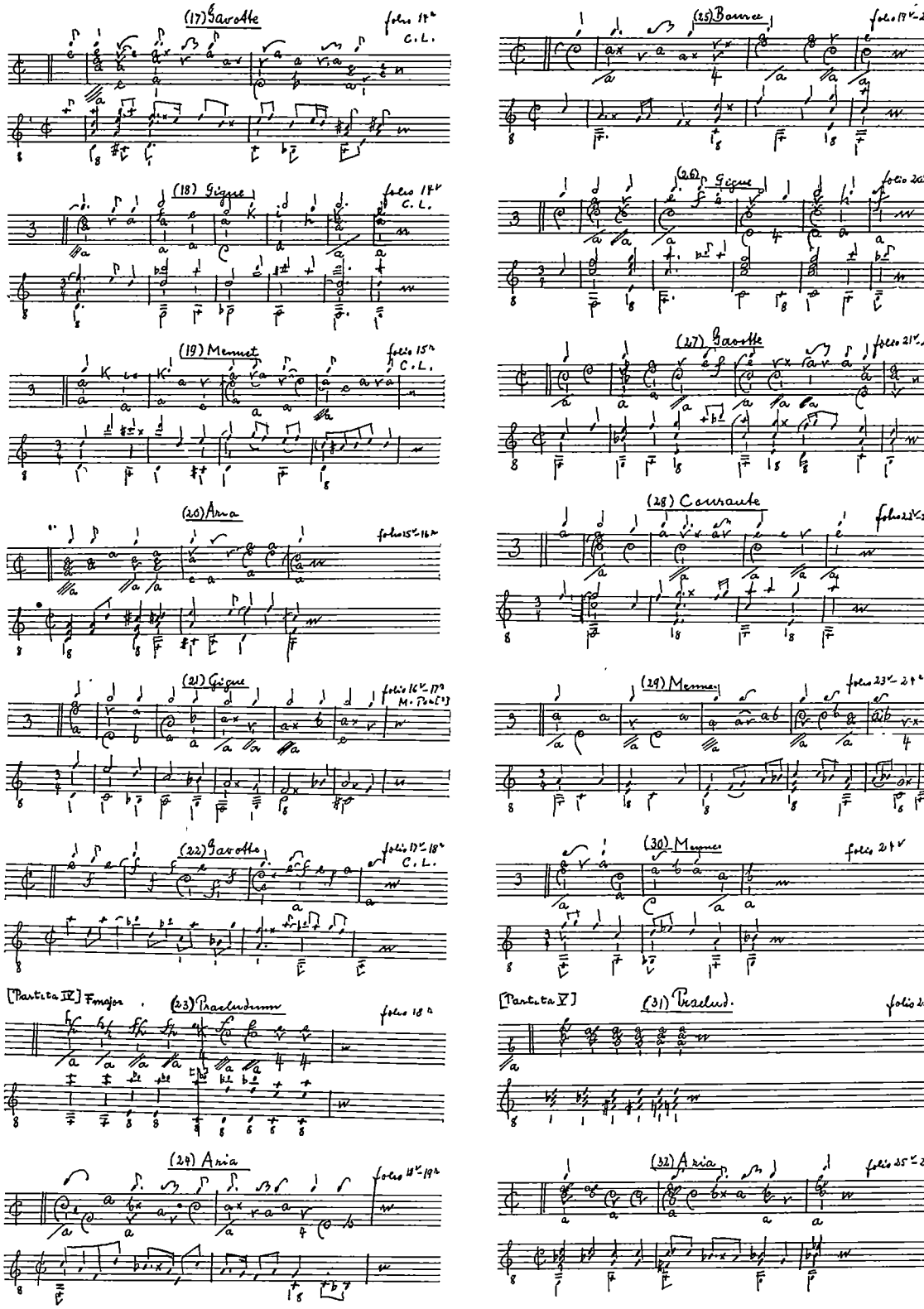
(117) Buono

fol. 86v–87r



Appendix 2 *Incipit Index to the Lute Manuscript*




(17) Gavotte
(18) Gigue
(19) Menuet
(20) Aria
(21) Gigue
(22) Gavotte
[Partita IV] F major
(23) Praeludium
(24) Aria
(25) Bourrée
(26) Gigue
(27) Gavotte
(28) Courante
(29) Menuet
(30) Menuet
[Partita V]
(31) Praelud.
(32) Aria

(33) Bourree — folio 26v–27a

(34) Passagl. — folio 27a

(35) Aria — folio 27v

(36) Bourree — folio 28a

(37) Bourree — folio 28v

[Partita VI] A major — (38) Endre — folio 29a

(39) Aria — folio 29v

(40) Gittonel — folio 30a

(41) Bourree / Gavotte — folio 30v

(42) Menne — folio 31a

[Partita VII] g minor — (43) Courante — folio 31v–32a Cont. di Lega

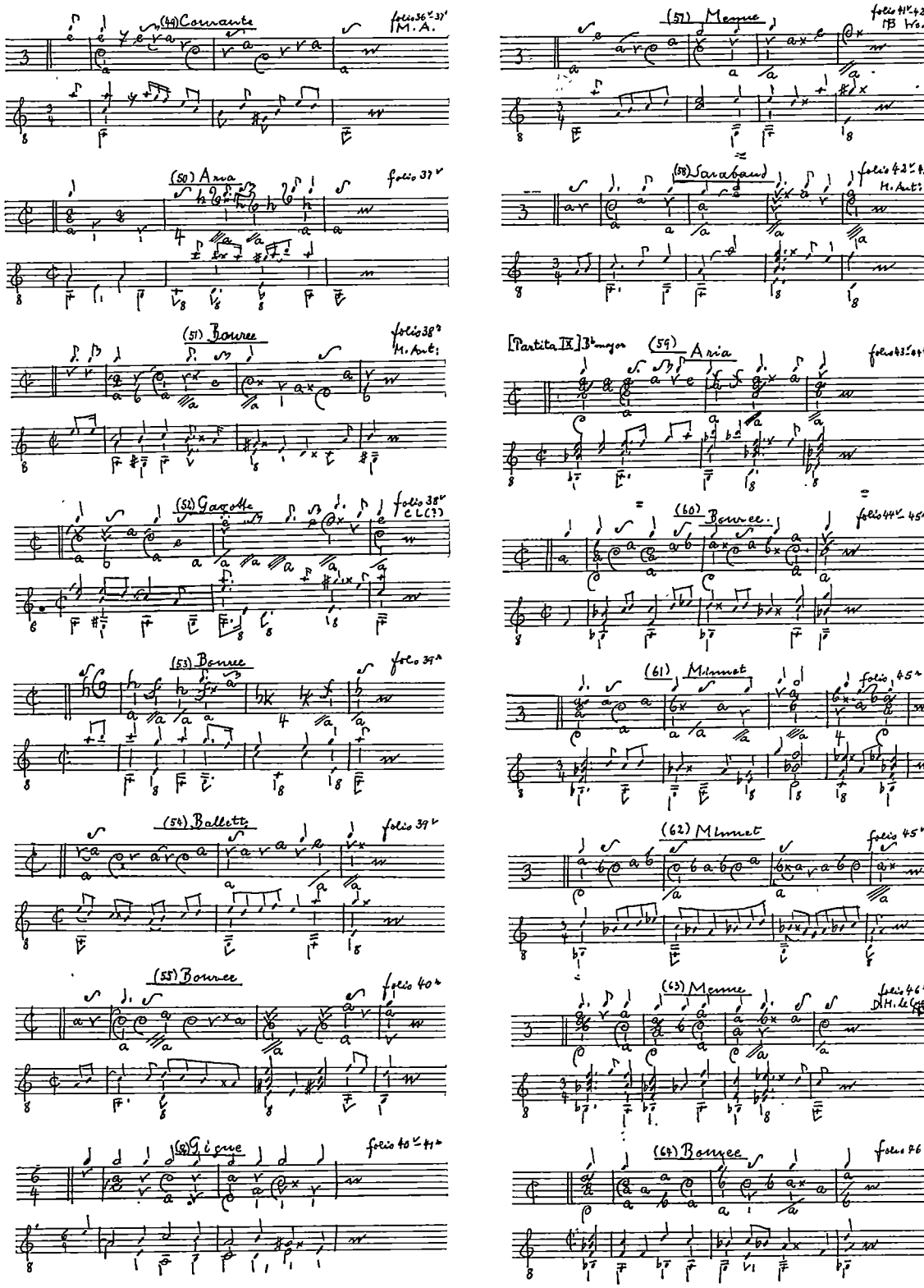
(44) Gavotte — folio 32v–33a M. Gl:

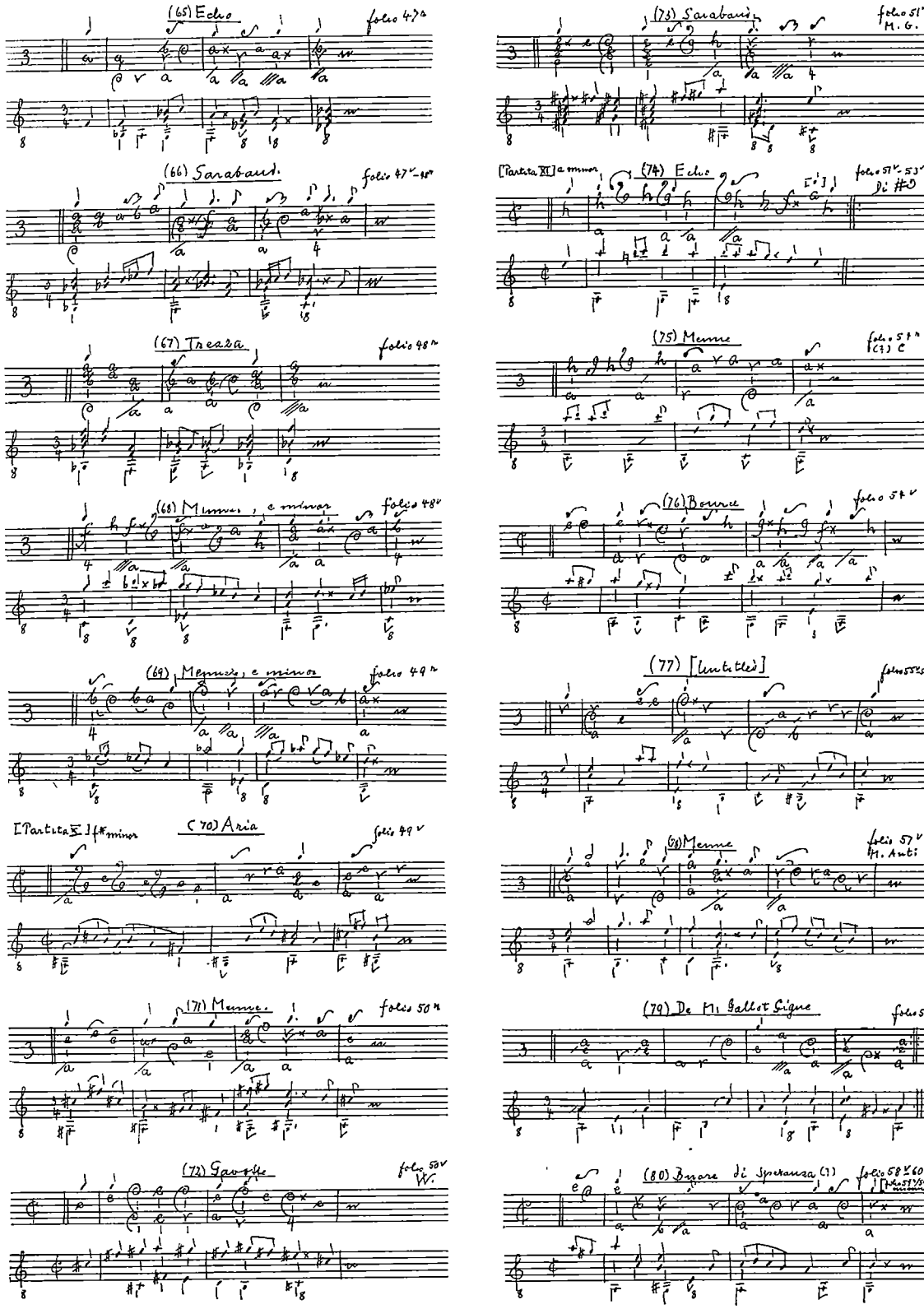
(45) Rondeau — folio 33v–34a Cont. di Lega

(46) Bourre di Venetia — folio 34v–35a

(47) Menne — folio 35v

[Partita VIII] a minor — (48) Praeludi — folio 36a


(49) Courante
folio 36v-37r
M.A.
(50) Aria
folio 37v
(51) Bourree
folio 38r
M. Ant:
(52) Gavotte
folio 38v
CL(?)
(53) Bourree
folio 39r
(54) Ballett
folio 39v
(55) Bourree
folio 40r
(56) Gigue
folio 40v-41r
(57) Menue
folio 41v-42r
(58) Sarabaud
folio 42v-43r
M. Ant:
[Partita IX] B♭ major
(59) Aria
folio 43v-44r
(60) Bourree
folio 44v-45r
(61) Minuet
folio 45r
(62) Minuet
folio 45v
(63) Menue
folio 46r
(64) Bourree
folio 46v


(65) Echo
folio 47r
(66) Sarabaud.
folio 47v-48r
(67) Trezza
folio 48r
(68) Menuet, e minor
folio 48v
(69) Menuet, e minor
folio 49r
[Partita X] f# minor
(70) Aria
folio 49v
(71) Menuet
folio 50r
(72) Gavotte
folio 50v
W.
(73) Sarabaud
folio 51r
M. G.
[Partita XI] a minor
(74) Echo
folio 51v-53v
di #0
(75) Menuet
folio 54r
(76) Bourrée
folio 54v
(77) [Untitled]
folio 55v-56r
(78) Menuet
folio 57v
M. Anti
(79) De M. Gallot Cigne
folio 58r
(80) Bizare di Speranza (?)
folio 58v-60r

(81) Menuet di Corte — folio 60v–61r W.

(82) Sarabande — folio 61v

(83) Aria di Pianto — folio 61v–62r

[Partita XII] C major (84) Alla: — folio 62v–63r

(85) [Untitled] — folio 63v–64r

(86) Rondeus — folio 64v–65r

(87) Menue: — folio 65v

(88) Gavotte — folio 66r

(89) Gigue — folio 66v–67r

(90) Gavotte — folio 67v W.

Minue. — folio 68r

(92) Bourree — folio 69v D.W.

(93a) Marsch [I] — folio 69r–W.

(93b) [Marsch II] — folio 69v–70r

(94) Courante — folio 70v–71r W. A(?)

[Partita XIII] F major (95) Aria — folio 71v

(96) Men:

folio 72r

(97) Sarab.

folio 72v

(98) Sarab.

folio 73r

(99) Menuett

folio 73v

(100) Sarabande

folio 74r

[Partita XIV] d minor

(101) Allamand.

folio 74v-75r

(102) Courante

folio 75v-76r

(103) Menne.

folio 76v

(104) [Untitled]

folio 77r

(105) Sarabande:

folio 77v C. Logi

(106) Menne

folio 78r C. Logi

(107) Bourée

folio 78v

(108) Menne

folio 78v-79r

(109) Menne.

folio 79v H.

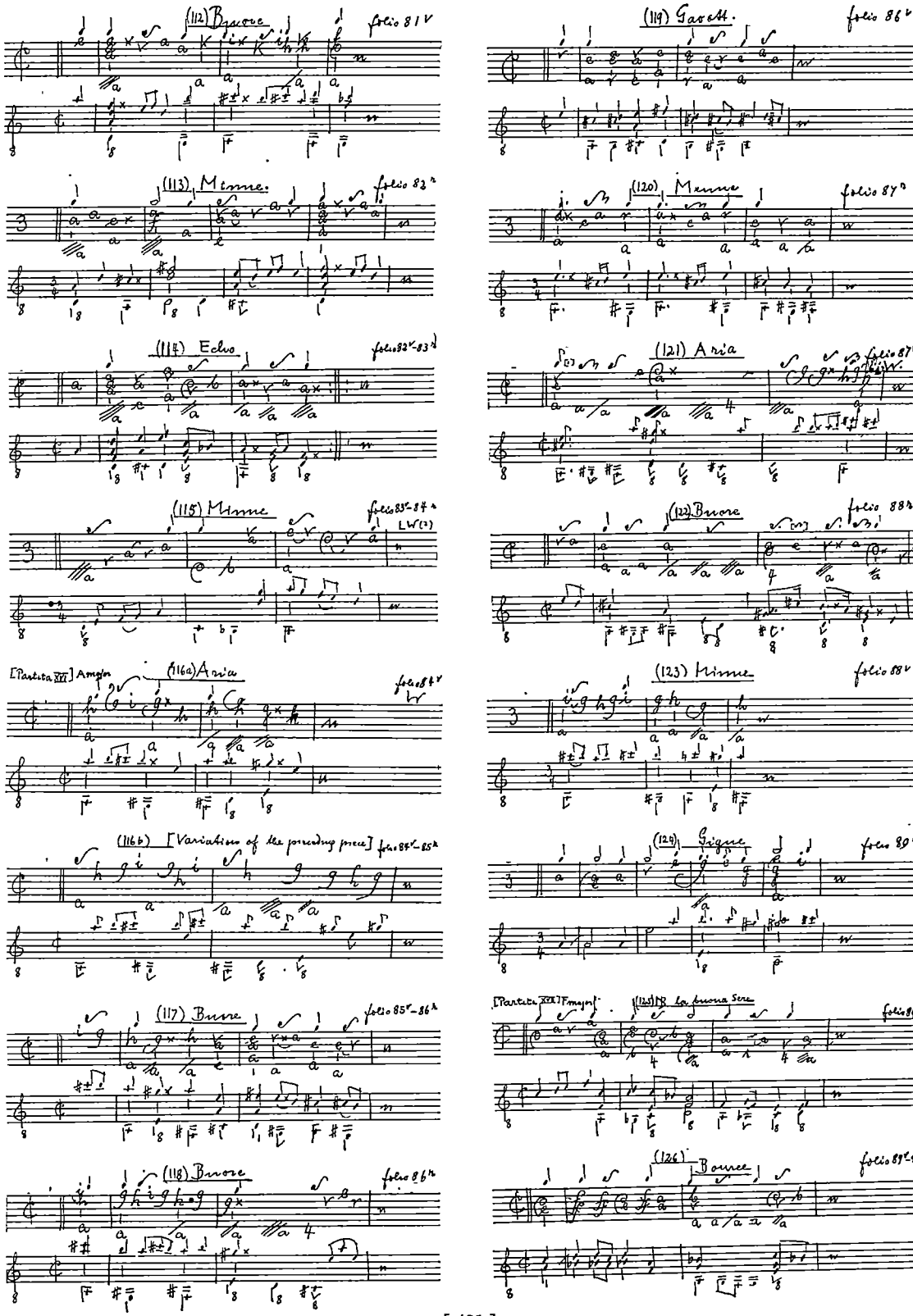
(110) Bourée

folio 80r

[Partita XV] d minor

(111) Allamand.

folio 80v-81r


(112) Buore
folio 81v
(113) Minne.
folio 82r
(114) Echo
folio 82v-83r
(115) Minne
folio 83v-84r
LW(?)
[Partita XVI] A major
(116a) Aria
folio 84v
(116b) [Variation of the preceding piece]
folio 84v-85r
(117) Buore
folio 85v-86r
(118) Buore
folio 86r
(119) Gavott.
folio 86v
(120) Minne
folio 87r
(121) Aria
folio 87v
(122) Buore
folio 88r
(123) Minne
folio 88v
(124) Gigue
folio 89r
[Partita XVII] F major
(125) La buona Sere
folio 89v
(126) Bource
folio 89v-90r

(127) Minne

fol. 90v
M. Anti

(128) Minne

folio 91r
M: Antoi:

(129) Courante

(91v-92r)

(130) Buore

folio 92v-93r

(130 cont.) Rondeus

folio 93r

[Buore] Da Capo

(131) Sarabande

folio 93v

(131 cont.) Rondeus

folio 94r

[Sarabande] Da Capo

(132) Gavotte. [fortes lutes]

[Lute I]

folio 94v

Contra [Lute II]

folio 95r

[Lute I]

Contra [Lute II]

(133) Sarabande [fortes lutes]

[Lute I]

folio 95v

Contra [Lute II]

folio 96r

[Lute I]

Contra [Lute II]

(134) Buore

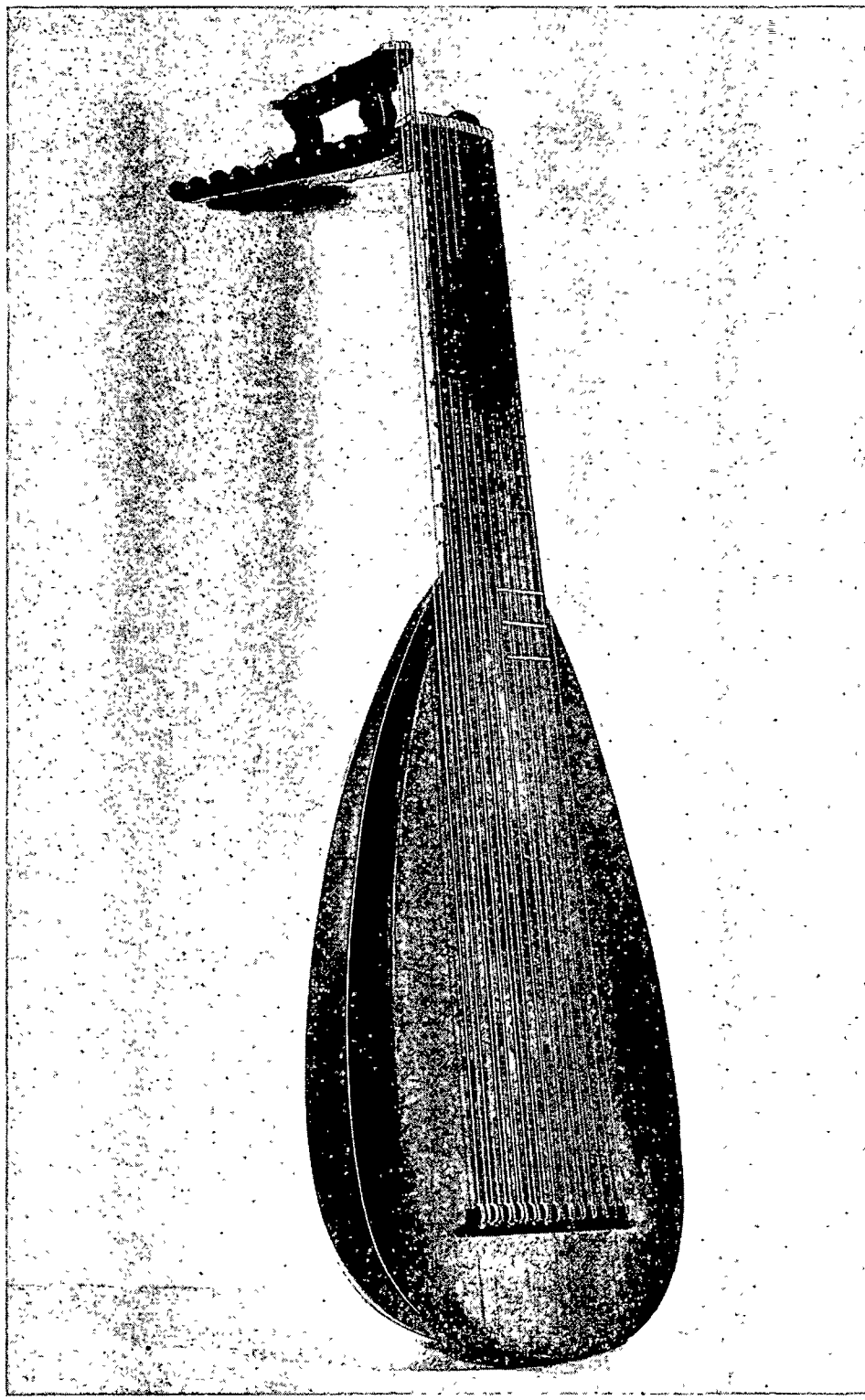
folio 96v

(135) Bourree

folio 97r

(136) Buore

folio 97v



A thirteen-course lute. *Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vien*

7 Clifton Terrace.
Dorking.

June 23. 98.

Dear Madam,

Pardon me for replying to you in English. I understand French, but have not sufficient practice either in writing or speaking it.

About a fortnight ago, I was informed by my literary agent that a French translation of "New Grub Street" was about to be undertaken by M. Georges Art, whose version of "Eve's Ransom" has recently appeared in the Revue De Paris. Whether M. Art has really begun the work or not, I do not know; but it would be unfortunate if you or he

Gissing's first letter to Gabrielle. *Berg Collection*

The Letters of George Gissing to Gabrielle Fleury

Edited by PIERRE COUSTILLAS
University of Paris

INTRODUCTION

ON JUNE 23 1898 George Gissing, who was then forty and had been pursuing the career of a novelist for some twenty years, received a letter from a Frenchwoman who asked him permission to translate *New Grub Street*, his most successful novel. Ironically, although continuing to sell in cheap editions, it no longer brought him a penny, as the threat of starvation had goaded him into selling it, at the time of publication, for the lump sum of £150 instead of counting on undependable royalties. This letter was to have vital consequences in the novelist's professional and private life. Not that an offer of translation was in itself a new experience to him. *Demos* had been published in French eight years before and the *Revue de Paris* had just given *Eve's Ransom* in four instalments. The former book had also enjoyed the honour of a German edition. Nor did the prospect of *New Grub Street* being read in Paris raise any financial hopes; but it meant one step further on the way to European recognition, and for Gissing, who right from the early days of his literary efforts had been angry with the prejudices of the English public, to be appreciated on the Continent — where more uncompromising realists than he had been breaking the ground — was highly gratifying. He had put some of his finest thoughts and most heart-felt convictions into the book which — an unusual constancy in him — he had not grown to look upon as futile. With *New Grub Street* he could at last be judged at his best abroad. Moreover Georges Art, the translator of *Eve's Ransom*, also wished to turn to this novel, and Gissing saw in this competition a sign of his growing reputation across the Channel. From a personal standpoint, this new acquaintance was rapidly to develop into a fulfilment of his long-frustrated hopes of a congenial union and the last years of his strenuous, care-ridden, disease-stricken life to become something of an emotional and literary Indian Summer.

Combining to a paradoxical extent recklessness and paralyzing timidity, impulsiveness and passivity, he had cut short his career as a student under circumstances which were to weigh on his sensibility for the whole of his life. Whereas the most brilliant future seemed to be in store for him at Owens College, Manchester, where his precocity, his enthusiasm for both

classical history and modern literature, together with his prodigious working capacity, had won him the highest academic distinctions, he had become infatuated with a seventeen-year-old girl of the streets, Marianne Helen Harrison, and had set his mind on redeeming her, persuaded as he was that society alone was responsible for her downfall. Thefts committed to give her money had led to his being caught by the police and his expulsion from the College. His rebellion against society had merely landed him in jail for one month with hard labour. A few months after his release he had been sent off to America where he had experienced growing disenchantment. It was in Chicago that he began his literary career, writing short stories for the *Tribune* and other papers. On his return from America he boldly ventured into professional writing and, with equal daring, renewed his acquaintance with the Manchester prostitute. He committed a new error when, after living for two years with her, and though already disillusioned by her querulous temper and her drunkenness, he married her in November 1879. A few more years of domestic misery brought about an informal separation. Though Gissing was now free from the presence of his tormentor, he never ceased paying her a one-pound weekly allowance which he could ill afford until her death in February 1888. Hardly was he legally disburdened of his soul-racking cares when he took a new plunge into adversity. Solitude had become too much for him to bear, and the idea grew upon him that he could not do any good work until he got married again. Convinced that no educated girl would ever consent to marry an impecunious writer — a subject he movingly developed in *New Grub Street* — he sought a companion among the lower classes and thus, with masochistic stubbornness, made love to a girl who was his inferior in all respects and could satisfy none but his most physical needs. His hopes that she would agree to live with him without the legal bond were frustrated, and he had no course left but to take her to the registrar's office. The girl, Edith Underwood, whom he had at first thought to be pliable and obedient, soon revealed less peaceful instincts and turned into a shrew. When, after less than a year's life together, a son, Walter Leonard, was born in December 1890, the idea he entertained of a possible divorce appeared even less feasible, and the situation was allowed to deteriorate for a few more years. Pathetically, Gissing tried to gain peace by moving several times to new surroundings. Successively he lived at Exeter, Brixton, and Epsom. But his wife's quarrels with the servants and the neighbours would always create new uproars. Decent working conditions were so difficult to secure that he had to rent a room, away from domestic bickerings, in which he could labour with semblance of mental

quiet. Then it was, too, that he adopted, at some publishers' and editors' suggestion, shorter forms of writing. Short-stories and one-volume novels exacted less concentration and energy from his hard-worked brain than the three-deckers he used to write in the preceding decade. The birth, in January 1896, of a second child, Alfred, did not improve matters. Edith's behaviour grew more hysterical every month, and on a morning of February 1897, after some violent altercation, Gissing was "driven from home." He found refuge at the house of his old friend, Dr Henry Hick, of New Romney. Another trouble then arose which was to be one of the main subjects of the present correspondence. On examining him, Hick found that a weak spot in his right lung was now developing into consumption. The specialist whom Hick advised him to consult, Philip Pye-Smith, suggested that he should spend some time in Devon, and accordingly Gissing went off to Budleigh Salterton where he could nurse himself in peace. When a last attempt at matrimonial reconciliation had failed in the summer he decided to leave his wife for good and spend the winter in the land of his dreams, Southern Italy. His elder son he entrusted to his mother and sisters in Yorkshire, but he was obliged to leave Alfred with his wife.

Two women who admired his works and pitied his situation then came to his help: Clara Elizabeth Collet and Eliza Orme. With the former Gissing had casually become acquainted in 1892 when she had lectured to the London Ethical Society on his novels. She was a very capable, sensible woman. A rare thing in those days, she had got her M.A. and was one of the Labour correspondents of the Board of Trade. Of all the women of his acquaintance, she was undoubtedly the most intelligent and generous. She rapidly gained Gissing's confidence and understood his domestic problems better than anyone else. In September she made him a most disinterested proposal — she promised to take care of Walter's education should his father break down. And she was as good as her word. After Gissing's death, as co-executor of his will with Algernon, his brother, she not only supervised the children's upbringing but dealt with publishers and editors far more competently than the irresolute, feeble Algernon. Her merit was all the greater as she had to pacify people of opposite tempers and opinions and secretly hostile to one another. At the time when Gissing was still living with his wife she would pay visits to the Epsom household and try to talk Edith into decent behaviour. She would also take her out with the children.

Miss Orme, too, acted as go-between for the Gissings. He had known her from 1894, through his publishers Lawrence and Bullen, and when the final separation took place on his leaving for Italy, she undertook to have Mrs

Gissing and her son in her own house. Throughout her relations with Edith Miss Orme had entertained the idea that she revealed symptoms of insanity. Indeed how else could her violent behaviour be accounted for? A few years later the assumption proved to be right.

From the literary point of view Gissing, in the summer of 1898, could look back upon his twenty years' career with both pride and bitterness. Despite the wretched failure of his two marriages and the consequent mental misery at times bordering on morbidity, and though the spectre of the workhouse kept haunting him and spurred him to write on when his overworked brain longed for rest, he had achieved no mean results. He had published seventeen novels (and a new one was scheduled for publication in August) and a critical study of Dickens. Of the numerous short stories and sketches he had written in the nineties a selection had been recently issued under the title *Human Odds and Ends*. Though not a few of his books had been highly praised by critics, the sombre pessimism of his works had prevented him from becoming a popular author. He was keenly appreciated by the best readers and the most intelligent critics but, as he complained to his literary agents, there was an absurd disproportion between his reputation and the income he drew from his professional efforts. In 1897, the man who was frequently referred to, with Meredith and Hardy, as one of the three greatest living novelists, had listed his gains for the year as amounting to the sum of £101.13.4. Clearly, he had some reason to jeer at the "big stupid public."

In France and especially Germany, thanks to his old friend Eduard Bertz, his reputation was getting firmly established, and it was particularly gratifying that two offers of translation should be made almost simultaneously of the novel most frequently mentioned with his name — *New Grub Street*. Furthermore the present representative of French letters was possessed of a personality distinctly out of the common, and her literary tastes could not but strike someone with Gissing's turn of mind. At the time they met she was twenty-nine and he forty. She was born on November 21 1868 at Nevers.[1] Her father, Edouard Auguste Fleury, was head cashier of the Docks and Warehouses Company at Marseilles. Her mother, whose maiden name was Anna Senly,[2] came from a good family which now lived at Nevers but was of Italian origin; her ancestors had come to Nevers from Italy with the de

[1] The card announcing her birth reads: "Monsieur et Madame Auguste Fleury ont l'honneur de vous faire part de la naissance de leur fille Gabrielle Marie Edith. Nevers, le 21 novembre 1868."

[2] The wedding card of Gabrielle's parents reads: "Monsieur Senly, Avocat, et Madame Senly ont l'honneur de vous faire part du mariage de Mademoiselle Anna Senly, leur fille, avec Monsieur Auguste Fleury, Caissier principal de la Compagnie des Docks et Entrepôts de Marseille. Nevers, 19 octobre 1867."

Gonzague family, Dukes of Nevers, in the sixteenth century. They had introduced in France the art of Italian *faïence*. Gabrielle's grandfather was a barrister; several other members of her family were also at the Bar. Certainly she belonged to upper middle class society, with rather strict moral notions. She had spent her childhood in Marseilles and had been given what could be called a good education. An unusual fact in those days for a girl who did not intend to enter the teaching profession, she had passed both the *brevet simple* and the *brevet supérieur*. In literature and art she was deeply interested; she would often be seen in Paris literary drawing-rooms and tried to be introduced to the writers of the time, asking them for their autographs, though she was criticized by such strait-laced members of her family as disapproved of her frequenting literary circles unchaperoned. She was fond of intellectual work, and exams were no bugbear to her — to sit for one was indeed a real pleasure. She spoke English fluently, an accomplishment which was favoured by the presence in her family, on her mother's side, of English people. Her written English can be judged from the many letters which she wrote to Gissing's friends — Clara Collet, Morley Roberts, Edward Clodd among others — and which are today in public and private hands. Of German she had a good reading knowledge, and she went through Bertz's books, but, characteristically perhaps, she used either French or English when writing to him. She also knew Italian and certainly had some of the vivacity and enthusiasm of her maternal forbears. For classical music she had a passion, and she was a good pianist. Such accomplished musicians as Planté, Delaborde, and Turner had been her masters. She was fond of mountaineering and would enjoy climbing in Switzerland where the Fleurys had friends.

Her contacts with the literary world had brought her into touch with the French poet Sully-Prudhomme. She had been engaged to him for some time.[3] He had had two beautiful albums made for her with her initials on the covers and filled with autograph letters, notes, and signatures of famous people dating from Louis XV. But Sully-Prudhomme was some thirty years her senior, and the marriage did not take place, the poet's family having objected to it. Among her other literary acquaintances were Madame Lardin de Musset, niece of Alfred, and her daughter, Alice Lardin de Musset; she also knew Romain Rolland, his wife and his sister, Madeleine Rolland, who is known for some translations from Hardy. Nor were her friendships limited

[3] They corresponded for years. Some of the letters he addressed her were published by E. Bovet in an article entitled "Sully-Prudhomme (avec lettres inédites)" in *Wissen und Leben*, a Zurich Review (Sept 1913). They were presented as "lettres adressées à une amie, confidente intellectuelle, qui ne veut pas être nommée."

to French literary people. Gissing was later to meet through her the widow of the German poet Georg Herwegh, and Aurora Rümelin von Sacher Masoch, first wife of the Austrian novelist of world-wide repute.

As for her character, several highly interesting judgments have been preserved, in particular two studies of her handwriting, respectively dated October 1887 and 1893. The first emphasizes her pride, whether social or intellectual, her love of success as well as her kindness and lack of jealousy. It goes on to note her ardent, energetic, self-confident character, which is not incompatible with a tendency to be easily upset by things and people. The analysis ends with a mention of her dislike of the confused or obscure. The second study, much shorter, by one Mr Condamine, reads as follows:

> Intelligence supérieure, forte, presque virile. — Très grande énergie — volonté de fer — penchant à l'autoritarisme. Aucun égoïsme, aucune coquetterie. Bonté, dévoûment capable d'être poussé jusqu'à l'héroïsme. Nature éminemment ardente, passionnée, beaucoup d'enthousiasme, pourtant esprit analyste, très clair et lucide. De la sensibilité. Dédain du convenu et du banal. Personnalité accentuée. Amour de l'indépendance.

Better than the flattering, but erroneous, portrait Morley Roberts gave of her in 1912 in his disguised biography of Gissing, *The Private Life of Henry Maitland*, or that drawn by H. G. Wells in 1934 in his *Experiment in Autobiography*, which is markedly biassed and based on rather blurred reminiscences, here are some memories of her cousin, Mme Le Mallier:

> I had always been very fond of her and her visits were always a joy to me when a child and young girl because though she really was a brilliant society woman she was also very simple and could sympathise with the simplest folk, and was especially at ease with children, knew how to amuse them and enter into their games. I learnt a lot from her conversation and the books she gave me or advised me to read. After I lost my own Mother, she was my companion for several months. Her nature was highly strung and passionate and she took to heart other people's troubles almost as much as her own. She loved nature and animals, was a great reader, especially of history and she could be very enthusiastic but was also given to depression and fits of hesitation, looking on the darker rather than on the brighter side of things, all the more when living alone.[4]

Whatever her temper might be, Gissing was essentially struck as much by her beauty and dignity as by her intelligence and education. To the ill-starred, discontented man of starved passions he was at forty, her coming to him seemed nothing short of a miracle. Time and again he had brooded

[4] From a letter to the editor.

over his own involved situation and, naturally enough, lost all hope of salvation. For twenty years he had either lived with unworthy female partners or in depressing solitude. The ideal woman was now standing before him. Besides, her French nationality was more agreeable than otherwise; despite his admissible irritation at certain national features of the French character, he found in her those very qualities his semi-autobiographical hero Edwin Reardon had been dreaming of in a woman, and when Gabrielle responded to his love he experienced in actual life the feelings he had imagined for his Grub Street novelist:

> It was a time of frantic exultation with the poor fellow. He had always regarded the winning of a beautiful and intellectual wife as the crown of a successful literary career, but he had not dared to hope that such a triumph would be his. Life had been too hard with him on the whole. He, who hungered for sympathy, who thought of a woman's love as the prize of mortals supremely blessed, had spent the fresh years of his youth in monkish solitude. Now of a sudden came friends and flattery, ay, and love itself. He was rapt to the seventh heaven.[5]

But Gissing's love of self-defeat could not allow Reardon to enjoy happiness in matrimony, and with the loss of his power of literary creation came the loss of the ideal wife whose love and disinterestedness dwindled as material conditions grew worse. Once more Gissing had tackled the problem, though differently, in *Born in Exile* (1892) but with the same masochistic turn of mind. Now Gabrielle, perhaps unwittingly influenced by the resemblances between Gissing and Reardon, and generously wishing to show that such a man could find the companion he deserved, came as his saviour; but their union was attended by so many obstacles that all hope of a legal marriage seemed impossible to entertain, and the present letters reflect the delights and miseries they experienced. They also show that Gissing was conquered at once; he rapidly passed from a polite, business-like tone to tender friendliness and passionate love. His letters are a good key to his character: for the first time his capacity for admiration was allowed full scope — admiration for Gabrielle's beauty and wide culture closely allied with fear — the fear of losing her [6] and her love through incurring her displeasure or through the annoying difficulties of their situation. He is apt to fall into the psychological temptations of that self-pity which, according to some modern critics, mars the quality of his novels, but he has assuredly some right to complain

[5] *New Grub Street*, p 64–65 of the World's Classics edition.

[6] It should be noticed that in his letters Gissing never referred to his first marriage. Whether she knew of it through him directly, or indirectly after his death, is not clear.

about fate, and whether his works really suffer from his occasional indulgence in self-compassion must ultimately remain a matter of opinion. Another contrast is to be found between his profoundly egotistic temperament and his unquestionable generosity. As a lover he is primarily concerned with his own wishes and troubles and not infrequently injures Gabrielle's pride by his selfish remarks, but his large-hearted kindness becomes apparent when he thinks of his friends and his children. Further, this correspondence emphasizes his ambivalent attitude to his family: that he does not care for the judgment of Wakefield about his works is implied by the description he gives of his sisters as rather narrow-minded, bigoted, provincial spinsters. Yet he obviously fears their disagreement concerning the step he contemplates to take, namely living abroad with Gabrielle without being married to her. As he himself admits, there is in him a strange mixture of the bohemian, unconventional and daring, and the bourgeois who will not violate the canons of Victorian morality. It is significant of his distrust of his own family that he chooses Morley Roberts, Eduard Bertz, Clara Collet, and later Edward Clodd as his confidents whereas Algernon, Ellen, and Margaret knew nothing of his life with Gabrielle until 1901. He was spiritually in exile among his own people and could find intelligence and understanding only among his free-thinking friends.

Life together in France created many embarrassments both on his and her side. Gissing was handicapped by the necessity of paying his legal wife a weekly allowance for herself and Alfred, and by that of providing for Walter's needs at his aunts'; hence keeping his continental home entailed further financial cares. Moreover, would it be possible to prevent allusions to his new domestic tie from getting into the press? As for Gabrielle — though for a girl in her social position and in her day, she was unprejudiced and spirited enough to consider living with him outside the bond of marriage — material conditions made it impossible for her to brave the world and her family with the news of her free union with an English novelist and a married man at that; a sham marriage at least would have to take place. But again, even if the ceremony could easily be simulated for the sake of distant relatives, what would her father's and brother's reaction be? Whether or not M Fleury knew before he died on January 11 1899 [7] of the projected step is uncertain, but there is no proof that he did. Cynical as the statement

[7] The card announcing his death reads: "Monsieur Edouard-Auguste Fleury, mort le 11 janvier 1899, dans sa 67ème année, en son domicile, à Paris, rue de Siam, nº 13, muni des Sacrements de l'Eglise. Selon la volonté de Monsieur Fleury, aucune invitation n'a été faite pour ses obsèques. L'inhumation a eu lieu à Nevers (Nièvre)." Gissing did not hear of the news until January 13 in the evening.

may appear, his death certainly made matters easier, but the coalition of mother and daughter would at any rate have been stronger than the invalid's possible objections. As to René, who was some years younger than his sister and was considered as a sort of black sheep in the family circle,[8] he was never made acquainted with the truth. Gabrielle's possession of some money — which was much needed — oddly enough threatened to turn against her. Her signature would soon reveal that she was not legally married; so that she had to transfer it wholly to her mother, expecting some difficulty when the latter died, as she ran the risk of having to share *her own* money with René who seems, at the turn of the century, to have been in great need of other people's funds. Moreover, the contemplated union to which Mme Fleury generously consented would be darkened by her own presence. Gabrielle would not leave her alone, on account of her bad health. Under such circumstances it required some courage and optimism to envisage life in common. However, the fact that neither he nor she had any religious faith removed one potential stumbling-block.

It certainly did for the ceremony by which they solemnized their relationship on the evening of May 7 1899. The nature of this event has puzzled Gissing scholars in recent years, and for want of any relevant document one is reduced to conjectures. It took place at the Hôtel de Paris, in Rouen, in the presence of Mme Fleury, and it is not unreasonable to think that it merely consisted in his giving her one of the two rings he had bought in England some time before and in a mutual promise of faithfulness.

After this of course correspondence ceased between them, and a general outline of their activities and movements will suffice to situate the last three batches of letters which, in bulk and interest as well as chronologically, come next to the group which covers the period June 23 1898 – May 4 1899. The rest of May they spent alone in Normandy, mostly at Saint-Pierre-en-Port, and they got to Paris on June 3. There Gissing settled at 13, rue de Siam,[9] in the flat where Gabrielle and her parents had lived since the time they had left Marseilles, in the west of Paris. He started writing his only travel-book, *By the Ionian Sea*, from notes and reminiscences about his recent journey in Italy, and finished it in Switzerland where they spent a

[8] This statement is based on various documents in both Gabrielle's and her mother's hands. Later Gabrielle became reconciled to him. A visiting card bearing his name and probably posterior to the first World War gives his occupation as being "inspecteur divisionnaire à la Compagnie d'Assurances Générales." But by 1913 he was already insurance inspector. He lived in many parts of the world; besides France, he resided in Algiers, the Argentine, and Canada. Being lame, he was not mobilized during the first World War.

[9] In April 1959 a plaque was put up to commemorate Gissing's stay in the house.

little over two months in July – September of the same year. To Gissing's trip to England in April 1900 correspond the two or three next letters. The summer and early autumn which they passed with Mme Fleury at Saint-Honoré-les-Bains, in Central France, was a very fruitful time for work as he managed to write the whole of *Our Friend the Charlatan* and the first version of *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft.* The seven following months saw him again at 13, rue de Siam, but, owing to the French diet which was thought insufficient, his health began to decline, and this brought about the only serious crisis in the life of the couple. When, in the spring of 1901, Gissing was asked by *Literature* to come and sit for his portrait, they crossed over the Channel, and after Gabrielle had got back by herself to Paris he was prevailed upon by his friend Dr Hick and by Dr Pye-Smith to go for treatment to a Sanatorium at Nayland, Suffolk. To this decision, which was well-intentioned but taken without her assent, she reacted violently. She then probably feared Gissing might yield to some of his friends' advice and decide not to return to France when he left the Sanatorium. When, in the darkest moments, she entertained such feelings, she undoubtedly did him wrong, for rarely was a man on the horns of such a dilemma. His most obvious interests commanded that he should stay at Nayland, so seriously was his health impaired; yet by doing so he felt he caused the peace at home to cloud over. The present letters, insofar as they contain propitiatory passages, bring a faint echo of Gissing's anxiety and Gabrielle's protests; her spirited temper can better be read in his correspondence with H. G. Wells and his wife, who weighed heavily in favour of George's nursing himself in England. On leaving Nayland he went directly to Autun, where he joined Gabrielle and her mother. Then they were guests at Tazières, in Nièvre, but a new separation had to take place as, on the one hand, Gissing's doctor advised against his staying in Paris during the winter and, on the other, Gabrielle's presence would be required by her mother in the rue de Siam. The fourth batch, which covers the period December 1901 – May 1902, is thus made up of the Arcachon and Saint-Jean-de-Luz letters. In the latter place and at Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port they spent the last eighteen months of Gissing's life, and despite ill-health these months were probably the happiest of their life together.

To her love for him and her terrible grief at his death the letters she wrote in her widowhood bear testimony. They make very sad reading indeed. Thus, on February 1 1904, to Clara Collet:

> I have now reached the bottom of despair and sorrow, and don't understand how I can possibly keep alive after those frightful days and sleep-

> less nights of deepest misery, the mind haunted by dreadful thoughts, memories, etc. I am hoping every day for some catastrophy (sic) which wld put an end to that unendurable life.

Again, on February 15, to Clara Collet who had sent her *Thyrza*, one of George's novels that she had not read:

> Je le trouve bien remarquable et charmant. Mais à chaque phrase, à chaque mot, je me sens le coeur poigné par la douleur de savoir qu'il n'est pas là!! Et que c'est fini de tous les autres ouvrages qu'il avait en tête, qu'il aurait encore donnés! Je ne *peux pas* prendre le dessus et me résigner. Chaque jour je sens le vide affreux plus cruellement. Les tempêtes continuent ici, mais la mer ne veut pas venir m'emporter! [10]

A letter from Mme Fleury to Clara Collet, written on May 14 1904 while Gabrielle was in England, also calls up the memory of the horrible months spent at Saint-Jean-de-Luz after Gissing's death:

> J'ai cru que nous y perdrions la vie ou la raison. Gabrielle traverse une crise suraiguë de neurasthénie, et que faire pour l'en guérir quand elle-même ne désire qu'une fin prochaine et ne cherche que l'occasion de martyriser son pauvre corps qui n'a plus la force de supporter un chagrin si légitime [. . .] Vous savez comme moi combien George et Gabrielle méritaient d'être heureux! [. . .]

Paradoxically, though the only one he did not marry, Gabrielle was, of the three women who shared his existence, his sole real wife, and, as he told her one day, she had at last brought dignity to his life. Indeed the mere idea of a comparison is unfair to her and she would no doubt have been enraged by it. She also widened the circle of his acquaintances and put him in touch with influential people of the French literary world — newspaper and review editors and critics. Together with Eduard Bertz, the German critic and novelist, she helped to extend the European aspect of his culture; the literatures of France, Germany, Russia, Italy and, to some extent, Spain, were familiar to him. Her reading to him passages from Victor Hugo influenced such a novel as *The Crown of Life* in its atmosphere and its very title. This quotation from "Les Chants du Crépuscule" which he used in chapter XIII might well serve as an epigraph to the whole book:

> Laisse-toi donc aimer! Car l'amour, c'est la vie,
> C'est tout ce qu'on regrette et tout ce qu'on envie
> Quand on voit sa jeunesse au couchant décliner.
> Sans lui rien n'est complet, sans lui rien ne rayonne.

[10] Letter dated April 11 1904.

La beauté c'est le front, l'amour c'est la couronne.
Laisse-toi couronner!

Even more substantial were her own endeavours to make Gissing known to the French public. She translated three of his novels: *New Grub Street*, *The Odd Women* and *The Paying Guest*, though only the first reached the stage of publication. She also translated at least half a dozen of his short stories, and when, in the autumn of 1899, he wrote an article in strong deprecation of the war-spirit and war-like inspiration in contemporary poetry, she had a French version of it published in *Le Gaulois du Dimanche*, preceded by a short introduction on Gissing.[11] Certainly she exerted herself with commendable zeal to increase his literary fame, and it is a great pity he died just when he was in a position to reap the seeds she had so lovingly sown. Had he lived, we know he would have written a second volume in the manner of *Henry Ryecroft* of which she would have been the inspirer.

But objectivity compels one to observe that their happiness and mental communion were darkened by some grave anxieties and disagreements. The reasons were many and of unequal importance. The difference in language may have led occasionally to some misunderstanding, but he knew French and she English well enough for this argument to have little weight. More serious was the difference in national temper it concealed. When cooking was concerned the latent conflict came to a head between Gissing with his huge appetite and Mme Fleury who was easily satisfied in food matters and ruled single-handed over the kitchen. The atmosphere must have been tense in the spring of 1901 before Gissing left for his last journey to England. With the Wellses at Sandgate, then at the Sanatorium, he resolved to take things in hand and no longer to allow himself to be underfed. "I was simply — as P[ye]-S[mith] says — starved in Paris," he wrote to Clara Collet on June 11 1901, "and largely owing to the fact that not Gabrielle, but her mother, rules the house, in the maddening Gallic way." Clearly the presence of Maman, who had a tendency to treat her daughter and George like children, was not good for his mental peace, nor even perhaps for the quality of his work — as can be seen in the pathetic passages about food in the first version of *Henry Ryecroft*. He grew to resent the fact that Gabrielle devoted more of her time to her mother than to him. "I am fretted intolerably by Gabrielle's slavery in Paris," he wrote in the same letter. Gradually a feeling of exile developed in him, and he who had many times bitterly criticized England began to discover her virtues, a reason which,

[11] "La poésie guerrière des Impérialistes anglais," par George Gissing, Nov 25–26, 1899, p 3.

by the bye, goes some way to explain the success of *Ryecroft*. His quarrel with French food and comfort must have been at its peak in 1900 when he penned the first draft of the book. The anxiety about his health, the many visits to doctors, and the costly removals consequent upon their sometimes contradictory advice constituted another appreciable element of domestic unrest. But even at the most critical moment whatever awkwardness there was must have looked very slight when compared with the tumultuous quarrels of his former marriages. "Don't picture domestic rows," he said to Clara Collet. "Everything has been under the surface, but it is just this suppressed irritation which has so exhausted me." [12] Ryecroft had reached a state of contentment which Gissing himself had not reached and given his temperament probably could not reach, and, when allowance is made for the numerous material difficulties which assailed him, one may think, with Mr Arthur Young,[13] that he was as happy with Gabrielle as he could ever be.

She remained faithful to his memory to the end of her life. Her greatest and most loyal friend was Clara Collet, who was certainly the most level-headed person of the whole Gissing circle. Though she was humanely received by the Gissings of Wakefield in May 1904, their relationship lacked the warmth of genuine sympathy. Her correspondence with Clara Collet contains many distrustful allusions to what she considered as the cool, unfriendly attitude of Ellen and Margaret. When their mother died in 1913, they abstained from communicating the news to her, which she violently resented. On the other hand, her hostility to the Wellses, which can be read in her correspondence with them in the summer of 1901, became stronger when H. G. Wells indirectly advised against her coming to England while he was trying to obtain for Gissing's two sons a pension on the Civil List. The preface he wrote for *Veranilda*, which was rejected by the executors, definitively alienated her friendship. During the ten or fifteen years which followed Gissing's death she appears to have grown fiercer and fiercer in her anglophobia. *The Private Life of Henry Maitland* caused an angry protest from many quarters, and her indignation was neither the least vehement nor the worst founded.[14] Edward Clodd, who in his *Memories* (1916) had

[12] Letter dated June 11 1901. This quotation, like all the others from Gissing's letters to Clara Collet, is taken from partial copies of the originals. These copies, in the hand of Clara Collet, are in the possession of Madame Le Mallier.

[13] See his Introduction to *The Letters of George Gissing to Eduard Bertz 1887–1903*, Rutgers University Press, 1961.

[14] See "George Gissing et H. G. Wells," followed by "Une Lettre Inédite de Gabrielle Fleury à Clara Collet," *Etudes Anglaises* (April – June 1962, 156–171). In this letter, dated Jan 1 1913, she rightly denounced the inaccuracies of Roberts's book concerning her relations with Gissing.

published letters from Gissing to him in which she was (always flatteringly) mentioned, did not get a more friendly treatment:

> I am thoroughly disgusted with Mr. Ed[ward] Cl[odd]'s behaviour! What a low-minded man! even amidst those tremendous events and universal miseries, to apply one's mind to try and make new mischief and to advertise an ignoble book that ought to have reppelled him and made him indignant if he had been to G[eorge] the friend he pretended to be! Poor G[eorge]! how deluded he was, in all those people, in whom he trusted so much!! How sad the idea of it! [15]

In fact Clodd had done nothing to offend Gissing's memory; Gabrielle was simply lynx-eyed in her vigilance and interpreted all mention of their own illegal relationship as an act of hostility. Every time she feared the revelation would cost her a few friends. So, naturally, there were moments when she came to ask herself whether, after all, Gissing had not effectively ruined her life, or at least whether she could trust future critics to understand what role she had played in his life. Alluding to the present letters, she wrote to Clara Collet on May 13 1920:

> I really don't know if I had not better *destroy* all these letters of his [. . .] If some people, unable to thoroughly penetrate his feelings and nature, wld not tax him of selfishness, of playing on my sensibility and compassion, etc, etc. It is so difficult, so delicate to judge and speak of those things, and when I come across critics like that C[unliffe] (not to mention M[orley] R[oberts] actuated by quite different motives), and Barthou on Mme V[ictor] H[ugo] and Ste Beuve, it really makes me sick to think that we some day, may be handled in that way!

Rather than destroy them altogether, she cut off or cancelled the parts she did not want posterity to know of. Regret as we may such excisions we must feel grateful that they are comparatively limited and that she did not in some moment of despair or anger make a general auto-da-fé. Literature would have lost something by it, for they undoubtedly fill a wide gap in our knowledge of Gissing's later life, and for a man in whose existence women are rightly said to have played a determining part it has been a lacuna that not a single love letter has hitherto been published. Thus the present collection achieves a double purpose.

The Text

To THE BEST of our knowledge these letters, now preserved in the Berg Collection, are the only ones that remain of the voluminous correspondence exchanged during the four periods we have previously mentioned, but a cursory glance at the dates,

[15] Postcard to Clara Collet, undated.

whether original or supplied, makes one immediately realize there are important gaps. Thus, it is obvious that Gissing wrote more than two letters dated two days in succession, during his stay in England in April 1900. Again, for the third group, correspondence ceases on July 5 1901 though he did not leave the Sanatorium until August 10. For the year 1898 some entries in the diary also record letters to Gabrielle which have not been found.

The mutilations are of several kinds: some parts have been irremediably cut off, others cancelled in ink, and many dates have been scratched into illegibility. With the unimportant exception of one very short fragment which we have failed to date, the present edition may claim to include all the letters from George Gissing to Gabrielle Fleury in the Berg Collection. All the suppressed passages, whatever their length, have been indicated thus [. . .]. When, in spite of deletion, it has been possible to read the original text it has also been given in square brackets. A study of these passages shows they can be classified under the following headings:

1) the early proofs that she responded to his love, and the word "wife" used by Gissing before they started life together,

2) some of the longer successions of endearing terms,

3) various allusions to her mother,

4) his fears that she should cease to love him.

The major difficulty in editing these letters has consisted in supplying the many dates which are imperfect either because they have been rendered illegible or because, for many of the Nayland and Arcachon letters, Gissing was content with noting the day of the week. With the help of the diary and the hundreds of letters to other correspondents in public and private collections it has been possible to re-establish the chronology.

In conclusion, I wish to express my indebtedness to the many persons who have in various ways aided me in my work. I should like, in particular, to thank Mr Alfred C. Gissing for permission to publish these letters as well as quotations from other papers relating to his father; Dr John D. Gordan, Curator of the Berg Collection, for making this and other material available to me and for his gracious replies to my many requests made when I was in New York or from Paris; Madame Denise Le Mallier for her inestimable assistance and encouragement and for lending me various personal papers concerning her cousin which she obligingly allowed me to use. To her and Mr Robert Collet, recognition is due for the use of Gabrielle's correspondence with Clara Collet. But this publication would have been impossible without Dr Erdman's genial interest and cooperation and the help of my wife whose work went far beyond the typing of the manuscript.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Only a selection of the letters is being published in this and succeeding issues of the *Bulletin*. The complete series, numbered 1 to 100, will be published by the Library as a separate booklet some time this winter. The numbers given to the full series are being used in the *Bulletin* so that it will be evident which letters are omitted here.

Dates on most of the letters were erased, but when they can be read with certainty the fact of erasure is not noted. When part or all of a date has been supplied by M Coustillas, the matter supplied is put within square brackets [ ]. Gissing usually abbreviated his dates, but these have been expanded throughout; thus "Aug. 8. 98." is given as "August 8 1898."

GEORGE GISSING TO GABRIELLE FLEURY

(A Selection: Part I)

1

June 23 1898

7 Clifton Terrace, Dorking

Dear Madam,

Pardon me for replying to you in English. I of course read French, but have not sufficient practice either in writing or speaking it.

About a fortnight ago, I was informed by my literary agent [1] that a French translation of "New Grub Street" was about to be undertaken by M. Georges Art, whose version of "Eve's Ransom" has recently appeared in the *Revue de Paris.*[2] Whether M. Art has really begun the work or not, I do not know; but it would be unfortunate if you or he should waste time through ignorance of each other's projects. I myself have no rights in the matter; the book belongs to Messrs. Smith, Elder & Co.,[3] and from them, I should think, you could learn whether M. Art is in correspondence with them.

I am sorry to be rather late in replying. This is due to a delay in the forwarding of your letter, which has reached me indirectly.

I do not live in London, but about 25 miles away, here at the little town of Dorking, in Surrey.[4] The uncertain state of my health forbids me to breathe the air of great cities, and I am able to see very little society. But if it were possible for you (and if you cared) to come down to Dorking and have tea with me, I should be very pleased. It would much gratify me to hear your opinion as to the reception of my work in France. — If you will come, kindly let me have a note the day before your visit. The railway journey is about one hour from Victoria Station, and my house is 1½ mile from the station at Dorking. (A Cab is obtainable).

Believe me, dear Madam,
Very faithfully yours,
GEORGE GISSING

1 William Morris Colles (1855–1926), the son of the Rev W. M. Colles, Vicar of Melton Mowbray in Leicestershire. Colles had been educated at Cambridge and was admitted to the bar in 1880. In the early nineties, he proposed the establishment of an Authors' Syndicate. When one was finally established, he became its director. Gissing's association with Colles had begun some five years earlier.

2 Georges Art had written to Colles to ask about the rights of *New Grub Street.* On June 2 1898 Gissing had replied to the Authors' Syndicate that the copyright belonged to Messrs Smith, Elder & Co.

The French translation of *Eve's Ransom* had appeared in four fortnightly instalments (April 1 to May 15 1898). It was published in book form by Calmann-Lévy in the same year.

3 Gissing had disposed of *New Grub Street* for £150. It had sold remarkably well for a Gissing novel. Two 3-volume editions were brought out in April and May 1891, followed by a six-shilling issue in October of the same year. Despite its success in England the book was not available in America until July 1904 when C. A. Brewster, of Troy, published a one-dollar reprint.

4 He had been living there since his return from the Continent, in April.

3

July 5 1898

Heatherlea, Worcester Park, Surrey

Dear Madam,

I am so sorry to have given you all this trouble. — Perhaps the best course will be if you can come here to-morrow (Wednesday) afternoon.[1] There is a train from Waterloo Station at 2.40, reaching Worcester Park about 3 o'clock. I would meet the train at this station, and we could talk over a cup of tea — allowing you time to return to London for dinner.

(You will have no change of trains on the journey).

With great regret for having obliged you to write so much,

Very truly yours.
GEORGE GISSING

Do pardon me for my mistake as to your name!

1 Gabrielle did call on Gissing at the Wellses' on July 6. He recorded her visit in his diary, noting she wanted to translate *New Grub Street*. He afterwards underlined this sentence in red ink; he also corrected her Christian name Edith to Gabrielle. On this matter, see letter tentatively dated early August 1898.

4

July 10 1898

7 Clifton Terrace, Dorking

Dear Mademoiselle,

Many thanks for your kind letter. I am of course delighted to hear that the negotiations with regard to "New Grub Street" look hopeful. There will be no difficulty at all about making "cuts". When all is decided, you shall let me have your copy, and I will return it to you with the passages marked for omission.[1]

After all, I have returned to Dorking,[2] and have arranged to remain here for a short time — at all events, until your visit. I earnestly hope we may have a fine

1 Gissing took advantage of his novel being translated to cut it down. The cuts were mostly made in the dialogue, which is particularly abundant in the original version. Gissing's aim in compressing his novel was twofold. On the one hand, he wanted to excise the superfluities for which the three-volume system was responsible; on the other, the French translation being meant for serial publication in a Paris daily newspaper, he did not care whether a shortened version was published in that form. There is abundant evidence that he wished to revise his early three-volume novels.

He cut down *Thyrza* for the six-shilling reprint of 1891; *The Emancipated* he also went through for the 1893 edition and *The Unclassed* for the 1895 edition. On A. H. Bullen's suggestion he attempted a revision of *Isabel Clarendon* but soon gave up his plan. A similar attempt was made with his very first novel, *Workers in the Dawn* (see the 1935 edition with an introduction by Robert Shafer).

2 "Left Heatherlea at 8 a.m., and with Wells and wife rode all the way home to Dorking, getting here at 10 o'clock. Utterly worn out; but very glad to have achieved this business. Can descend hill with feet on rests" (Diary, Sat July 9).

For a rather biassed relation of Gissing's ability as a cyclist, see H. G. Wells's *Experiment in Autobiography* (London 1934 II 568).

day, in which case I am sure you will enjoy the beautiful country. Please let me know the date as soon as you can settle it; — any day will suit me *except* a Monday. I will meet you at the station, and will do my best to make the day as pleasant to you as I am sure it will be to me.

I return M. Ferrari's note,[3] with thanks for your kindness in letting me see it.

Hoping you may enjoy your stay at Woodbridge,[4] (don't forget to inquire about old Fitzgerald,)

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
GEORGE GISSING

[3] Henri Ferrari was the editor of the *Revue Bleue,* a leading French literary review of the period.
[4] Where Gabrielle was staying with friends.

5

July 12 1898 [1]

7 Clifton Terrace, Dorking

Dear Mademoiselle,

I wish it were in my power to offer you hospitality for the night you propose to pass at Dorking; but, as that cannot be, I will inquire about a room for you at the hotel, which is a very comfortable old house.

If you *can* manage to arrive on the Tuesday I shall be glad, as I should be so sorry not to be able to meet you at the station and conduct you to the hotel.

I shall have a great deal to tell you, and I hope the weather will allow us to sit and talk under the blue sky.

Sincerely yours,
GEORGE GISSING

[1] That day was partly devoted to making the promised cuts in *New Grub Street* (Diary).

6

July 21 1898 [1]

7 Clifton Terrace, Dorking

Dear Mademoiselle,

I look forward with real delight to Tuesday the 26th. — Let me beg you to come by the train which leaves *Victoria* at 10.30 and reaches Dorking (direct) at 11.27. In that case I shall easily be able to meet you at the station. We shall have a good long day, (and I do hope it will be fine,) for there is an excellent train back to Victoria at 8.35. — The earlier trains are a little awkward for me, because I shall return to Dorking, from a visit that same evening.

[1] This was a reply to a letter received on the same day. Gabrielle was still in Suffolk and proposed, during her visit, to talk with him about his other books, *Demos* in particular, which had been translated into French by Fanny Le Breton under the pseudonym of Hephell (Paris, Hachette 1890).

You will have a great deal to tell me about Suffolk.[2] I know Southwold a little,[3] but I have only passed through Woodbridge in the train. —

Do believe, I beg, that your visit will be most welcome. If it *should* rain, do not be discouraged, for I will do my utmost to make the time pass agreeably for you within doors.

Very sincerely yours,
GEORGE GISSING

[2] Gissing's interest in Suffolk lay mainly in the fact that his father had been born there.

[3] He had visited Southwold on June 5 1895 on his way back from a short stay at his friend Edward Clodd's, at Aldeburgh.

7

July 27 1898

7 Clifton Terrace, Dorking

Dear Mademoiselle,

You are travelling at full speed, away from England.[1] I, sitting here in my quiet room, try to work; but it is not easy after such a day as yesterday. I see you too plainly; I hear your voice every moment. Perhaps it is well that I cannot see you again just now. Your character is too sympathetic, and I should wish to have you near me always.

But indeed you have done me good. Here in England, literature is generally judged by its commercial results, and I, in consequence, am little respected. You have a different tradition. It delighted me to perceive your devotion to the ideals of art. Frenchmen have very often profited by the inspiration of intelligent friends; Englishmen, as a rule, have to work in mental solitude.

How often I shall hear your musical voice, urging me to do the best I can! How often I shall see your beautiful hazel eyes (you know they are what we call *hazel*) looking at me with kindness, with indulgence for my morbid weaknesses and all my wearisome peculiarities!

Indeed, I will try hard to work, and to work well. I want to hear your praise, some day.

Forget that word "never." You know that one often says just the opposite of what one means, and so it was in that case. I am rather *afraid* when I think of meeting you again, but I should be sad if I could not hope to do so.

I hope you will find no trouble on your return home. I cannot bear to think of you amid painful circumstances.

Shall I ever hear you play? I love music passionately. If I could hear a little music every day, what good it would do me!

[1] On July 26 Gissing had jotted down the following entry in his diary: "Fine. *At 11.28 came Mlle Fleury, to spend the day with me; went away by the 8.35.* She has agreed with S[mith] E[lder] and Co. for translation of "New Grub Street" and will publish either with *Débats* or the *Temps* — both want to get it. Told me of her friendship with Mme de Musset, sister of Alfred; and with Mme Sacher-Masoch. A sweet and intelligent creature, this Mlle Fleury. She brought me a photograph of Mme A. Daudet. I gave her several of my books."

I have written to ask my publishers to send you a copy of "The Odd Women." [2]

Don't work too hard at the translation. I am glad you do it only for pleasure and not for necessity.

Do let me have your photograph.

Always sincerely yours,

GEORGE GISSING

[2] The novel had first been published in three volumes by Lawrence and Bullen in April 1893. In the following year, a six-shilling, one-volume reprint had been issued by the same firm.

8

[Late July 1898]

7 Clifton Terrace, Dorking

My dear Mademoiselle Fleury,

To say that I thank you for your letter is to give you little idea of how it has affected me. It is the kindest and sweetest letter I ever received. I know it by heart, and shall never forget one of its sentences as long as I live.

But —. Do you not know how sensitive I am to kindness from *anyone*? And what can be the effect upon me of words such as these from a woman whose face has charmed me, whose voice has thrilled me, and in whom I divine something very like my ideal of womanhood? It means that I think of you ceaselessly, and to think of you is to long for your presence. More than ever I am afraid of you. Already, with difficulty I restrain myself from using passionate words as I write, and what will it be if it goes on for days and weeks and months?

You ask if I will write frequently. The difficulty will be not to write; but, remembering my wretched position, in all its details, can you feel any satisfaction in the thought that I should soon love you with all my heart and soul, and should *tell* you of it? — Your face haunts me as no other face ever did. It keeps me wakeful; it holds me from my work. I think with a sort of despair of what my life would be if that face were always near me, and always looked at me. Despair, because the thing is utterly impossible. I do not wait for you to tell me so. I do not wish you to think that I have any wild, absurd hopes. — The thing is impossible.

And yet, how shall I command myself in writing to you. If my hand shakes with emotion as I think of you, how shall I write merely as a friend?

I will do everything you ask. I will care for my health just as you advise, and because it is you who wrote it. Thank you for your great kindness.

You wish to know how I arrange the hours of my day. I breakfast at 8.30, sit at my desk from 9 to 1; then dine (I cannot dine late); idle, walk, or cycle till 4.30; work again from 5 to 8; take a light meal, and go to bed very early. It is the life of a hermit; not a happy life; haunted with desires of the impossible, oppressed by great loneliness.

You say that I ought not to feel alone here, because your thoughts are with me. — Dear, to be remembered by you is a great privilege; but more than ever I should have dared to hope; but I am of such a passionate nature, and imagination cannot satisfy me.

Do I surprise you? Do I offend you? Perhaps you have misunderstood my character. If I could some day tell you the story of my life, you would see in it a

dreary sort of tragedy, but it would explain *me*. Otherwise, it is difficult for you to know me, and I fear lest you should be misled.

I am going to send you a large photograph of myself which was taken 3 years ago.[1] It is said to be good. I have obtained a copy since you were here. Do not think that it was my own wish to sit for this elaborate portrait. I had to do it as a matter of business. —

Is it possible that you think of me with anything like the agitation, the longing, that moves me when I think of you? No! What is there in *me* that corresponds to your beauty, your charm, your exquisite womanliness? Tell me, dear, that I have given too much meaning to your words. Tell me that you never thought of loving me. If I hear that from you at once, perhaps I shall conquer my passion.

I eagerly await your photograph.
Affectionately yours,
GEORGE GISSING

1 On May 7 1895 he had sat to Elliott and Fry, and to Mendelsohn on November 5 of the same year. The photograph taken by Elliott and Fry was reproduced in *The Illustrated London News* for May 1 1897 with a warm praise of *The Whirlpool.*

9

[Early] August 1898

7 Clifton Terrace, Dorking

My dearest,

One more letter I write to you before you go so far away.[1] I wish I could write it in your own language, that my words might have a deeper meaning for you — go nearer to your heart. But happily you know my language well, and yours is to me (in reading) as familiar as English, or nearly.

On your journey through the night of Friday,[2] I want you to hear my voice saying, again and again, these three words: I love you. All night I shall think of you; I shall speak to you; and again and again I shall say: I love you!

In explanation of my last letter, try to realize what I am feeling. At a time when I thought the best of my life was over — when I was in bad health and poor circumstances — when I was driven mad by anxieties and cares and miseries — when I daily hoped that I should not live much longer — then suddenly came to me the supreme happiness of a man's existence, that greatest and best thing which I had ceased to think possible. At the first moment of seeing you, I said to myself: "How beautiful she is!" During our first conversation, I thought "How interesting she is — how womanly — how sweet!" And after our day together here at Dorking, I knew that I had met the woman I was destined to love — to love and desire as long as my life lasts. But how could I dare to hope that you [would care for me]? [3] I ventured to kiss your hand, I feared you might be half offended. And, as the train vanished, I turned away with a heavy heart — hoping against reason, desiring in spite of bitter experience.

1 Gabrielle was going back to Paris.

2 August 5.

3 These words were added by Gabrielle above the cancelled original version.

Dear, little by little I must tell you the facts of my life. To-day I shall speak only of my wretched marriage.[4] It was the result of utter misery and hopelessness. Eight years ago, I was poor and solitary and tormented by my emotions. It seemed to me that I should never succeed in literature [5] — which meant that I could never hope to win the love of a woman who was my intellectual equal. In recklessness (of course *criminal* recklessness) I offered marriage to the first girl I happened to meet — and the result was what might have been expected. Few men have paid more bitterly for such foolish weakness. It would have been better if I had put an end to my life.[6]

And now I find myself wishing to be well again, to keep my youth (if it is not all gone), to do better work than ever, to live, live, live ———. *You* have given me these new thoughts, which I try so hard to convert into hopes.

My dearest, my beautiful, will you write to me again, will you say that word which, in this last letter, you timidly avoid? I shall tremble with an exquisite happiness, if I read it written by you. Will you give me that moment of delight?

I look at your portrait. It shows one of the sweetest faces I ever saw, but your own face of to-day is more —— beautiful, fuller of meaning. I have no words to utter the sense of worship with which I think of your pure and noble nature — legible to me in your face, audible in your voice, and expressed so plainly in your letter. Dearest, you are very far above me, and it is strange, strange, that you should care to be loved by me. And yet, I think no one could love you so profoundly as I do. We have met only twice, have written two or three times to each other — and I know you better than any other woman, I feel you are more to me than any living soul.

I will have no more doubts and fears. You, you, shall save me out of my dark cheerless life. I will live for you, work for you, think only of you, make you the whole end and purpose of my being. Dearest, dearest, I love you beyond all that I ever imagined of love. You are the incredible woman — the ideal of a passionate heart; yet you *live*, you write to me, I hear your voice as I read your letters. And I shall some day hear you *say* to me, with your very lips, what you have not yet dared to write.

May I not hope for that?

I will send you, before long, a little of my hair. But of yours too I must have some, that I may touch a part of you, and feel it a promise for the days to come.

You are very, very kind in sending me the eau de fleur d'oranger and the tilleul.[7] Of course I will use them: of course I will do all you wish me to do. I have no thought but to live, to become well and hopeful, for your sake.

Don't think of me, in future, as unhappy. I have never known such exquisite emotions as in reading your letters. I have some right, I think, to speak of literary

[4] Of course his second marriage, with Edith Underwood.

[5] Yet, even in 1890, there were already some signs of Gissing's recognition as one of the leading novelists of the day. Such books as *Demos* (1886) and *The Nether World* (1889) had been considered as high above the common run of novels.

[6] It is worth noting that in a letter to his German friend Eduard Bertz, dated Sept 4 1898, he used the same epithet — "criminal" — to describe his offer of marriage to Edith Underwood (*The Letters of George Gissing to Eduard Bertz,* Rutgers University Press, 1961).

[7] Orange-flower water and lime blossom.

style, and, even as mere compositions, these letters of yours are wonderful, admirable. I am very proud to receive them; I shall treasure them all my life.

(One unhappy thing I must speak of. I will do so at once, though I have been tempted to put it off. Have you another name, besides *Edith*?[8] By wretched ill-luck, *that* is the name of the woman of whom I cannot bear to think in the slightest connection with you. — Forgive me for the pain I must give you in speaking of this. I wish to call you by your name, to make it infinitely dear to me; but *this* name I must not use. Dearest love, forgive me!)

Yes, I believe that you do understand my character, that already you know me well. There is a great and strange sympathy between us. And I regret ceaselessly (now you are so far away) that I behaved to you, when you were here, so coldly, so distantly. But you know the reason — you know the reason.

I dare not think of the possibilities of which you speak. Possibilities they *shall* be, and if they become realities — how better to think that so few years of life remain!

Yes, I shall see you again, and that before very long. I long for you, in my heart I call for you. Some day I shall see you coming towards me, with that sweet, grave smile of yours. Then, you will let me kiss your hand — not in sign of parting, but to express the emotion I shall not be able to speak in words. — Henceforth, I have no *ideal*. It has become an existing fact. I can imagine no woman more beautiful than you are, no love more desirable than yours. Life has given me this priceless happiness; I will look forward with confidence to the fulfilment of so wonderful a promise.

Let me imagine my lips upon your hand. Enjoy your holiday, dearest; be very, very careful about your health and your safety. And think of me always as you do now.

Tenderest and truest love from
Yours ever
GEORGE GISSING

[8] Her full name was Gabrielle, Marie, Edith Fleury, but everyone called her Edith.

11

August [6] 1898

7 Clifton Terrace, Dorking

My dearest,

Though I grieve to think that you suffered because of my delayed letter, can I help, at the same time, feeling a great joy? It is joy to me, beyond measure, to know that you are so anxious for an assurance of my safety [. . . .] I, too, have been eagerly watching the postman; I, too, open your letters with a trembling hand. And in what words can I thank you, my beloved, for that which has arrived to-day?

Dearest, sweetest, it is a letter which marks for me the beginning of a new life. Such love as yours — coming, as it seems, miraculously — will never suffer me to lose courage again, and will never permit me to be poor-spirited, as so often, or to lose faith in my future. What rights have I to despise myself — I who am blest and honoured by such love as this? My own darling, you shall never feel that you have given your love to someone unworthy of it: — that one thing I can promise, and do promise.

Rest now, beautiful; give way to no more fears on my account. If any accident *did* happen to me, you should hear at once through my sister; [1] I will arrange that (of course without any explanation, as yet). But don't imagine evil things. My life is yours; my future — oh, what may it not be, now that *my* future is also *yours*!

Yes, I will call you Gabrielle — a beautiful name; suitable, I think, to your grave loveliness, to your dignity of form and movement. I only fear lest the name should sound strange to you. Perhaps you will soon get used to it. Gabrielle — my own Gabrielle! In any case I should like it better than the English name; for you have a charm which I should never find in a woman of my own country. You will smile when I tell you that the scent and taste of the orange-flower-water always seem to me symbolical of you: delicately exotic, a subtle appeal to the imagination, a suggestion of things above and beyond this common life.

You and I, my love, what may we not make of life — if fate permits it! I see in you not only the beautiful girl whom I love ardently, whom I worship for her beauty's sake; not only the exquisite being, whose words are poetry, whose mind and heart are so nobly human; but the good, earnest, loyal woman whose companionship is the supreme desire of a man with intellectual and moral aims. What am I that you should give me your love? But my unspeakable gratitude will perhaps help to make me less ignoble compared with you. Put your hand in mine, dearest, and see what my life will become in the strength of such a union.

Yet one thing troubles me. It is a hard, a bitter, fate that you and I should have found each other only when I had sacrificed my freedom. If I could have offered you all that a free man offers to the woman he loves! I ask myself whether it would not have been better for *you* not to have met me. — But you know it would not have [been] better for *me*, and in my happiness I am so selfish that, if it lay in my power, I would not undo what has come to pass. I *could* not lose you now, Gabrielle! Your words are mine, beloved; our lives seem inseparable; it would be agony to me if I thought that anything but death was to end our love.

Many a man has to idealize her whom he loves, or thinks he loves; to invest her with imaginary beauties and virtues, that his love may not fail. In you, Gabrielle, I see the simple realization of every dream I have ever formed. I tell the mere truth when I say that, in *every* respect, you satisfy, and more than satisfy, my heart's dearest ambition. It is no illusion — no wilful self-deception — no flattery of you. Body and soul, you are the woman my heart was made to desire and to worship. Remember that, dear, if ever I seem less to you than now. Love cannot be commanded by the will; but think often of what I have said, that your heart may be always tender towards me — that your thoughts may never accuse me of insincerity.

For a year and more I have known that my life was drawing to a crisis. The probability seemed that I should lose my power of creation, lose all my courage

[1] Ellen, who was living at Wakefield.

and my health, sink to who knows what. At the crucial moment, *you came*! Beloved, you have saved my life, as surely as if you had rescued me when I was drowning.

One great danger was before me. I am not made to live in solitude, and it was only too likely that I should have sought the companionship of some woman, who, sooner or later, would have involved me in new unhappiness. You need not tell me that this would have been ignoble. I *know* that it is ignoble to seek anything but the ideal in love. But be patient with me, dearest; I was so weak until I knew you, and so hopeless. Not one chance in ten thousand that I should find the woman I longed for, or that, if I found her, she could love me. You, Gabrielle, have saved me from this peril. My life is yours, beloved, because you alone give it security and worthiness.

August 7

Of course I shall have more interest than ever in French literature — of which I have always been a steady reader. Just now I have some interesting books from the library. Brunetière — Le Roman Naturaliste,[2] is one. Then, Quinet — Lettres d'Exil,[3] and Beyle — Correspondance Inédite.[4] It is very doubtful whether I shall ever venture to *speak* much French, but the desire to lose no syllable of your dear words — to understand as perfectly as possible every nuance of your thought — will make me a constant student of the language. — And indeed I have the conviction that few people will understand each other better than you and I, dear.

To-day (Sunday) you will receive, I hope, a letter I have already posted to L'Isle.[5] I shall be anxious to hear that the journey was safely performed, that it did not prove too fatiguing for your parents. — I like to think of you in that beautiful country. Mountains and the blue sky are a good background for the picture of you which is always in my mind. Why do I think of you as a figure with something of the heroic? Perhaps because you are brave enough to disregard the conventionalities of my position — to give me a love for which I could never have dared to ask.

Yes, I will sometimes send you a postcard; but you shall have letters as often as possible. I shall not trouble you with all the wretched details of the struggle through which I am going, but any event of importance you shall of course know at once. — I am a little afraid that you may sometimes think of me as surrounded with mysteries and very remote from you. Darling, that would be wrong. My troubles are of a very vulgar kind, and cannot for one moment interfere between you and me. I have to watch over the life of that poor little child[6] as much as

[2] A collection of twelve essays published in volume form in 1883, in which Brunetière (1849–1906) examines realistic literature through its best-known French representatives — Flaubert, Zola, Daudet, the Goncourt brothers; three of these essays are devoted to Russian and English novels. Brunetière was a spirited opponent of French naturalism. He praised George Eliot's novels for their moral value.

[3] These letters were published in 1884 by Edgar Quinet's wife.

[4] Henri Beyle (1783–1842) is better known under the pseudonym of Stendhal. This volume of "Unpublished Correspondence," which constitutes the first edition of his letters, was edited by Mérimée in 1855.

[5] In Switzerland.

[6] His son Alfred who was still with his mother. Walter was then at Wakefield.

possible; then again, I have to earn money, without which there is no hope for the future. You know already that my books and stories are not very profitable. However, a short novel which is to appear very soon (a farce of lower middle-class life) will bring me, at once, £330 — advance of "royalties" on the English and American editions; so that I am in no immediate want of money.[7] If I were without worries, I could probably make about £600 a year.[8] If I were at *peace*, (impossible now until the day, if ever it comes, when you and I meet never to part again) I should probably make even more than that.

Did I tell you that I have undertaken to write introductions for a new edition of Dickens? For each introduction I shall receive £10.10; so here again is a little source of income. This work must be begun very soon, as the first volume is to appear in the autumn.[9]

To the woman whom I am legally bound to support, (believe me, she has no shadow of *moral* claim) I shall never give more than the strictly necessary. (It is paid through a solicitor.)[10] To let her have more money than she needs would be to encourage her in all manner of follies and even vices. This has been urged upon me again and again by my friends who know her — good and impartial people.

Little by little you will know all my circumstances. I told you I think, that my mother is living; that I have a brother (who writes), and two sisters (who teach).[11] My brother lives in Worcestershire; he is 37, married, with three children; a man who loves the country, an excellent naturalist, an admirable husband and father. My mother and sisters live at Wakefield, in Yorkshire. By the bye, it is arranged that my mother shall come to Dorking on August 17th, and stay here for about a month. When she returns to Wakefield, she will take my elder boy, Walter, who is now passing his holidays with a medical friend of mine in Kent.[12]

Dear, is my handwriting quite legible to you? If not, pray tell me, I will be more careful. — Yours I can read perfectly.

[7] The novel was *The Town Traveller*. It had been written from June 1 to July 14 1897 with a view to serialization. As he wanted for it the maximum he could get, he did not ask Lawrence and Bullen to publish it. He rightly felt that they had been too generous in the past for him to claim this maximum from them now. He turned to Methuen who offered £250. Gissing got a further £100 (less the usual 10 per cent agent's commission) from Stokes who brought out the book in America. The English edition was published on August 29 and the American one in late September.

[8] He had never made that sum. His peak year had been 1895 with £519.9.2.

[9] He had been asked by Methuen's to contribute introductions to the projected Rochester edition of Dickens's works. As soon as August 10 he began writing the Introduction to *Pickwick*, which he completed three days later. In February of the same year Blackie & Son had published his *Charles Dickens, a Critical Study*, which had been highly praised by the critics. As a consequence, Gissing's collaboration for editorial work on Dickens was to be sought by various publishers.

[10] Brewster of 11 New Inn, Strand, W. C.

[11] His mother was to outlive him by ten years. She died on August 13 1913. His brother Algernon was a minor novelist with scant talent who never quite succeeded in making both ends meet. His two sisters Margaret and Ellen had recently founded a preparatory school in Wakefield.

[12] The medical friend was Dr Henry Hick. Gissing had known him from childhood, but after he had left Owens College, Manchester, in 1876, they had lost sight of each other; and it was not until the early spring of 1895 that they had renewed their friendship. Hick lived at New Romney, Kent.

If I tried to say all that I feel, I should only seem extravagant, fantastic. Dearest Gabrielle, my own dear, dear girl, I love you beyond all power of utterance; I think of you as something more than mortal; I worship you for your great goodness to me, for the miracle you have wrought in my life. "Love," I find, had little meaning for me before I knew you. Henceforth it is my life — my very life.

Darling, let me for once imagine my lips on yours. Be happy my sweet, and think of me as more than happy in your love.

GEORGE GISSING

14

August [14] 1898

7 Clifton Terrace, Dorking

It is a great relief, my dearest, to know that you are no longer suffering on your father's account. I hope you can now enjoy the beautiful country. Again and again I close my eyes, to see you as I walk under the open sky — as I saw you here — your every movement a delight in its perfect womanly grace and dignity. But I begin to feel that imagination would not very long suffice to me. If by ill luck it were necessary, I should do crazy things rather than not see you — your dear self — for a long time. The day would come when my longing would drive me to you, wherever you might be.

Your letters more and more explain to me the reason why you have become indispensable to my life. You and I are the *complements* of each other. My great defect is on the side of hope and courage; you, darling, abound in those qualities, and with what delight I recognize them in all you say! Already you have taught me to use the future tense instead of the conditional; I should never have dared, but what a change it has made in me! No words ever spoken by woman to man had such an inspiring effect as when, in your last letter, you say: [. . . .] Women such as you have *infinite* power over the lives, the souls, of men.

And, as I think of you, and meditate on your religious hopes and inspirations, — a true part of your noble mind, — I find my old pessimism falling away, melting like mist before the sun. When I realize how short a life there is before us, I ask myself whether it is possible that love such as ours[1] can come into existence only to pass into nothingness a few years hence! When you are really mine — when I have but to call "Gabrielle!" to see you at my side — when our lives are united as closely as two lives can be, shall I *dare* to think that some day — soon — we must say good-bye to each other for ever? I *know* the thought will be impossible. I know that, if it crosses my mind for an instant, I shall turn to you in fear, and hold you as though you were threatened by some instant danger. My own dear love, never allow yourself to be influenced by my dark moods. Hold to your bright faith, my darling, and help me to share it with you! — Already you are more to me than anyone in the world, and I know that the day will come when I shall have no light but in your sweet eyes, when the thought of parting from you will be an impossibility, an idle fear — something which my very soul rejects.

[1] Gabrielle changed "ours" to "mine."

You see, Gabrielle, you, and you only, have taught me what love means. Do you know that the public commonly speak of me as a "woman-hater!"[2] And my friends, I am sure, think for the most part that I feel no need of a woman's affection. The reason is plain enough. I had always such a high ideal of the woman I could love, and of late years it has seemed to me fantastic, unattainable. Indeed, I *had* begun to renounce the hope of this kind of happiness; my heart seemed to be losing its old impulses; I had suffered so long and so drearily. Imagine what it means to me, to be writing to the *ideal woman herself* — nay, a woman far beyond the poor ideal my imagination was able to shape! Necessarily, it affects my whole being. My thought on every subject has undergone a more or less wonderful change. No more wandering of the desires — no more restless discontent with life — no more brooding on dark philosophies! It is as though a revelation had been made to me — to me alone of all men. Everything, henceforth, is seen in the light of a love which I *know* to be the strongest and purest my soul is capable of. Never a moment's questioning. I say "Gabrielle," and I know that I have spoken the watchword of my existence from now until the end.

Beloved, take me at my best — believe that I am not *too* far beneath you, that I have powers and aspirations by which I may rise above the old miserable life. Read these imperfect words, and interpret them in your pure thoughts. After all, after all, I can say nothing better than that I love you! Understand those words in their noblest sense — in *your* sense. Now and for ever, my beautiful, I love you!

Then, let me ease your mind about my health. All the precautions of which you speak I have long taken; indeed I live very carefully indeed. (sic) My cough is trifling, and I have no fever at night. (The only fever I know, my sweet, is the desire for your presence — to touch your hand and hear your voice; from *that*, indeed, I do suffer.) With care, there is every chance of my becoming quite strong again. With care, and —

But here I find myself in a difficulty. I scarcely know how to speak to you of what is ever in my mind; yet speak I must. Dearest, in this last letter you use a phrase which makes me tremble with joy — but at the same time with fear.

But how shall I ask you this question? Darling, do you forget that I am unable to marry, in the legal sense? Do you lose sight of the miserable certainty (practically a certainty) that for years and years I shall be legally bound to the woman who is become simply a stranger to me? — If you were quite alone in the world, and quite indifferent to people's opinion, I should say to you: "Gabrielle, trust me, and be my wife." But your position is so different; you cannot disregard the common judgment in morality. — And what results? I ask myself whether I can *bear* to love you at a distance — perhaps for all the rest of my life? I cannot count on accidents. My need of you is a matter of every day, of every hour, and when I hear the voice of your perfect soul, I turn faint at the thought that I must wait for years — perhaps for ever.

I am in such fear lest I shall offend you. You, beloved, cannot say a word which would seriously hurt my feelings; but I so dread lest, in my passion, I shall seem to ask more than I ought — more than you can give. But be assured, always,

[2] Perhaps Gissing was thinking of a recent review of his *Charles Dickens* in the *Academy* (March 12 1898); taking to task a passage of the book in strong criticism of certain human defects of Dickens's women, the reviewer had maliciously asked whether the passage was not meant to be included in one of Gissing's novels instead of this critical study.

that I am incapable — quite incapable — of willingly saying or doing what would displease you. Darling, dear, dear love, I am *obliged* to speak of this one great trouble; but, *if you* [. . .] [3]

I know well (I have written it above) how admirably your character is fitted to supplement mine. Our marriage would be as nearly perfect as any that is possible. Immediately, my mind would be relieved of all sorts of cares — my heart would be at rest —

Would be! How *can* I say "will be?" And [. . .] Gabrielle — Gabrielle — why have you made me love you so! Why have you made me hunger for you, like a starving man for food! Your letters are what I could never have imagined — the perfect expression of the perfect woman-soul. I love you in every way — with flesh and spirit. I love you to distraction — and despair at the thought that perhaps I shall never be permitted to kiss your lips, to hold you to my heart.

For ever yours, my beloved,

GEORGE

[3] The bottom of the manuscript page has been cut off.

(To be continued)

The Bard and the Book

Editions of Shakespeare in the Seventeenth Century

An Exhibition

By JOHN D. GORDAN

Chief of the Berg Collection

THE OCCASION of the current exhibition in the lobby and on the north and south stair landings of The New York Public Library is the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of William Shakespeare. The poet and dramatist was born in 1564, saw his work first in print in 1593, and died in 1616. The material on display is drawn entirely from the Library's rich and extensive Shakespeare resources. These have enabled American scholars to write authoritatively about the age of Shakespeare without going to England.

The exhibition is confined to material published in the seventeenth century, beginning with the year 1600. The Library owns no volume of Shakespeare's work bearing a sixteenth-century date; indeed there are none such in any library open to the public in New York City. The last volume displayed is a copy of the fourth collected edition of the plays, published in 1685.

Shakespeare the Poet

The Bard's first appearance in print was as a poet rather than as a dramatist. *Venus and Adonis,* 1593, preceded *Titus Andronicus,* which some scholars rule out of the Shakespeare canon, by a year and *Richard II* by four. Shakespeare's reputation as a poet was enhanced by *The Rape of Lucrece,* which like *Venus and Adonis* was erotic in tone and sensuous in language. So great was Shakespeare's popularity that his poems were published without authorization, as were the *Sonnets,* 1609, and poems not his were ascribed to him, as were *The Passionate Pilgrim,* 1599, and *Love's Martyr,* 1601.

The Rape of Lucrece. Newly Revised. London: By T[homas] S[nodham] for Roger Jackson, 1616

Though *The Rape of Lucrece* was first published in 1594, the Library possesses a copy of the fifth edition only, dated 1616, the year of Shakespeare's death. Somehow fewer copies of this edition are known to have survived than of the first printing.

Like *Venus and Adonis, The Rape of Lucrece* is dedicated to Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, one of the many figures identified with the "Fair Friend" of Shakespeare's sonnets. Though the poet's name did not appear on the title page of *Venus* or of *Lucrece,* it was signed in full to the dedications.

Poems. London: By Tho[mas] Cotes, and are to be sold by John Benson, 1640

Not all the poems in this collection are by Shakespeare, despite the statement on the title page. The volume gathers together poems which had appeared in *The Passionate Pilgrim* in 1599 (by Shakespeare, Christopher Marlowe, Sir Walter Raleigh, and others); almost all the sonnets by Shakespeare which had been published in 1609; songs from his *Measure for Measure* and *As You Like It*; and even the famous "Epitaph" on Shakespeare by John Milton. It omits, however, the two long narrative poems, *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*. It is therefore a first collection of Shakespeare's poetry without being the collected poems.

The engraved frontispiece in *Poems*, 1640, is the second likeness of Shakespeare to appear in a book. It is by William Marshall and is an adaptation of the famous engraved portrait by Martin Droeshout from the title page of the collected plays, 1623, known as the First Folio. The verses beneath the Marshall engraving are adapted from the eighty-line poem by Ben Jonson, "To the memory of my beloved, The Author Mr. William Shakespeare," which was printed in full in both the First and Second Folios before *Poems*, 1640, and repeated afterwards in the Third and Fourth Folios.

Another copy of the *Poems*, 1640, is opened to show two famous Elizabethan poems which are printed as if they were Shakespeare's. "The Passionate shepheard to his Love" is actually by Christopher Marlowe, and the companion piece, "The Nimphs reply to the Shepheard," is by Sir Walter Raleigh.

Shakespeare the Dramatist

Though it is the seventeenth-century collections of Shakespeare's plays that are famous as the folio editions, some seventeen plays had been previously and separately published. The separate publications were sold for sixpence. They are called the quarto editions and were reprinted often after the collected editions started appearing. It was only in the quarto editions that his plays were published during Shakespeare's lifetime. It is not known exactly how the printers obtained the texts — by reports from memory, by assembling actors' parts, by stenographic notes during performance. The quartos were not seen through the press by the dramatist himself. Some are great rarities, far more so than even the first folio edition.

(The words folio and quarto are printing terms and refer to the make-up of a book. A folio edition is one in which each large sheet of paper is so printed on both sides that when folded once it makes up four pages of printed text. In a quarto edition each sheet is so printed on both sides that when folded twice it makes up eight pages of printed text.)

The New York Public Library has put on display a total of forty-five Shakespearian quartos, of which three are first printings. Thirty-two represent sixteen undisputed plays. Fourteen of these quartos were printed before 1623; seven between 1623 and 1632; ten between 1632 and 1663; and one between 1663 and 1685. In addition there are quarto printings of seven plays mistakenly attributed to Shakespeare and of one play of disputed attribution. Five adaptations of his work are also represented in quarto. All this material was printed in the seventeenth century.

On display are two copies of the First Folio; four copies of the Second; five copies of the Third; and two copies of the Fourth. Many of these are not duplications but variants.

The arrangement of all these items is, in general, according to the date at which a given play was first printed in quarto, though in most examples the Library does not have the first quarto.

●

The Tragedie of King Richard the Second: With new additions of the Parliament Sceane, and the deposing of King Richard. London: For Mathew Law, 1615

In *Richard II* many critics feel that Shakespeare, working in 1595 on his own without an earlier play as model, first showed his power as a writer of historical plays. It was the first play undisputedly by him to be published, though it does not carry his name on the title page of the first quarto, 1597. Presumably it was still the reputation of the play and not of the author that sold the printed book. The fifth quarto, shown here, is declared to be "by William Shakespeare," a statement made on the title page of the second quarto.

The deposition scene was omitted in the first three quartos for political reasons growing out of the insubordination of the Earl of Essex, who was beheaded in 1601. Any suggestion that royalty could be deposed was dangerous. The scene was included in the fourth quarto.

The Tragedie of King Richard the third. London: By Thomas Creede, and are to be sold by Mathew Lawe, 1612

Richard III is generally believed to have been written in 1593, a couple of years before *Richard II*. When the first quarto of the former was published in 1597, Shakespeare's name did not appear on the title page. It was added in the second quarto and is, of course, present in the fifth, shown here.

Richard III is one of the plays that is supposed to have been based upon an earlier anonymous play, in this case *The True Tragedy of Richard III*. The influence of Marlowe's tragedies also has been seen in the larger-than-life scale of the central character and in the rhetorical verse.

The History of King Henrie the fourth. London: By W[illiam] W[hite] for Mathew Law, 1613

The first part of *Henry IV* was published without Shakespeare's name on the title page in a quarto edition in 1598, the year after it was written. Perhaps the popularity of the play accounts for the survival of relatively few copies of the quarto editions. The copy displayed here is the fifth, published in 1613, the year the Globe Theatre, where so many of Shakespeare's plays had their debut, was burned.

The most excellent Historie of the Merchant of Venice. London: By J[ames] R[oberts] for Thomas Heyes, 1600

The Merchant of Venice is believed to have been written in 1595–96, and in 1596 Shakespeare's young son Hamnet died. The play shows the dramatist as master of comedy with serious overtones, just as *A Midsummer Night's Dream* proved him a master of light comedy. It has been surmised that *The Merchant of Venice* was based upon an anonymous lost play on the Shylock theme.

A copy of the first printing of the play is here displayed. It was only the second time (the first being the publication of *Love's Labor's Lost* in 1598) that Shakespeare's name had appeared on the title page of a first quarto. Perhaps the inclusion indicates the growing popularity of the author as a dramatist.

The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark. London: By W[illiam] S[tansby] for John Smethwicke, no date

Generally considered the greatest of Shakespeare's plays, *Hamlet* is thought to have been based on a lost play probably by Thomas Kyd. Shakespeare's play was first produced in 1602 and published in 1603 in a pirated quarto with his name on the title page. The 1603 quarto differs strikingly from the play as we know it. Another version, polished and augmented by almost half the length of the original, was played in 1603 and published in the quarto of 1604. The year 1603 saw the death of Queen Elizabeth in March and the arrival of James I in his new kingdom in May.

The fourth quarto shown here carries no date but is believed to have been issued in 1619. It has over one hundred lines which are not found in the text of the play in the First Folio, and the First Folio contains eighty-five lines not found in this quarto.

Shakespeare himself is traditionally connected as an actor with the role of the Ghost. No other play in English has exercised the fascination of *Hamlet* on both actors and audience.

True Chronicle Historie of the life and death of King Lear and his three Daughters. London: For Nathaniel Butter, 1608

Perhaps the most difficult of all Shakespeare's tragedies to produce, *King Lear* was written in 1605–1606 and performed at the court of King James I on December 26 1606. There existed an earlier anonymous play — *The True Chronicle History of King Leir and His Three Daughters* — from which the dramatist could have drawn much of his plot.

The true first quarto, of which a copy is displayed here, was published in 1608 and can be distinguished by the address of Nathaniel Butter in the imprint: ". . . and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Pide Bull neere St. Austins Gate." In 1608 John Milton, who was to write a poem in praise of Shakespeare, was born.

Existing copies of the "Pide Bull" edition of the 1608 quarto contain a mixture of uncorrected and corrected sheets. The errors suggest that the text from which type was set was "corrupt and mangled," as another Jacobean dramatist, Thomas Heywood, expressed it.

The Tragedy of Othello, The Moore of Venice. London: By N[icholas] O[kes] for Thomas Walkley, 1622

Othello is believed to have been written in 1604, and on November 1 it was acted before James I at Whitehall, the principal royal palace in London. Of all the tragedies it is perhaps the most human and is frequently called the most modern.

The play was not published during Shakespeare's lifetime. The first quarto, shown here, appeared only a year before the folio of 1623. The folio version contains passages not found in the quarto.

The Pavier Quartos

The Pavier Quartos are a group of separate printings of six plays by Shakespeare and three incorrectly attributed to him, which bear varied dates from 1600 to 1619, inclusive. Through the brilliant researches of A. W. Pollard and W. W. Greg it was established that all nine quartos were printed consecutively in 1619 with imprints that were intended to be inexact or deceptive. The printing was done by William Jaggard in conjunction with Thomas Pavier, and the men's purpose is still a mystery: perhaps it was to produce a one-volume selection of Shakespeare's plays. The selection seems to have been dictated by what they had some right to print and what they

thought they could print and get away with. It is to be observed that only two of these quartos carry a place of publication on the title page, and this omission suggests that a general title page for the collection may have been intended.

The Library owns a full run of the Pavier Quartos. They are not bound in one volume, as is the case with a few sets, but separately. Each of the indisputable plays of Shakespeare had been previously published, and they are exhibited here in order of their previous publication.

The Excellent History of the Merchant of Venice. [London] By J[ames] Roberts, 1600

The genuine first quarto of *The Merchant of Venice* was published by James Roberts for Thomas Heyes. In the impostor quarto Jaggard and Pavier used the name of the original printer but did not follow the normal Elizabethan practice of also giving his address or the name of the publisher and his address. The ornamental device on the title page was one that Jaggard was using around 1619. The typeface and layout of the title page and text were more in the style of 1619 than 1600. James Roberts, who had begun printing and publishing around 1564, had ceased his activity by 1606, and his stock passed into the possession of Jaggard; thus the latter had some slight explanation for the imprint he used in 1619.

The Jaggard and Pavier quarto is the second printing of *The Merchant of Venice.*

The Chronicle History of Henry the fift. [London] For T[homas] P[avier] 1608

The first quarto of *Henry V* had been printed by Thomas Creede for Thomas Millington and John Busby in 1600, and the second by Thomas Creede for Thomas Pavier in 1602. Pavier had acquired copyright in the play in August 1600. This may have given him an excuse for producing in 1619 a third quarto bearing his own initials but it does not explain the spurious date 1608.

The 1619 quarto is the earliest printing of *Henry V* in The New York Public Library.

A Midsommer nights dreame. [London] By James Roberts, 1600

The first quarto of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* had been published in 1600 with the imprint of Thomas Fisher "to be soulde at his shoppe, at the Signe of the White Harte, in Fleetestreete." On the title page of this impostor quarto of 1619 Jaggard used another of his own ornamental devices. This quarto is actually the second printing.

The 1619 quarto is the earliest of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in the Library. Written in 1594–95, the play demonstrates how early Shakespeare had control of the spirit of poetic comedy, which he had first attempted in *Love's Labor's Lost.*

A Most pleasant and excellent conceited Comedy, of Sir John Falstaffe, and the merry Wives of Windsor. [London] For Arthur Johnson, 1619

The first quarto of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* had been printed in 1602 by Thomas Creede, who died about 1616, for Arthur Johnson. It is felt that Johnson must have consented to the use of his name in the 1619 quarto, because he was active in the bookselling trade from 1602 to 1630 and could have made trouble over unauthorized exploitation. Perhaps this helps to account for the actual date's being given in Jaggard and Pavier's quarto — which was the second printing of the play.

The 1619 quarto is the earliest of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in the Library. The comedy is reputed to have been written in a fortnight in 1598 at the suggestion of Queen Elizabeth, who wished to see Falstaff in love. It was highly popular.

True Chronicle History of the life and death of King Lear, and his three Daughters. [London] For Nathaniel Butter, 1608

As with *The Merry Wives of Windsor* quarto of 1619, it is believed that Jaggard and Pavier must have reached an agreement with Nathaniel Butter, who was active as a bookseller between 1605 and 1664, about the use of his name. The date of the quarto of *King Lear* shown here — the second — is a deliberate imposition, for the pamphlet was not published till 1619. The imprint does not carry Butter's address, which can be observed in the genuine 1608 quarto of the play found earlier in this exhibition.

The Late, And much admired Play, Called, Pericles, Prince of Tyre. [London] For T[homas] P[avier] 1619

The fourth quarto of *Pericles* makes no spurious claims in its imprint. It had previously been published twice in 1609 and again in 1611. The play, it is believed, was written in 1599.

Pericles was not included by the editors in the First and Second Folios, and hence seems not to have been accepted by them as Shakespeare's. It was included in the folio of 1664 and 1685 and for more than a century there was controversy as to its genuineness. The last three acts are now credited to Shakespeare.

Jaggard and Pavier still further confused the situation by republishing at this time three other plays which they erroneously attributed to Shakespeare and which gained for generations a place in the Shakespeare canon. The 1619 reprints of *The Whole Contention between . . . Lancaster and Yorke, Sir John Oldcastle,* and *A Yorkshire Tragedie* helped to get those plays into the Third and Fourth Folios.

The Whole Contention betweene the two Famous Houses, Lancaster and Yorke. London: For T[homas] P[avier] [1619]

The quarto seen here introduces one of the most troubled questions of Shakespearean scholarship: what is the relationship between *The Whole Contention* and the three parts of *Henry VI,* and how much did Shakespeare have to do with the three parts of *Henry VI*?

To begin with, *The Whole Contention* is a combined reprint of two plays which had previously been published in quarto form: *The First part of the Contention betwixt the two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster,* 1594 and 1600; and *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke,* 1595 and 1600. In these early quartos neither of the plays was ascribed to Shakespeare; his authorship was first claimed by Jaggard and Pavier in 1619. It was long thought that these two plays had been used by Shakespeare as a basis for the second and third parts of *Henry VI,* which are believed to have been written between 1590 and 1592 and which had first been published entire in the folio of 1623.

For the last quarter century it has been generally agreed that the plays found in *The Whole Contention* combination of 1619 are garbled and condensed versions of *Henry VI, Parts Two and Three,* as later fully published in the First Folio. And it is also believed that Shakespeare contributed certain scenes to *Henry VI, Part One.* Consequently the plays found in *The Whole Contention* are in their quarto form first publications, though mutilated, of Shakespeare.

The first part Of the true & honorable history, of the Life of Sir John Oldcastle, the good Lord Cobham. London: For T[homas] P[avier] 1600

Sir John Oldcastle had first been printed as a quarto by Valentine Simmes for Thomas Pavier in 1600, at which time it was not attributed to Shakespeare. When Jaggard reprinted it for Pavier in the quarto of 1619 — of which a copy is displayed — they ascribed it to the popular

Shakespeare. The play was none of his, having been composed for a rival company in order to compete with the Falstaff plays.

Sir John Oldcastle, styled Lord Cobham, was an historical figure who contributed certain facts to the career of Sir John Falstaff. He is referred to obliquely in *Henry IV, Part One,* as "my old lad of the castle," but a correction is made in the "Epilogue": "Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man." Oldcastle was a friend, though not an intimate, of Prince Hal, later Henry V, and after an active life as a soldier and member of Parliament, he was persecuted for his Lollard religious views, and in 1417 was simultaneously hanged and burned.

A Yorkshire Tragedie. [London] For T[homas] P[avier] 1619

Shakespeare was claimed as the author of *A Yorkshire Tragedy* when it was first published by Thomas Pavier in a quarto printed by Richard Bradock in 1608. The claim was repeated in the second quarto edition, shown here, in 1619. Scholars believe that Shakespeare had nothing to do with the play but that Pavier attributed it to him because of his popularity.

The First Folio

Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies. Published according to the True Originall Copies. London: By Isaac Jaggard, and Ed[ward] Blount, 1623

The 1623 edition of Shakespeare's plays is the most famous and sought-after book in English literature. It is not precious because of its rarity: there are two hundred or more known copies in varying condition. The New York Public Library has six; the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D. C., has nearly eighty. It is coveted as the first book to gather together the work of the greatest dramatic poet that the English-speaking world has produced.

The Martin Droeshout engraving which ornaments the title page is the first portrait of Shakespeare to appear in print and has been accepted — however reluctantly — as a likeness. Ben Jonson's verses "To the Reader," which face it, declare that the artist has been successful, and Jonson knew Shakespeare well.

The Droeshout engraving should be compared with the adaptation made of it by William Marshall for the *Poems,* 1640, also in this exhibition.

—— Another copy

The 1623 folio is the first attempt to bring together a collected edition of Shakespeare's dramatic work. The men who did the work of a modern editor were John Heminge and Henry Condell, who had acted with Shakespeare and like him owned shares in the Globe Theater. The printing was done by the Jaggards, William and his son Isaac, though the father's name does not appear on the title page. It was William Jaggard who had recently been engaged in the embryonic and questionable selection of Shakespearean plays known as the Pavier Quartos. Edward Blount, who is referred to on the title page as if he were a printer, was in actuality a bookseller, and two other booksellers, John Smethwick and William Aspley, shared with Blount and William Jaggard the financial risks and responsibility for distribution of the volume. The colophon reads: "Printed at the Charges of W. Jaggard, Ed. Blount, I. Smithweeke, and W. Aspley, 1623." The volume sold for 20 shillings a copy.

This copy of the First Folio is opened to the table of contents, "a Catalogue of the several Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies contained in this Volume." Thirty-five plays are listed, but thirty-six are included: *Troilus and Cressida* became available only at the last moment and was literally introduced during printing. Sixteen of them had already appeared as quartos — of which eleven are found in this exhibition. Twenty had not been published before. And only one additional play — *Pericles* — has been accepted as surely belonging in the Shakespeare canon.

The editors are believed to have taken their texts occasionally from quartos where they existed, but even with such plays and certainly with those hitherto unpublished they are thought to have used playhouse manuscripts of the text — "the True Originall Copies" of the title page. The text of eight of the quartos has been much improved in the First Folio. None of these

manuscripts survives. The editors exercised care in seeing the text through the press: many corrections were made, and these account for the varieties of corrected and uncorrected sheets found in copies of the First Folio.

Quartos Between 1623 and 1632

The Tragedie of King Richard the Third. London: By John Norton, and are to be sold by Mathew Law, 1629

The publication of the First Folio — indeed, of all the folios — stimulated interest in bringing out new quartos of plays that had already been issued in that form and in bringing out quartos of plays that had first appeared in the folio of 1623. The effect was, of course, greater in the case of some plays than of others.

There was only one quarto edition of *Richard III* between 1623 and 1632, that of 1629 shown here. This seventh quarto was the first to be printed by John Norton, who belonged to a well-known family of printers and publishers in Tudor and Stuart times. John Norton was in business between 1621 and 1640 and seems to have been the grandson of William Norton. The latter was one of the original freemen of the Stationers' Company that was chartered in 1557 to regulate printing in England.

The Merry Wives of Windsor. London: By T[homas] H[arper] for R[ichard] Meighen, 1630

This third quarto edition of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was the only printing of the play in quarto form following the publication of the First Folio; indeed, it was the last separate edition in the seventeenth century. The name of Richard Meighen the bookseller will become familiar in connection with the publication of the Second Folio in 1632.

The Tragoedy of Othello, The Moore of Venice. London: By A. M[athewes] for Richard Hawkins, 1630

The second quarto of *Othello*, of which a copy is shown here, was the only printing of the play between the First and Second Folios. It must have been issued in quantity, for it is far from scarce. Thirty-four copies at least have been recorded.

The Late, And much admired Play, Called Pericles, Prince of Tyre. London: By J[ohn] N[orton] for R[obert] Bird, 1630

Pericles was a popular play, and a quarto, the fifth, was published in 1630. There are two issues of the 1630 quarto, of which both are shown here. One is without and the other is with the address for Bird. The latter issue places his shop "in Cheapside, at the signe of the Bible." Both are the work of the printer John Norton.

Loves Labours lost. London: By W[illiam] S[tansby] for John Smethwicke, 1631

Love's Labor's Lost may be the first comedy that Shakespeare wrote, for the composition is ascribed to 1591 and placed ahead of *A Comedy of Errors*. It was printed only twice in quarto form: the 1598 quarto, the first play of Shakespeare's to bear his name from the beginning; and the 1631 quarto, over thirty years later. It was not published again in quarto form in the seventeenth century.

The plot of *Love's Labor's Lost* is believed to be entirely original with Shakespeare.

A Wittie and Pleasant Comedie Called The Taming of the Shrew. London: By W[illiam] S[heares?] for John Smethwicke, 1631

The Taming of the Shrew was not published in quarto form until after its appearance in the First Folio. This is the only quarto edition of the play in the seventeenth century.

The Second Folio

Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. Published according to the true Originall Copies. The second Impression. London: By Tho[mas] Cotes, for Robert Allot, 1632

The 1632 edition of Shakespeare's dramatic works—known as the Second Folio—reprints the text of the First Folio, but it is not a page-by-page facsimile of that volume. It also includes three commemorative poems not published in 1623 as well as all those that were. The most famous addition, though unsigned, is John Milton's great "Epitaph on the admirable Dramaticke Poet W. Shakespeare." The titles of some of the plays are rendered differently in "A Catalogue": *Othello,* for instance, is listed only as *The Moore of Venice. Troylus and Cressida* heads the tragedies, though today it is usually classified as a comedy.

The colophon reads differently and reveals the changes that had taken place in the ownership of Shakespearean copyrights since 1623: "Printed at London by Thomas Cotes, for John Smethwick, William Aspley, Richard Hawkins, Richard Meighen, and Robert Allot, 1632." The two Jaggards, William and his son Isaac, and Blount and Pavier were dead. Thomas and Richard Cotes purchased the Jaggard interest and the Pavier interest, and Robert Allot purchased the Blount interest. Smethwick and Aspley retained their rights, and two other booksellers, who owned a play apiece, joined the combine.

This time each bookseller subscribed to a given number of copies and the imprint of those copies carried only his name. Allot was the principal publisher, and the Allot title page is the most common. The New York Public Library has four of these variants and lacks only the rarest: the Meighen imprint. The addresses of the booksellers suggest a day far removed from the uniformity of the chain bookstore.

Here is a variant copy of the 1632 folio, "Printed by Tho. Cotes, for Iohn Smethwick, . . . to be sold at his shop in St. Dunstans Church-yard."

Smethwick had taken part in the selling of Shakespeare since he issued the third quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* in 1609 from the same address. He also had published a quarto of *Hamlet* in 1611 before he became involved in the venture of the folios.

On display is another variant copy of the 1632 folio, "Printed by Tho. Cotes, for William Aspley, . . . to be sold at the signe of the Parrat in Pauls Church-yard."

William Aspley had been one of the three booksellers — the others being Thomas Thorpe and John Wright — who had been associated with the first printing of Shakespeare's sonnets in 1609. Before that he had also joined in publishing the first quartos of *Henry IV, Part II,* and *Much Ado about Nothing,* both in 1600.

Here is found a fourth variant of the 1632 folio, "Printed by Tho. Cotes, for Richard Hawkins, . . . to be sold at his shop in Chancery Lane, neere Serjeants Inne."

The title page in this copy suffered an accident in the press: some of the printing is out of register, notably the word London.

Hawkins was a comparative newcomer to the publishing of Shakespeare. He had published the second quarto of *Othello* in 1630.

Quartos Between 1632 and 1663

The Life and Death of King Richard the Second. With new Additions of the Parliament Scene, and the Deposing of King Richard. London: By John Norton, 1634

Between the publication of the Second Folio and the outbreak of open revolt against the political principles of the Stuart kings there was some reissuing of Shakespeare's plays in separate quartos. *Richard II* was ever popular and reached three quartos bearing sixteenth-century and seven quartos bearing seventeenth-century dates. This copy of the eighth quarto is one with the ornamental type initial at the beginning of the first scene, which is sometimes

considered an earlier state than that without the ornament. They were both the work of John Norton, the printer.

The text of this edition was printed from the Second Folio, and thus demonstrates the consecutive line connecting so many of the editions of Shakespeare's plays.

The Tragedie of King Richard the Third. London: By John Norton, 1634

This eighth quarto of *Richard III* was the last separate printing of the play in the seventeenth century. It was the second separate edition published by John Norton.

The Late, And much admired Play, called Pericles, Prince of Tyre. London: By Thomas Cotes, 1635

Another quarto edition of *Pericles* — the sixth — was published between the Second and Third Folios. This was the last separate printing in the seventeenth century.

The Most Excellent And Lamentable Tragedie of Romeo and Juliet. London: By R[obert] Young for John Smethwicke, 1637

Romeo and Juliet, which is believed to have been written in 1594–95, is, according to some scholars, who repudiate *Titus Andronicus,* the first tragedy Shakespeare ever wrote and certainly the first in which he was unimpeded by an earlier model. *Romeo and Juliet,* however, shows copious indication of having been revised by Shakespeare. It was pirated for publication in quarto form, without Shakespeare's name on the title page, in 1597.

The Library owns no quarto edition of *Romeo and Juliet* before the fifth, shown here, the last edition published in the seventeenth century. Shakespeare's name was not used on the title page until the fourth quarto, which appeared after the publication of the First and Second Folios.

The Tragedy of Hamlet Prince of Denmark. London: By R[obert] Young for John Smethwicke, 1637

Altogether there were some ten quarto editions of *Hamlet* in the seventeenth century, some in two issues. The quarto of 1637 is known as the fifth. The five later quarto editions of *Hamlet* are not in the Library.

The most excellent Historie of the Merchant of Venice. London: By M[armaduke] P[arsons?] for Laurence Hayes, 1637

The third quarto edition of *The Merchant of Venice* has an unusual publication history. The first issue, of which a copy is seen here, appeared fifteen years before the second issue of the same printing.

The Historie of Henry the Fourth. London: By John Norton, and are to be sold by Hugh Perry, 1639

Copies of this eighth quarto edition of *Henry IV, Part One,* are plentiful. It is a line for line reprint of the seventh quarto, which had been brought out in 1632 also by John Norton. Norton republished many of the plays in quarto form after the appearance of the First Folio in 1623.

The quarto of *Henry IV,* 1639, is the last to appear in the seventeenth century.

The most excellent Historie of the Merchant of Venice. London: For William Leake, 1652

The unsold sheets of the 1637 quarto edition of *The Merchant of Venice* were reissued in 1652 with the new title page seen here. It is the last quarto of the play issued in the seventeenth century. On the verso of the 1652 title page William Leak printed a list of books which he produced and sold — a heterogeneous mixture of religious, legal, mathematical, and dramatic publications.

True Chronicle History of the life and death of King Lear, and his three Daughters. London: By Jane Bell, 1655

The 1655 or third quarto of *King Lear* was printed and published by a woman, Jane Bell, one of the few who issued plays by or ascribed to Shakespeare. Jane Bell, who was in business between 1650 and 1659, was the successor and probably widow to Moses Bell "at the East-end of Christ-Church." Her "list" was largely literary.

There were three more quarto editions of *King Lear* — in 1681, 1689, and 1699 — none of which is in the Library.

The Tragoedy of Othello, The Moore of Venice. London: For William Leak, 1655

Though William Leak called this printing "the fourth Edition" on his title page, it is actually the third separate printing. The play had also appeared in the First and Second Folios.

Leak was fond of printing catalogues of his publications in his productions. The list in the 1655 *Othello* mentions *The Merchant of Venice* and is double the length of the list in the 1652 *Merchant*. It also mentions *Hen. the Fourth,* though there seems to be no record of an edition of either Part I or Part II of the Shakespeare play published by William Leak (or Leake), Senior or Junior.

The Third Folio

Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. Published according to the true Original Copies. The Third Impression. London: For Philip Chetwinde, 1663

The mid-seventeenth century in England was a troubled period. The decades from 1640 to 1660 saw the struggle of Stuart Divine Right with the will of Parliament, the outbreak of the Civil War, and the closing of the theaters in 1642, the execution of Charles I in 1649, the Commonwealth, the proclaiming of Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector, the Restoration of Charles II, and the reopening of the theaters in 1660. The times were not propitious for the theater or for expensive publishing ventures. Over thirty years elapsed between the appearance of the Second and Third Folios.

The Third Folio presents some particularly interesting aspects of mid-seventeenth century publishing and editing. In all copies the preliminaries are the same as in the Second Folio, though in a slightly different order. The text of the plays is also reprinted from the earlier folios. The Third Folio is found in two issues, the earlier of which, seen here, has Shakespeare's portrait by Droeshout and the date 1663 on the title page.

There are some copies of the 1663 issue, of which one is also shown here, in which the place intended for the portrait was left blank for some uncertain reason. Were blank title pages awaiting the engraving issued inadvertently? Was the engraved plate lost and were copies issued incomplete to avoid delay? Was the engraving left off because of deterioration of the plate? Are these blank title pages a transition to the 1664 issue of the Third Folio?

The legend is that the Third Folio is the rarest of the four because so many copies were burned in the Great Fire of London in 1666.

Mr. William Shakespear's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. Published according to the true Original Copies. The third Impression. And unto this Impression is added seven Playes, never before Printed in Folio. London: For P[hilip] C[hetwinde] 1664

In the later issue of the Third Folio, dated 1664, changes were made, some slight and some important. The Droeshout portrait has been moved for the first time to face the title page and has Jonson's "To the Reader" below it. Its place has been taken on the title page by a list of the seven new plays. All of these had appeared in quarto editions prior to 1623 but had been rejected by the editors of the First Folio. Only one of these plays has been finally accepted as being partly by Shakespeare: *Pericles Prince of Tyre.* The other six have been discarded as faulty attributions.

Philip Chetwinde, the principal publisher of the Third Folio, seems to have done the editorial work. At first he merely reprinted what he found in the First and Second Folios. Then he seems to have planned to add only *Pericles* when he decided to reissue the unused sheets of his 1663 printing with a new title page dated 1664. *Pericles* has pagination and signatures individual to itself. Finally he added the other six plays, which are paginated and signed as a unit.

Between 1595 and 1609 these plays had all been openly or ambiguously presented as by William Shakespeare, as will be seen from the title pages of three of them in first quarto editions in this exhibition. The New York Public Library also has two of them in the 1619 Pavier Quartos: *Sir John Oldcastle*, first published anonymously in 1600, and *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, first published as "by W. Shakespeare" in 1608. Pavier attributed them directly to William Shakespeare in 1619.

Attributions

The London Prodigall. By William Shakespeare. London: By T[homas] C[reede] for Nathaniel Butter, 1605

Though Shakespeare was directly credited with the authorship of *The London Prodigal* even in his own lifetime, the play is no longer believed to be his. It was reprinted anonymously in a quarto in 1673.

Beside the quarto edition of *The London Prodigal* is a copy of the 1664 edition of Shakespeare's collected works. It is open to the addendum of attributed plays bound up at the back and shows that here *The London Prodigal* is also identified as "written by William Shakespeare." This attribution had been repeated in the case of *Pericles*, which is bound in just ahead and which offers the additional information that it was published in Shakespeare's lifetime.

The True Chronicle Historie of the whole life and death of Thomas Lord Cromwell. . . . Written by W. S. London: For William Jones, 1602

This is the first printing of *Thomas Lord Cromwell*. The quarto of 1602 thus appeared during Shakespeare's lifetime, and the attribution to W. S. could be interpreted as the reader desired. In 1619 Pavier declared it to be "written by William Shakespeare." Chetwinde assigned the play to Shakespeare. Present-day scholars believe the initials stand for some other, forgotten dramatist.

Beside the quarto edition of *Thomas Lord Cromwell* is a copy of the Third Folio open to the added plays to show that in this case the attribution to Shakespeare is not repeated. Nor does the attribution appear in the addendum with *Sir John Oldcastle, The Puritan, A Yorkshire Tragedy,* or *Locrine*. The omission probably has no significance except as an example of inconsistent editing.

The Puritaine. Or The Widdow of Watling-streete. Written by W. S. London: By G[eorge] Eld, 1607

The Puritaine is another play which in the first printing was attributed to the ambiguous W. S. It was not reprinted again until Chetwinde included it in the Third Folio and it was never reprinted separately.

The Two Noble Kinsmen: . . . Written by the memorable Worthies of their time; Mr. John Fletcher, and Mr. William Shakspeare. Gent. London: By Tho[mas] Cotes, for John Waterson, 1634

In 1664 there were plays attributed to Shakespeare that were not included by Philip Chetwinde in the third collected edition of his plays. Three of these are here displayed, of which *The Noble Kinsmen* is now sometimes accepted and more often rejected as his work. It is not disputed that the greater part of the play is the work of John Fletcher (1579–1625), who is best known for his collaboration with Francis Beaumont (1584–1616). The play would have been written after 1611 or 1612, when Beaumont retired, and the composition has been assigned

to 1612–1613 by those who accept Shakespeare as the author of the part not by Fletcher. This has been warmly disputed and Beaumont, George Chapman (1559?–1634), or Philip Massinger (1583–1640) has been advanced as Fletcher's collaborator.

The Two Noble Kinsmen was first published in 1634 in a quarto edition, of which a copy in very poor condition is shown here. It was not reprinted in the seventeenth century.

The Birth of Merlin: Or, The Childe hath found his Father. . . . Written by William Shakespear, and William Rowley. London: By Tho[mas] Johnson for Francis Kirkman, and Henry Marsh, 1662

There has never been any doubt among recent scholars that Shakespeare had no part in *The Birth of Merlin.* It is believed that the play could not have been written before 1622 and that it is by William Rowley (1585?–1642?) alone.

The Birth of Merlin was first published in the quarto edition shown here and not reprinted in the seventeenth century.

A Most pleasant Comedy of Mucedorus The King's Son of Valentia, and Amadine the King's Daughter of Aragon. London: By E. O. for Francis Coles, 1668

Mucedorus has been described as the most popular of Elizabethan comedies. The earliest existing edition of the play is a quarto of 1598, which, since it is described as "newly set forth," may not be the first printing. There were thirteen printings before 1640 and the closing of the theaters, and three more before the end of the seventeenth century. The quarto of 1668 shown here is the last printing.

Mucedorus was for a while attributed to Shakespeare, though now it is accepted that he had nothing to do with it. It is currently ascribed to Robert Greene (1560?–1592).

Adaptations

When the theaters reopened early in the reign of Charles II after a twenty year official closing, taste had changed. The most obvious change was that actresses superseded boys in the female roles. This innovation occurred when a Mrs Margaret Hughes acted the part of Desdemona in Shakespeare's *Othello* on December 8 1660. Shakespeare, moreover, was still popular but was considered a little old-fashioned. Some acting companies felt both his comedies and tragedies needed to be brought up to date. Numerous plays of his kept the boards but sometimes kept them in altered form. Gradually some of the adaptations supplanted the originals.

Here are shown several examples of such adaptations, all of which precede the publication of the folio of 1685. It is interesting to observe that despite the liberties being taken with Shakespeare the booksellers involved in the Fourth Folio still felt an edition of the original texts was called for and worth the financial risk.

[John Dryden and Sir William Davenant] The Tempest, or the Enchanted Island. London: By J[ohn] M[artyn] for Henry Herringman, 1670

Though this was not the first adaptation of Shakespeare — *The English Princess, or, the Death of Richard III* appeared in 1667 — *The Tempest* was extremely popular. Neither Shake-

speare nor the adaptors are mentiond on the title page of the first quarto, shown here. Dryden, however, signed the preface.

John Dryden (1631–1700) was the great poet, dramatist, and critic of the latter part of the seventeenth century and was made poet laureate in the year this adaptation was published. He also based plays, but not in detail, on *Anthony and Cleopatra* and on *Troilus and Cressida*. Sir William Davenant (1606–1668) died two years before the publication of this adaptation of *The Tempest*. He was a minor poet who was widely believed to be Shakespeare's illegitimate son.

The poets made considerable alterations in Shakespeare's plot and language. Miranda is supplied with a sister, Dorinda, for instance, and Sycorax is introduced into the action as Caliban's sister. Some scenes are taken over more or less intact, as those with Ariel and with Caliban. But even in these Dryden could not avoid altering Shakespeare's lines: "This music crept by me upon the waters" became, "This musick hover'd o're me on the waters."

[John Dryden, Sir William Davenant, and Thomas Shadwell] The Tempest, or the Enchanted Island. London: By T[homas] N[ewcomb] for Henry Herringman, 1674

This quarto, which indicated no authorship, introduced into *The Tempest* a secondary set of alterations made by Thomas Shadwell (1642?–1692) in the changes already made by Dryden and Davenant. Differences begin to occur in the first few speeches and reach their maximum at the end of the fifth act, into which Shadwell has introduced a masque.

It was the Dryden-Davenant-Shadwell text of *The Tempest* that was reprinted in the other seventeenth-century editions, in which Henry Herringman was a dominant publisher. This text, furthermore, was popular until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Shadwell and Dryden were later to fall out and to engage in a famous literary quarrel. The younger poet succeeded the elder as poet laureate.

[Sir William Davenant] Macbeth. . . . With all the Alterations, Amendments, Additions, and New Songs. London: For P[hilip] Chetwin, 1674

The first separate printing of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* was not published until 1673, and Sir William Davenant's version appeared the very next year in the second separate edition, shown here. It is to be observed that Philip Chetwinde had been the publisher of the Third Folio. Davenant, whose name does not appear in the volume, had begun his adaptation in 1666, adding songs which were printed in the first quarto, and altering the text and adding more lyrics to the play as printed here in the second quarto.

A telling example of the liberties taken by Davenant can be found in his alteration of Macbeth's famous elegy on his wife:

> "She should have Di'd hereafter,
> I brought Her here, to see my Victines, not to Die.
> To Morrow, to Morrow, and to Morrow
> Creeps in a stealing pace from Day to Day,
> To the last Minute of Recorded Time:
> And all our Yesterdays have lighted Fools
> To their Eternal Homes: Out, out that Candle. . . ."

John Crowne. The Misery of Civil-War. London: For R[ichard] Bentley, and M. Magnes, 1680

John Crowne wrote two plays which he based upon, and in which he borrowed from, Shakespeare's *Henry VI*. The earlier of these is shown here in the first printing. *The Misery of Civil-War* is in debt to *Henry VI, Parts Two and Three*.

Crowne, who died in 1712, had been carried as a boy by his father to Nova Scotia. The family not prospering, he returned to England and made a successful career as poet and dramatist.

John Crowne. Henry the Sixth, The First Part. London: For R[ichard] Bentley, and M. Magnes, 1681

Crowne's later play is unequivocally called *Henry the Sixth.* Though he minimized his debt to Shakespeare in the dedication of his play "To Sir Charles Sidley [Sedley]," who himself had based a play on *Antony and Cleopatra,* later critics have felt that he owed a good deal to *Henry VI, Part Two.* He has condensed and abbreviated the original.

Julius Caesar. London: By H. H. Jun[ior] for Hen[ry] Herringman and R[ichard] Bentley . . . and sold by Joseph Knight and Francis Saunders, no date

Certain of Shakespeare's genuine plays were issued first in quarto editions after they had been published in the First Folio. *The Taming of the Shrew* appeared between the First and Second Folios; *Macbeth* and *Julius Caesar* appeared between the Third and Fourth Folios.

The first quarto of *Julius Caesar* is dated 1684 and the sixth and last 1691. Four intermediate printings are undated but distinguishable. On the ground of page 15 being wrongly numbered 51 the copy shown here is identified as the fourth quarto. But the exact date of printing has not been determined; 1684 and 1688 have both been advanced.

The Fourth Folio

Mr. William Shakespear's Comedies, Histories, And Tragedies. Published according to the true Original Copies. Unto which is added, Seven Plays, Never before Printed in Folio. The Fourth Edition. London: For H[enry] Herringman, E[dward] Brewster, and R[ichard] Bentley, 1685

The last collected edition of Shakespeare's plays in the seventeenth century was published nearly a quarter century after the Third Folio. The Fourth Folio is a textual reprint of the Third. Even the statement that the seven new plays had never been printed in folio is uncritically lifted from the 1664 title page.

By 1685 a considerable portion of the copyright in each of Shakespeare's plays seems to have belonged to Henry Herringman, who was active as a bookseller between 1653 and 1693 and whose name has appeared in several imprints in this exhibition. Joining him in the venture of the Fourth Folio were other booksellers with smaller copyright shares: Edward Brewster, Richard Bentley, Richard Chiswell, Joseph Knight, and Francis Saunders. There are three variant readings of the imprint including Herringman's name in each combined with two more or less alphabetical groupings of the other shareholders.

By far the most common of the imprints is seen here in the copy bearing the names of Herringman, Brewster, and Bentley.

Another variant, not owned by The New York Public Library, contains the names of Herringman, Brewster, Bentley, and Richard Chiswell.

The third variant, here displayed, carries the names of Herringman, Knight, and Saunders.

The two title pages found here differ in other small details, notably the type ornament and the brackets on the list of new plays. There was also a reprinting of several sheets that produced irregular combinations of old and new pages.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

President, GILBERT W. CHAPMAN
First Vice-President, ROY E. LARSEN
Second Vice-President, JOHN M. SCHIFF
Secretary, BETHUEL M. WEBSTER
Treasurer, GRANT KEEHN
Assistant Treasurer, UNITED STATES TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK
Director, EDWARD G. FREEHAFER
MRS VINCENT ASTOR
C. WALLER BARRETT
ROSWELL GILPATRIC
MORRIS HADLEY
ARTHUR A. HOUGHTON, JR
DONALD F. HYDE
DEVEREUX C. JOSEPHS
MRS MILLICENT C. McINTOSH
NEWBOLD MORRIS
THOMAS L. PERKINS
ROLAND L. REDMOND
DAVID A. SHEPARD
FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN
NORMAN H. STROUSE
WALTER N. THAYER
MRS ARNOLD WHITRIDGE

THE MAYOR, THE COMPTROLLER, AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, *ex officio*

HONORARY TRUSTEE
ELIHU ROOT, JR

STAFF OFFICERS

DIRECTOR, Edward G. Freehafer
DEPUTY DIRECTOR, John Mackenzie Cory
ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR, James Wood Henderson (Acting)
CONTROLLER, Mrs Angela M. Lyons
EXECUTIVE OFFICER, Bayard Schiefflelin
CHIEF OF THE PERSONNEL OFFICE, Alan L. Heyneman
CHIEF OF THE PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICE, Miss Marion L. Simmons

REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

Central Building, Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street. Annex, 521 West 43rd Street
JAMES WOOD HENDERSON, Chief

EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT, Gilbert A. Cam
AMERICAN HISTORY AND GENEALOGY DIVISION, Gerald D. McDonald, Chief
ANNEX REFERENCE SERVICES, 521 West 43rd Street, Saro John Riccardi, Chief
ARENTS COLLECTIONS, John D. Gordan, Acting Chief
ART AND ARCHITECTURE DIVISION. Karl Kup, Chief
BERG COLLECTION, John D. Gordan, Chief
BOOK DELIVERY DIVISION, David C. Maclay, Chief
DANCE COLLECTION, Miss Genevieve Oswald, Curator
ECONOMICS DIVISION, John Fall, Chief
INFORMATION DIVISION, Archibald P. DeWeese, Chief
JEWISH DIVISION, Abraham Berger, Chief
MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, Robert W. Hill, Keeper of Manuscripts
MAP DIVISION, Gerard L. Alexander, Chief
MUSIC DIVISION, Philip L. Miller, Chief
ORIENTAL DIVISION, John L. Mish, Chief
PERIODICALS DIVISION, Barron M. Franz, Chief
PREPARATION DIVISION, Joseph A. Rosenthal, Chief
PRINTS DIVISION, Karl Kup, Chief
RARE BOOK DIVISION, Lewis M. Stark, Chief
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY DIVISION, George S. Bonn, Chief
SLAVONIC DIVISION, John L. Mish, Chief
SPENCER COLLECTION, Karl Kup, Adviser
THEATRE COLLECTION, George Freedley, Curator

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

Headquarters: Donnell Library Center, 20 West 53rd Street, New York, N. Y. 10019
MRS JEAN ORTH GODFREY, Chief

ASSISTANT CHIEF, Miss Mary Dana
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES, Mrs Julia Brody, Coordinator
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT, Mrs Dorothy Homer
TECHNICAL SERVICES, Mrs Sydney G. Marcu, Coordinator
ADULT SERVICES, Miss Katherine L. O'Brien, Coordinator
CHILDREN'S SERVICES, Mrs Augusta Baker, Coordinator
YOUNG ADULT SERVICES, Miss Margaret Scoggin, Coordinator
MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES & RECORDS CENTER, James Katsaros, Administrator

Circulation Department, *continued*

List of Branches and Librarians

MANHATTAN

COORDINATOR, Miss Casindania Eaton

ASSISTANT COORDINATOR, Walter Roziewski

AGUILAR. 174 East 110th Street.
Miss Marie Ferrigno

BLOOMINGDALE REGIONAL. 150 West 100th Street.
Miss Erna Obermeier

CATHEDRAL. 564 Lexington Avenue.
Robert Powers

CENTRAL CHILDREN'S ROOM. Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street.
Miss Maria Cimino

CENTRAL CIRCULATION. Fifth Ave. & 42nd St.
Miss Mary C. Hatch

CHATHAM SQUARE. 33 East Broadway.
Miss Virginia Swift

COLUMBIA. Room 101, Butler Lib., Col. Univ.
John Slade

COLUMBUS. 742 Tenth Avenue.
Miss Eliza Perry

COUNTEE CULLEN REGIONAL. 104 West 136th Street.
Miss Esther Walls

DONNELL LIBRARY CENTER. 20 West 53rd Street.
Miss Loda Hopkins

EPIPHANY. 228 East 23rd Street.
Miss Regina Sludock

FIFTY-EIGHTH STREET. 127 East 58th Street.
Raymond Harris

FORT WASHINGTON REGIONAL. 535 West 179th Street.
Mrs Winifred Carruthers

GEORGE BRUCE. 518 West 125th Street.
Howard Rickert

HAMILTON FISH PARK. 415 East Houston St.
Mrs Mary Pieper

HAMILTON GRANGE. 503 West 145th Street.
Mrs Dorothy Pitman

HARLEM LIBRARY. 9 West 124th Street.
Mrs Rosa C. Brown

HUDSON PARK. 10 Seventh Avenue South.
Mrs Alice Vielehr

INWOOD REGIONAL. 4790 Broadway.
Miss Clara Rees

JACKSON SQUARE. 251 West 13th Street.
Miss Ruth Shinnamon

LIBRARY FOR THE BLIND. 166 Avenue of the Americas.
Miss Charlotte C. Harrison

MACOMB'S BRIDGE. 2650 Seventh Avenue.

MUHLENBERG. 209 West 23rd Street.
Miss Alice McQuaid

MUNICIPAL REFERENCE LIBRARY. 2230 Municipal Building.
Eugene Bockman

Public Health Division. 125 Worth Street. Room 224

MUSIC LIBRARY. 127 East 58th Street.
Mrs Catharine K. Miller

NATHAN STRAUS. 20 West 53rd Street.
Miss Elizabeth A. Boyle

NINETY-SIXTH STREET REGIONAL. 112 East 96th Street.
Miss Irene Patjens

115TH STREET. 203 West 115th Street.
Miss Anne Judge

125TH STREET. 224 East 125th Street.
Dale Middleton

OTTENDORFER. 135 Second Avenue.
Miss Mercy Kellogg

PICTURE COLLECTION. Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street.
Miss Romana Javitz

RIVERSIDE. 190 Amsterdam Avenue.
Miss Myrtle Reynolds

ST AGNES REGIONAL. 444 Amsterdam Ave.
Miss Dorothy Cobb

SCHOMBURG COLLECTION. 103 West 135th Street.
Mrs Jean Blackwell Hutson

SEWARD PARK. 192 East Broadway.
Miss Joan Treble

SIXTY-SEVENTH STREET. 328 East 67th St.
Mrs Margarethe Kortenbeutel Voorhis

TOMPKINS SQUARE REGIONAL. 331 East 10th Street.
Mrs Alice Alexander

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS. 1000 St Nicholas Avenue.
Mrs Regina M. Andrews

WEBSTER. 1465 York Avenue.
Miss Edna Thomson

YORKVILLE. 222 East 79th Street.

THE BRONX

COORDINATOR, Gerald Gold

ASSISTANT COORDINATOR, Miss Mary Barrett

ALLERTON. 2740 Barnes Avenue.
Miss Grace Iijima

BRONX BOOKMOBILES. 321 East 140th Street.
Mrs Mabel Bell

CASTLE HILL. 2220 Cincinnatus Avenue.
Philip Wolcoff

CITY ISLAND. 325 City Island Avenue.
Mrs Stella Webber

OCTOBER 1964

BULLETIN
OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

BULLETIN OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

VOLUME 68 OCTOBER 1964 NUMBER 8

CONTENTS

AMERICA IN 1801–1825: THE MUSICIANS AND THE MUSIC BY CARLETON SPRAGUE SMITH 483

VIDA'S *GAME OF CHESS:* A BIBLIOGRAPHY BY MARIO A. DICESARE 493

NOTES ON THE CANON OF JOHN CLEVELAND'S POETRY BY DANIEL H. WOODWARD 517

THE LETTERS OF GEORGE GISSING TO GABRIELLE FLEURY (A SELECTION: PART II) EDITED BY PIERRE COUSTILLAS 525

EXHIBITIONS IN THE CENTRAL BUILDING 552

On the cover: A part of the engraved titlepage of L. M. Sargent's *Wreaths to the Chieftain,* sheet music number 7828 in *Secular Music in America 1801–1825: A Bibliography,* by Richard J. Wolfe, published this month by the Library (see next page).

Printed and published monthly except July and August, by The New York Public Library at Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10018. Subscription $3.00 a year, single numbers 30 cents.

Editor, DAVID V. ERDMAN; WILLIAM H. KNEEDLER, *Editorial Assistant*

Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y. October, 1964. Volume 68. Number 8.

form p5 [x-2-64 19c]

America in 1801-1825: the Musicians and the Music*

By CARLETON SPRAGUE SMITH

THE APPEARANCE of Richard J. Wolfe's monograph on the secular music published in early nineteenth-century America is an important event in our cultural history. Without lists and bibliographies our knowledge of the past is woefully inadequate, particularly in regard to such ephemeral and rapidly disappearing expressions as songs and piano pieces published as sheet music. Mr Wolfe's monumental compilation opens up a quarter century which is very little known. How many people would have guessed that between 1801 and 1825 nearly ten thousand different musical titles were published in the United States? Yet this is music which vividly reflects our society, and to peruse the detailed descriptions beginning with the *American Rondo* by Frederick L. Abel of Savannah, Georgia, and concluding with *Zwingman's Air* issued at Baltimore by Joseph Carr is to be continually edified and delighted.

This bibliography is doubly useful because it indicates the library or private collection in which the music may be found or, if a piece has not been located, cites a contemporary announcement of its publication. The compiler's task of visiting over forty libraries and collections and examining almost every pertinent piece staggers the imagination. It required an unusual combination of accuracy with great patience and persistence, for the bibliography took more than six years to complete. One may obtain an idea of an individual composer's output at a glance, for each piece or collection is arranged alphabetically by composer rather than by an overall form of entry. Anonymous works are listed alphabetically by title. And the descriptions are more precise than those in the Sonneck-Upton *Bibliography of Early Secular American Music*, covering the eighteenth century. For instance, instead of a general indication such as "another edition" Mr Wolfe reports "second state" or "reissued from the same plates" as well as supplying extensive explanatory annotations.

Those who have worked in the field of American music know how difficult it is to establish dates of issue, since publishers more often than not chose to omit such information in the belief that the pieces thus remained "fresh."

* This essay constitutes Dr Smith's Introduction to *Secular Music in America 1801–1825: A Bibliography*, by Richard J. Wolfe (The New York Public Library, October 1 1964, 3 volumes clothbound, $35.00).

When there is a copyright entry or a contemporary newspaper advertisement of a song as "just published and for sale," the solution is relatively easy, but in most cases one is faced with nothing but a publisher's address, which may have remained the same for a decade or more. It is our good fortune that Mr Wolfe, with his expert eye and remarkable knowledge of engravers' styles and publishers' imprints, has been able to date within a year or two over three quarters of the pieces listed.

The present bibliography is a mine of historical, sociological, and musical information — the first two kinds being more immediately apparent and hence threatening to overshadow the last. The titles contain such fascinating topical details and we are given so much data for the history of printing and of illustrated covers that we are apt to ignore the musical interest. Yet the songs and piano pieces published from 1801 to 1825 were written to be performed, not to be examined as bibliographical or historical curiosities. Patriotic marches and choruses, waltzes, reels, quadrilles and cotillions served a general public that marched, sang, and danced. The humorous and sentimental song caused mirth and aroused tender aspirations. In the budding age of romanticism, most pieces were published for the amateur and many a simplified version was issued rather than the setting performed publicly by professionals. Unlike Europe, America had not a sufficiently large market to warrant a publisher's bringing out parts of string quartets or piano trios, and only an occasional piano or violin sonata was printed. Piano reductions of overtures, ballets, operas, marches, and oratorios circulated widely, as well as didactic publications. Perhaps the most elaborate pieces were fantasias on familiar airs. It was the era of the embellished theme, and Americans heard variations on Scottish, Irish, English, French, German, Italian, and their own patriotic melodies with never-ending delight. People today sometimes express regret because the United States did not produce a body of symphonies and orchestral pieces in its early days. A few were written but one must not expect to encounter the productions of European cities in Federal America. Composers had more immediate, less intellectual goals on this side of the water and the pieces published were primarily for home use. Again, most of the serious or intellectual compositions remained in manuscript and a large part of these has disappeared. In short, the published repertory should be regarded as a manifestation of the popular or urban taste of the eastern seaboard. This is not to say that Europe's great composers were not admired. Nearly 30 of Beethoven's pieces were published in America during his lifetime; and prior to 1825, some 20 of Clementi's works, nearly 80 compositions of Haydn, 85 by Rossini, and about

30 by Weber were issued. From an earlier period, Handel is represented by over 50 and Mozart by some 170 pieces. Here also, as might be expected, it was the lighter compositions which sold best; yet the publication of Beethoven's *Duett for Two Performers on One Piano*, Op 6, and the first rondo from Op 51, indicates that there was an interest in "absolute music."

Mr Wolfe's biographical sketches taken from innumerable sources are of tremendous help and serve to place many a composer hitherto unknown. Perhaps eight or ten of the older musicians have received some recognition in articles and in histories of American music, but we now have much more information about the works of such "eminent and versatile professors" as Benjamin Carr (1768–1831), the enterprising singer, actor, publisher, and conductor who made Philadelphia his home and brought out over a hundred of his own pieces; J. G. C. Graupner (1767–1836) of Boston, oboist, music teacher, editor and "father of American orchestral music"; James Hewitt, who like Beethoven was born in 1770 and died in 1827, active in practically all fields, one of the outstanding musical figures in New York and Boston and father of six musical children; Dr G. K. Jackson (1745–1823) thoroughly trained in theory (Mus. Doc., St Andrew's College, 1791), author of church music, patriotic and masonic pieces; Victor Pelissier (c 1760–c 1820), horn virtuoso and experienced orchestrator who unfortunately went blind at the end of his life; Alexander Reinagle (1756–1809), a dominating figure in Philadelphia's concert life and perhaps the most gifted creator of the group, together with his teacher Raynor Taylor (1747–1825) who wrote both secular and sacred works, was organist at St Peter's in Philadelphia, one of the founders of The Musical Fund Society, and for more than a generation the Nestor of the musical fraternity. The bibliographical emphasis of earlier investigators has been on music printed in America prior to 1800; today we have a clearer view of the overall output of the musicians who spanned both the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Of the middle generation (those born around 1780), music historians are familiar with the eccentric and romantic composer born in Bohemia, Anthony Philip Heinrich (1781–1861) and the blind organist Oliver Shaw (1779–1848) from Providence, Rhode Island. Both are well represented in this work, the former with over 60, the latter with more than 80 separate titles. One of the most rewarding parts of the bibliography, of course, is the emergence of relatively unknown figures, either native-born sons or men who arrived at an early age and are thoroughly identified with the American musical scene. Some of them are still rather shadowy. James Aykroyd who lived in Nashville, Tennessee, in the 1820s wrote songs to poetry by J. C.

Percival, S. M. Chester, and himself as well as dances and sacred music. George E. Blake (1775–1871), coming from England at 18, issued most of the major collections published in the United States before 1830 — including "instructors," "preceptors," and "methods" — and is our best source for American tunes and dances of the period. Jacob Eckhard, Jr, whose father emigrated from Hesse in 1776, was a pianist, organist, and composer dedicated to waltzes and variations on marches and masonic airs. George Geib (1782–1842?) emigrated from London to New York at 15, grew up to direct an "analytical grammatical music school" at 20 Wall Street (1818), published "a system of teaching the science of the composition of music" and composed such varied pieces as *God Save America: A patriotic song Dedicated to the people of the United States* and *How to Choose a Wife.*

A major figure, Charles Gilfert (1787–1829), though born abroad, was appearing as a pianist in New York before he was fourteen. Gilfert's undertakings included music publishing, teaching, conducting, and acting as entrepreneur in several cities, including Charleston, S. C. At his death he was manager of New York's Bowery Theatre. Gilfert has left us music from three operas, *Freedom Ho, The Spanish Patriots,* and *The Virgin of the Sun,* and a number of songs to texts by Timothy Dwight, Mrs Harriet Muzzy, and the ever popular Thomas Moore. Among his marches there is one dedicated to Commodore Decatur and another to Governor De Witt Clinton. In passing it might be remarked that the New York governor's name appears on almost a dozen pieces of sheet music during our period. An engineer, inventor, and composer of unusual interest, John Isaac Hawkins (1772–1855) came from Somersetshire, England, in his teens, later studying medicine at the College of New Jersey. A scientific bent manifested itself while he was still an undergraduate when he worked on various chemical methods for purifying water. Hawkins was also extremely musical, playing a number of instruments and composing into the bargain. He was a pioneer in developing the upright piano and patented and manufactured some of the earliest instruments in this country. No less a person than Thomas Jefferson purchased one of his pianos, and at the time of the inauguration in 1801 Hawkins wrote several "political" compositions including *Election the People's Right* and *The People's Friend,* both of which enjoyed considerable success. The words of the latter were by the youthful painter, Rembrandt Peale. Another inventive figure, Job Plimpton (1784–1864), was an organ builder and composer from Medway, Massachusetts. In the early 1820s he played frequently in New York on a type of reed organ which he had perfected called the *Apollino,* a precursor of the harmonium and melodeon. A pupil of Dr G. K. Jackson, Plimp-

ton wrote songs and compiled a "Universal Repository of Music" for voice, piano, and violin and two and three instruments, together with a section, *Military Music* for two horns, two oboes, or two clarinets and bassoon.

Uri K. Hill (1780–1844), originally of Vermont, compiler of sacred collections, violinist and teacher of music, wrote duets for violins and marches and patriotic songs such as *The Heroes of the Ocean* (1813). The War of 1812 of course inspired the words of *The Star Spangled Banner* by Francis Scott Key, and our bibliography lists 15 editions under John Stafford Smith, English author or compiler of the tune. The eighty-odd pieces which were written about our second war with England offer an excellent field for further study. An elusive musician, Joseph C. Taws, figures as a composer in the 1820s, and besides patriotic pieces (he composed at least three in honor of Lafayette's visit in 1824) his published works include variations for pianoforte and flute. Dr Thomas V. Wiesenthal (1790–1833), a physician in the U. S. Navy, saw active service in the Mediterranean and Caribbean. He collaborated with a poetical colleague, Captain R. T. Spence, in a number of songs, *In a far distant clime, I oft have seen the timid tear*, and *The white bosom'd maid with the blue rolling eye*, this last with rather nautical imagery. He also set verses by Thomas Moore, Lord Byron, and Walter Scott. Another internationally minded figure, Richard L. Williams of Albany, was responsible for dances with such characteristic titles as *The American Caledonian*, *The Greek Ball* (1824), and *The Grand Canal Celebration Ball* (1825) in connection with the opening of the Erie Canal. The sheet music for the Canal celebration contained the notice: "Each strain throughout this piece may be repeated an octave higher."

Besides the native sons, there were easily a dozen eminent immigrants who had already enjoyed considerable success in Europe. Stefano Cristiani (1768–183?), who arrived in 1818, was well known in Italy and Spain, his operas having been performed in a number of European houses including the Scala of Milan. Some of his songs were published in Baltimore and Philadelphia in Italian, Spanish, and French — among others, a romance entitled *Chactas au tombeau d'Atala*, recalling Chateaubriand's trip to the United States and his melancholy story of love and Christianity among the Indians. Yet Cristiani was not above writing a march in honor of President Monroe. A word should be said here about music and nationalism. In the nineteenth century many a composer tended to incorporate folksongs, dances, and other indigenous elements into his works. The feeling of national consciousness and the desire to come closer to the people were part of the romantic movement. In the case of Chopin, his pieces inspired by Polish folk songs in the

1830s had revolutionary undertones. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century there was plenty of militant nationalism in the United States, but our patriotic enthusiasm was of a different stamp. Anyone who turns over the pages of the present bibliography will perhaps be astonished at the number of marches and songs about freedom and liberty. Yet martial music was a basic element in early American life; in fact, nearly every one of the composers I have mentioned contributed to this genre. By and large, however, the idiom was international rather than specifically American. Rhythm, gaiety, and a rather carefree quality characterize the style; there is even humor. Our earliest militant tune, *Yankee Doodle*, is a cheerful satire. The jubilant patriotism of youthful America is fundamentally disarming but should not be brushed aside by those who have never examined its musical impact.

Returning to the foreign-born composer, one notes the name of John Bray (1782–1822), the highly admired playwright, actor, and composer from the Royal York Theatre in London who, with his musical wife, became a member of the Chesnut Street Company in Philadelphia in 1805. For the next seventeen years they contributed in many ways to the performing arts in the City of Brotherly Love and in Boston. Bray could write a good tune and quickly showed his newly acquired patriotism by composing *Columbia, land of Liberty*, *Hull's Victory*, and *Our Rights on the Ocean* — each of which went into several editions. *The Indian Princess*, first performed in Philadelphia in 1808, was described as an *operatic melodrame* (sic) and concerns the adventures of Captain John Smith and Pocahontas. It is in the ballad opera tradition and charmingly naive. A more talented figure, who became acclimatized in Baltimore, was Arthur Clifton (1784–1832), one of the founders of the London Philharmonic Society, who changed his name when he came to the new world, owing to his wife's infidelity. He was the son of Domenico Corri and a brother-in-law of Jan Ladislav Dussek, and he quite naturally assumed the post of organist of the First Presbyterian Church and director of music for one of the theatres, besides being a much sought-after teacher. Over 60 of Clifton's works were published, among others an "operatic drama," *The Enterprise*. His style, influenced by Clementi and others, is post-Mozartean and tunefully inventive. Whatever he wrote "sounds," for he perfectly understood the voice as well as the orchestra. Another distinguished music family was represented in Philipp Traetta (1777–1854), son of the celebrated Neapolitan composer of operas, Tomaso Traetta. His earliest studies were pursued in Venice and later he was a pupil of Piccinni, the celebrated rival of Gluck. Possibly the suspicions of Jacobin-

ism directed against Piccinni were responsible for young Traetta's misfortunes. At any rate, he was imprisoned for eight months by the Bourbons for political activities, finally managing to escape and flee to America in 1799. For a time he was one of three proprietors of the Conservatorio or Musical Academy of Boston. From 1802 to 1808 he lived in Charleston, S. C., later moving to New York. An oratorio, "Peace," was performed by the Handelian Society in that city commemorating the end of the War of 1812. In 1823 he established an American Conservatorio in Philadelphia where he was prominent for another generation. Despite his wide musical culture, few of his compositions were published, the greater part remaining in manuscript.

A number of the sons of France also came to the United States and some were unusually well-trained. Denis-Germain Etienne (1781–1859), for instance, had been a pupil of Boiëldieu and Catel and a first prize winner for both piano and accompaniment at the Paris conservatory in 1800. He arrived about 1814 and was active as a pianist, French horn player, and composer. His only published piece during our period bears the patriotic title: *Battle of New Orleans. For the piano forte. Composed and dedicated to the American Nation.* Another musician, Henri-Noël Gilles (1778–1834), guitarist, oboist and composer, also won a "premier prix" at the Paris Conservatory, and described himself, upon arrival in 1815, as "first hautboy at the chapel of the Emperor Napoleon and at the Italian Opera, Paris." In France he had published variations for oboe, violin, viola, and violoncello and guitar pieces. Here he tried his hand in a number of different combinations including: *Soirée donnée au G^l LaFayette. Chez un ancien compagnon d'armes par Mr. H. Gilles et ses eleves. Paroles de Mr. E. Ducatel. Choeur et solo avec accompagnment de piano, harpe et clarinette. With English poetry adapted to the music . . . Baltimore, Published and sold by G. Willig.* André Louis Eugène Guilbert (c 1775–c 1835), distinguished French harpist, published sonatas and a concerto for the harp while still in Europe. Sometime before 1809 he came to America and made his home in Charleston, South Carolina. Most of his published American works are songs, both in English and French, although he also wrote a march for Lafayette. Victor Guillou (c 1780–1843), teacher of French, fencing, dancing, and a composer and arranger of Cotillions, is said to have been an exceptional raconteur and celebrated wit. Whether he emigrated from France or Santo Domingo is unknown. Finally Charles Thibault (d 1853), in his own words a "Grand Prix" of the Paris Conservatory, had numerous compositions published both here and abroad. He seems to have had a penchant for piano pieces; besides variations, one notes the *Greek March of Liberty,* Nos 1 & 2 written in 1824, the year of Byron's death at Missolonghi.

It is interesting to observe the attention paid to Latin America at this time, and one of the first pieces chronologically was entitled *Favorita waltz Brazilense. Para piano forte, com accompanhamento de flauta e triangulo. Dedicada a Sua Alteza Real Principe Regente de Portugal e Brazil por Pedro Weldon.* This curious wording is found at the top of an engraving showing the arrival of the Royal Court of Portugal in Rio de Janeiro in 1808. It was issued by Peter Weldon, a music teacher, publisher, and composer established in Manhattan from 1797 to 1811, and it has been conjectured that Weldon may have shipped on a British or American vessel and visited Brazil, Spain, and Portugal. The prince regent, Dom João, appealed to Americans because he had escaped the clutches of Napoleon and because Brazil established a monarchy friendly to the United States. Jefferson and the Prince Regent exchanged letters of mutual esteem. The outstanding figure of the independence movement, of course, was Simon Bolivar. When the journalist-poet, George P. Morris, founder of the New York *Mirror*, was inspired to celebrate the exploits of the South American liberator in verse, an anonymous musician with five initials set his lines to music as: *Bolivar. A Peruvian Battle Song. As sung by Mr. Howard with unbounded applause at the Chatham Theatre. Written by G. P. Morris, Esqr. Arranged by T. W. H. B. B. Philadelphia, Published and sold by Geo. Willig, 171 Chesnut st.* The title encloses an engraved portrait of the famous general. Somewhat earlier Nathaniel Thurston had published *General Bolivar's Grand March*, and about 1825 A. & W. Geib issued quite another piece as *General Bolivar's March. Dedicated to the Colombians by the Publishers.* The other Spanish American patriots were not forgotten, and in 1823 Edward Riley brought out *Five South American Waltzes Dedicated to Don Bernardo O'Higgins, Supreme Director of Chili.* The first is entitled *O'Higgins Waltz*, the second *Buenos Ayres Waltz*, the next *Constellation Waltz*, the fourth *The Siege of Callao* (the Peruvian port which Lord Cochrane took for the patriots), and the final one *Genl. San Martin's Waltz*, after the famous Argentine commander of the expedition. Here the martial spirit gave way to that of the ballroom and to general rejoicing for the final victory over the Spaniards. Edward C. Riley (c 1800 – c 1871), son of the inter-American minded publisher, may have been responsible for collecting the waltzes. At any rate, he wrote a piece in honor of the mulatto Caribbean chief of state who visited New York in the mid-1820s: *The President of Hayti's March. Composed for & respectfully dedicated to His Excellency Jean Pierre Boyer by E. C. Riley. New York, Engraved, printed & sold by E. Riley, 29 Chatham street.*

Two Negro musicians enjoyed considerable success during the period, Francis Johnson (1792–1844), director in Philadelphia of Johnson's Brass Band or Frank Johnson's Colored Band, and James Hemmenway (1800–1849), who had a military band and an orchestra which played for dances in the same city. Both musicians wrote marches and cotillions and waltzes which, if performed now, would vividly evoke the public and private receptions of the day. When France at last recognized the Haitian Republic in April 1825, Johnson composed: *Recognition March on the Independence of Hayti. For the piano forte & flute. Composed expressly for the occasion and dedicated to President J. P. Boyer by his humble servant, with every sentiment of respect. Francis Johnson. Philadelphia, Published & sold by G. Willig, No. 171 Chestnut (sic) st.*

The era ends with the arrival of Manuel Garcia (1775–1832) late in 1825. The Spanish tenor and composer, for whom Rossini fashioned the part of Almaviva in the *Barbiere di Siviglia* in 1816, contributed a piece to the ship's concert on the trip across the Atlantic: *Ebor Nova! Written by Mr. Stedman Whitwell (of New Jersey) Sung on board the ship New York. Composed by Signor Garcia. New York. Published by Dubois & Stodart. 126 Broadway.* It was advertised in the New York *Evening Post* of December 15 1825 as "new music just published and for sale."

Music's relationship to the theatre is constantly in evidence in the bibliography, and the importance of comic or ballad opera, the play with incidental music, masques and melodramas, and even *opera seria* must be recalled. The theatre furnished a stage which supplied dramatic performances dealing with the fundamental problems of society. Here in a sense was a market place or forum for presenting the secular questions posed by life. Music has the power to enhance dramatic situations and make impossible plots seem plausible. It can also relax the mind and banish cares. Many of the earlier lyric dramas or plays with music were satirical or patriotic in scope, the sentimental side being an inevitable ingredient, while the action was exciting and marvelous. One feels a sense of improvisation in work after work rather than carefully balanced plots and through-composed scores. For the formative years Oscar Sonneck's *Early Opera in America* was a pioneer study, but an overall analysis of the period from 1801 to 1825 is lacking, despite the splendid *Annals* of Odell and other books on the subject. The present bibliography lists some 350 dramatic works in which music plays a significant role, and of these maybe ten percent could be called native products. One would enjoy seeing such lyric dramas as Cristiani's *Clarissa*, A. P. Heinrich's *The Child of the Mountain*, and Reinagle's *The Ethiop*.

Music in the New World a hundred and fifty years ago was an immediate language which made itself quickly understood. Pieces tended to tell stories rather than develop instrumental patterns, and most compositions can be divided into religious, martial, sentimental, and humorous categories. Hymns were for church, marches and quicksteps for the parade ground, comic and sentimental songs for the parlor or theatre. And, of course, events were constantly commemorated in music: *The Acquisition of Louisiana, the Siege of Tripoli, Ode for Genl Hamilton's Funeral, March to Canada* (1812), *Patriotic song commemorative of opening the Union Hotel in the City of Richmond, Virg^a on the Fourth of July, 1817, DeWitt Clinton's Grand Canal march. As performed by the West Point Band at the entrance of the first canal boat into the Hudson River on the 8th of October, 1823* and even *A Musical coalition, wherein the prevailing discords between America, France & England are harmoniously adjusted, or a humorous combination of their national airs* (*c 1808*) — these and many more happenings were described in sound and word, and topical music sheets were purchased with alacrity by the proud citizens of the growing nation. People were happy to celebrate the successes of the republic. A friendly spirit prevailed, sometimes overly boisterous and generally unsophisticated. Music in the United States was not national but local and current. When written by a composer with a strong personality, the pieces often had individuality and flavor. Today we are at last sophisticated enough to understand our early federal repertory for what it was and to admire its simple virtues. Let us not be scornful of the direct, homespun pieces of the period, which echoed the feelings of the citizenry. The American melting pot, commented upon by travellers, absorbed English, Irish, French, German, Dutch, and Italian emigrants — and all contributed to the musical miscellany. *Come one, come all, let us burst into song, let us join in the march.* Here are the roots of democracy rather than individual craftsmanship. The short compositions had a certain mood which is not easy to recapture today. Our delicate task is to interpret these pieces written about a century and a half ago despite our very different aesthetic approach. Let us remember again that the simplified, published versions often give a sense of the parlor rather than the stage or market place. If we will keep this in mind and recreate the musical atmosphere in which the songs, marches, dances, operas, and variations were conceived, we will find that a new byway of music is opened to us. Until this bibliography was compiled, we were really working in the dark and without an overall view of the field. Today that handicap, thanks to Mr Wolfe, no longer exists.

Vida's *Game of Chess:* A Bibliography

By Mario A. Di Cesare
Harpur College

MARCO GIROLAMO VIDA's fame rests primarily on poetics and epic: *De arte poetica* (1527), the graceful Latin verse treatise in praise of Vergil's poetry, and the *Christiad* (1535), the six-book epic on the life of Christ which won Vida the enduring title of "Christian Vergil." These two poems became school texts in his own time and for long after; widely imitated and often translated, both have exercised great influence on English, Italian, French, and German literature. The *Art of Poetry* has, in fact, been heralded (and also scorned) as the clarion-call to Neoclassicism, the poem which showed the new way to Parnassus, or the work that sounded the death-knell for serious Latin composition.[1]

But the most popular of Vida's poems and in many ways the most attractive was the *Ludus scacchorum* or *Game of Chess* in 658 hexameters. Published in its orthodox form in 1527, it was probably the first long poem Vida wrote and, through the coincidences of life and history, was indirectly responsible for both the *Art of Poetry* and the *Christiad.* Many years later, Vida referred to it as an entertainment of his youth which brought him to the attention of Pope Leo X and won him a commission to write the *Christiad,* another Vergil for another Augustus. The little work occupied Vida for perhaps twenty years; manuscript evidence suggests that he began work on it before 1510 and put it into its final form in the 1520s.

In the canonical version, the poem opens at the court of Memnon in Ethiopia, where Jupiter and the other gods are celebrating the wedding of Oceanus and Terra. After the feast, Oceanus produces a board and boxwood figures, and explains to his guests the ground rules of a new game, the movements of pieces, and some of the finer points. Jupiter selects as players Apollo and Mercury, heading white and black men respectively.

The early stages of the game are enlivened by the contrast between Apollo's wholesale assaults and Mercury's apparent clumsiness: he moves at random, sometimes blundering badly. But Mercury has been laying a broad strategy; the ensuing setbacks make Apollo more cautious. Then confusion over the protocol regarding the queen throws Mercury off balance; he launches a vindictive counterattack, which fails, and then attempts a bluff, which also fails. He cheats, until Apollo catches him.

[1] On the life and works of Vida, see the first chapter of my book, *Vida's Christiad and Vergilian Epic,* just published by Columbia University Press.

Having angered and confused Mercury, Apollo almost manages to corner the king with his white queen, but the black queen races in to the defense. At this point, Mars clumsily tries to interfere by reactivating some of Mercury's pieces, but, caught by Vulcan, he is reproved roundly, and Mercury must retract some illegitimate moves. Shortly, Apollo's white queen slays the black queen. In the nick of time, maiden pawns join the regal ranks, a successful ruse by Mercury upsets Apollo's calculations — he has indeed been boasting complacently — and a series of shrewd moves gives Mercury the game and the prize.

In this sprightly poem, Vida maintains perfectly the illusion of action. He solves the structural problem of accounting for each of the chess figures by focussing attention on players and onlookers. The reader never realizes that the poem does not teach him how to play chess. The whole poem is genially mock-heroic, though never self-consciously so. The subtle irony seems to operate in a vacuum: no explicit attacks disturb the blend of gay mockery, cordial burlesque, and delight in the action for its own sake.

Vida created a new myth, which he presents in an elegant, confident style. He is thoroughly businesslike, handling adroitly the contrast between impetuous Apollo and cunning Mercury. Mercury's outburst does not weaken the contrast; Vida lets us enjoy his capricious deities. There is no hero, a fact which heightens tone. In the intrigues, only Jupiter remains properly impartial. The onlooking gods shift allegiance readily; the antics of coquettish Venus, excitable Mars, and pompous Vulcan correspond admirably to the unpredictable activities of the boxwood figures. Many lines are slyly whimsical: [2]

> Mercurius melior furto cunctatur, et haerens
> Usque alium ex alio spectando praevidet ictum. (266–267)

> But slyer Hermes with observant eyes
> March'd slowly cautious, and at distance spies
> What moves must next succeed, what dangers next arise.

The half-serious tone of the following suggests to the reader the right attitude:

> Continuo exoritur magnum certamen, et ingens
> Hinc atque hinc rabies, dum fixum vincere utrisque.
> Audentes in tela ruunt. stat multus ubique
> Terror, ubique pavor, mortisque simillima imago. (554–557)

[2] The translation is from the disputed Goldsmith version.

Instant the fury of the bloody scene
Rises tumultuous, swift the warriors fly
From either side to conquer or to die.
They front the storm of war; around 'em Fear,
Terror, and Death perpetually appear.

Vida's skill is apparent throughout the poem in the lightness of rhythm, the alliterations, the apt similes and surprising apostrophes, the variety and deliberate inflation of his language. Compared to his other early poetry, the *Game of Chess* shows a strong partiality towards Vergil. This might be called imitation, but what is most remarkable about the numerous echoes of Vergilian phrasing and rhythm is that they are incidental to the genial argument of the poem. For all their Vergilian flavor, these contribute nothing to the poem's texture. That, like the control of narrative pace and of illusion, is Vida's own.

I

Thus, Pope Leo X had good reason to like what he saw. It is not clear, however, that Leo saw the final version of the *Game of Chess.* In my research so far, I have located three distinct manuscript versions and a pirated edition. These seem important enough for separate discussion.

1 The Belluno fragment. (Biblioteca Comunale di Belluno, 371 V B). Entitled "Hieronymi Vidae de ludo scachorum ad Rm. Federicum | Fregosum Archiepm. Salernitanum," this is part of an anthology: *Carminum auctorum multorum . . . a presb. Costantino Egregio juniori olim possessa. . . .* According to Prof Cecilia Pagani of Belluno, the poems were collected by one Francesco Pellegrini in 1886. The Vida fragment, 302 hexameters, is on pages 38–45 in a sixteenth-century hand.

The fragment, without introduction or dedication to Fregoso, opens with a hundred lines of mythological background: Vida introduces a large panorama beginning with the overthrow of Saturn and describing the grief of all Nature at the close of the Saturnian age. In compassion for mankind's distress, the gods present men with oxen and plough; gradually, men found cities, develop arts, improve their standard of living, and inevitably learn how to make war with one another. Indeed, when there is peace during this heroic age, men discover that they need an outlet for their fierce instincts. Thus they take to games of war. Foremost of these surrogates is the game of chess, which Vida now begins to describe. The following 200 lines bear some resemblance to introduction, setting, and explanation of the game in the final version, though the marriage is not given much importance and the rules are presented in the context of a practice game. The fragment breaks off as abruptly as it

began. The fragment may easily be dated as no earlier than 1507, when Fregoso became Archbishop of Salerno, and no later than 1512, the latest date for the next version.[3]

2 The Madrid manuscript. (Biblioteca Nacional, 17565; from the collection of Pascual de Gayangos). I learned of this manuscript through the good offices of Padre José Lopez de Toro of the Nacional. It is entitled "Marci Hieronymi Vidae de Ludo scachorum Liber | Ad Federicum Fregusium Archiep. Salern." Apparently autograph, the manuscript consists of 22 folios: the first blank, the second inscribed (in a later hand): *De ludo scachorum* | *Pulcher visus* | *1529*. There are 20 folios of text, unnumbered: 20 lines on folio 1, and 9 on folio 19v; 22 on each of the remainder, folios 2v–19r, except for folio 10r, which has 21. The version totals 820 hexameters. The final folio has the title and another copy of the first 16 lines: folio 20v is blank. The manuscript is now bound with the *Pulcher visus* of Scipio Balbo, published at Bologna in 1529. The second copy of the opening lines and several corrections in the text itself and in the margins suggest that Vida's manuscript is a copy of an earlier draft.

After the opening dedication to Fregoso and the description of the setting, the practice game of chess gets right under way: Apollo and Mercury are chosen, the Tritons and Nereids place the chessmen, the Seriad nymphs are invoked, and the armies are drawn up. After a stern warning by Jupiter against kibitzing, the author describes the rules of the game and the movement of pieces. Then he breaks off the warmup game and begins the play in earnest. Apollo moves first. From here on, the poem follows the general lines of the orthodox version. But the ending runs to 100 more lines; Apollo receives a consolation prize, Vida recounts the story of how the game was transmitted to mankind, and the poem finally ends with a long exhortation to all men, and particularly the Archbishop, to take up the game.

Dating this version presents no great problem; it precedes the next version which, as we shall see, falls in 1512/1513. Fregoso's presence in Rome just before this might argue 1510 or 1511, but there is no internal evidence for this apart from Vida's genial reference at the end to the warm South (Salerno) and the cold North (Cremona, Vida's native city). Lacking other evidence, a compromise date seems advisable: 1510.

The Madrid manuscript may well have been the first complete draft of the poem. What it uses from the Belluno fragment — about 180 lines — has been revised extensively; the probing for form in the Belluno fragment sug-

[3] Federico Fregoso (ca 1480–1541), elected Archbishop of Salerno in 1507, was refused recognition by the King of Spain but did not resign the See of Salerno until 1529. A friend of the literati, he appears in Castiglione's *Courtier*, though not in the passages describing Leo X or Isabella d'Este (Vida's patroness for a time) playing chess; during the reign of Leo X, Fregoso was out of favor. In 1539 he was created Cardinal, partly through the intercession of Bembo and Sadoleto.

gests that that may simply have been a first partial sketch. The Madrid manuscript corresponds in a general way to the orthodox version, though there are vast differences in detail, in language, in terminology, and particularly in structure.

3 The British Museum manuscript (Harl 6518) and the pirated editions.[4] The two pirated editions — 1525, without place or publisher, and 1529 Paris — are virtually the same as the manuscript; thus all three may be discussed together. The differences in the text are mainly matters of orthography and punctuation. The 1525 edition was probably based on a copy made by John Hone in Rome, who transmitted the text to Hilary Bertulph in Basel, the editor of the volume. In punctuation and orthography, the manuscript and the Paris 1529 edition are more in accord with Vida's own practice than is the 1525. The manuscript, in a clear Italic hand, may well have been one of those circulating in the mid-1510s and after. The manuscript is titled simply "Marci Hieronymi Vidae Scaccho-rum Liber," and consists of 24 vellum folios, including 3 that are blank. There are 742 hexameters, a considerable reduction from the 820 of the Madrid version, since this third version includes some 40 lines that are completely new, mostly at the beginning.

Unlike the Madrid text, this version is addressed to Giuliano de' Medici, not to Archbishop Fregoso; Fregoso is named only in passing. The references to Giuliano and the French troubles provide solid evidence for dating the text. In the late summer of 1512 the Medici were restored to power by the Holy League, after the French had been driven out of Italy. Both Giuliano and his brother Giovanni, then a Cardinal, figured importantly in the fighting. The solidification of Medici power came the following spring, 1513, when Giovanni was elected Pope Leo X. In this version Vida refers to Giuliano as "that other hope of the Medici," the one who, "cum fratre," had repelled the fierce enemy from the walls of Rome and was now holding the reins of the world in his hands and acting as a bond for all Italians. The simple improbability that Vida would refer to the Pontiff somewhat offhandedly as "frater" indicates convincingly that this version was composed no later than the winter of 1512–1513.

[4] For full description of these, see entries 1 and 3 in the list of Latin Editions, below. Van der Linde was the first to list the 1525 edition; T. von der Lasa discusses it in *Zur Geschichte und Literatur des Schachspiels* (Leipzig 1897) 184–186; see also H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford 1913) 791–792. But all these are unaware of the importance of the Paris 1529 edition. There are two manuscript copies of the 1525 at Cleveland Public Library: one, dated 1892, by E. B. Cook; another, late 19th-century, without indication of copyist. A 19th-century copy of the BM manuscript is at Princeton. Two other manuscripts may be mentioned, both copies of the authorized 1527 version. The first, at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (ms 24115, folios 18r–20v), dates from the 17th century. The other, a copy made in 1822, is at Laurenziana in Florence, Ashburnham App 1858, folios 2v–14v.

Apart from the introduction and the conclusion, which is a good deal shorter and less hortatory, this third version is quite similar to the second. The ill-advised practice game has now been dropped; the attending characters have been trimmed somewhat; the language and rhythm of this version are generally superior.

II

The relationship between these early versions and the authorized 1527 edition is important to the student of Vida and of Renaissance Latin literature in general. For chess historians the most noteworthy changes are those in terminology. In the first three versions, Vida called the bishop a Centaur and the rook a Cyclops; the orthodox or final version, however, presents the first as Archer and the second as Elephant or Tower or both. "The extraordinary thing," says H. J. R. Murray, "is that Vida's choice of names should have caught the popular fancy. All three terms . . . were adopted by players in different parts of Western Europe. Even the term Amazon, which he used occasionally for the Queen, was tried by the writers of chess books." [5]

The extensive revision of the Belluno version, and the scaling down from 820 to 742 to 658 lines, included complete excision of contemporary references. Implied in this, and more important, is Vida's growing classical sense. His style becomes richer and more detached, his organization simpler and cleaner, his narrative far better controlled. The development from first sketch to finished poem is best seen in the improvement of structure. Through this structure, he avoids stylistic pathos and perfects the mock-heroic tone. The painstaking revisions achieve a highly theatrical setting within a multiple frame which provides context for the game. The mock battle is fought as if on a stage; the frivolous gods are observers and, in a lesser way, judges; the reader is audience and judge both of the game itself and of the immediate audience. (Those critics who praise or damn the "verisimilitude" of the battle scenes have missed the shaping effects of this large theatrical metaphor.) The game recedes into the frame — of the boy hearing the tale, of the myth of reward for maidenhead lost, of the setting of the marriage, of the gods grouped in pompous solemnity, of Apollo and Mercury at the two ends of the table. It begins to resemble a Chinese box, which is perhaps what it was finally meant to be.

Further, Vida seems to have sanitized myth as he proceeded from version to version. The poem is indeed its own myth, but that is a rationalistic creation, at the service of genial mockery, hardly like the mythography of pre-

[5] Murray 791.

decessors or contemporaries. From the Belluno version Vida cut Saturn and the heroic age; from the later versions, he trimmed Cyclopes and Centaurs, Tritons and Nereids, and a number of passages embroidering the mythology of Apollo. Now Vida rejected from the canon of his works at least one early attempt in conventional mythography — a pastoral elegizing the nymph Cerases turned into a cherry tree. His *Bombyx* or *Silk Worm*, roughly contemporary with the *Chess*, went through at least one revision that trimmed mythological matter. The *Art of Poetry*, while not disdaining the use of myth, also treated the matter somewhat offhandedly. The process may have been due to a growing clerical probity. It should be noted, however, that from version to version of the *Chess* (and also of the *Silk Worm*), Vida simultaneously excised didactic passages and objectified his poem more and more. The sanitizing of myth may well have been due in large measure to his growing classical sense.

III

The poem was enormously popular, both in Vida's time and for centuries after. As the bibliography indicates, it was reprinted and translated surprisingly often. For about two centuries, the poem belonged mainly to the poets. It was widely imitated: the major Polish poet, Jan Kochánowski, adapted it for his own around 1555; Giambattista Marino imitated it directly in the fifteenth canto of his *Adone* and Alexander Pope indirectly in the *Rape of the Lock*. During the half-century from 1736 to 1786, six English translations were published; another one, not published until 1854, may have been by Oliver Goldsmith.[6]

The poem early became a concern of the students of chess, with the highpoint in the nineteenth century. No one of the growing body of students of the game could afford to overlook Vida's work, particularly scholars and bibliographers like Sir William Jones, Richard Twiss, J. F. W. Koch, Francesco Cancellieri, Frédéric Alliey, Jean Gay, A. van der Linde, and T. von der Lasa. But some of the translations, reprints, and scholarly notes were peculiarly solemn. A few mistook the poem for a manual of chess; a larger number saw the genial poet as Renaissance arbiter of morals. Luca Wielus, the first German translator (1606), presented the work with notable pedantry

[6] Jeffreys 1736; Erskine 1736; Pullein 1750; Morell 1769; Anonymous 1778; Murphy 1786. The *DNB* refers also to a translation by Samuel Seyer, but I have found neither a copy nor any bibliographical references. Some minor imitations may be mentioned, besides those cited below in entry 57 of the list of Translations: B. Mommeianus of Toulouse, *Ludi Latrunculorum brevis descriptio* (Paris, 1560); Gregorio Ducchi of Brescia, *Giuoco degli Scacchi* . . . (Brescia 1556); and "Upon Chesse-Play" in *Musarum Deliciae* (1655), cited by G. Tillotson in the Yale edition of Pope, II 106.

to "der studierenden Jugend" as a source both of chess and of gentility. Johann Heinrich Alsted printed the entire 658 lines of the poem in less than five pages of his redoubtable *Encyclopedia* (1630). If he was more generous with space than Caspar Dornau, who had crammed the whole text onto one page of his *Amphiteatrum* (1619), Alsted showed an elegant blindness to the grotesque when he located the poem in the section "Mechanologia Mathematica," subsection "Paedeutica," reasoning magisterially that "The game of chess sharpens the mind, and thus is very fitting for large talents."

A like solemnity, though less pompous, attends the translations by Müller, Baldi, Domenichelli, and Levée. But even Vincenzo Cicchitelli, prolific scholar of Vida who devoted a dozen pages to showing that Vida's major object was to teach and instruct, and to lead the way for Ben Franklin (whom he quotes extensively), still recognized that the *Chess* is "one of the most delightful creations of Vida's genius." A Vida in Franklin's garb will not do; as Toffanin pointed out, "in the *Game of Chess*, a ripple of laughter lights up the contrast between the elevation of the tone and the lightness of the content." [7]

Note

The following bibliographies list and describe, in chronological order, all printed editions of or containing Vida's *Game of Chess* and all translations. Neither is a census of copies. I give for virtually every item one or more library locations, but these are either the major libraries or the one or two other libraries that have a copy of an item not in the major libraries used here. In a few cases, where the evidence warranted it, I have listed an item without library location; generally, however, I have treated such items as suspect. My notes are hardly exhaustive; I have tried to highlight important or rare editions or to note variations from standard bibliographies. But I have not gone after all the ghosts, errors, downright blunders in other works, partly because after five years of work on Vida bibliography I feel keenly our common humanity, partly because the task would have been too long, the documented results too tedious.

Below are listed only the sources and libraries actually cited; my research actually extended to over 200 reference works, good, bad, and indifferent, and 100 libraries, mostly major, in Europe and America.[8] Abbreviations for libraries and sources are given in parentheses. Throughout, *LS* means *Ludus scacchorum.*

[7] Vincenzo Cicchitelli, *Sulle Opere Poetiche di M. G. Vida* (Naples 1904) 172–178, 192–194; Giuseppe Toffanin, *Il Cinquecento* (Milan 1945) 47.

[8] In preparing this bibliography, I have had considerable help from many people, particularly librarians, which I should like to acknowledge here. I would also acknowledge the support provided by the Research Foundation of State University of New York in funds for travel and for microfilms.

Abbreviations

Sources

Allen F. A. Jackson and G. B. Keen. *Catalogue of the Chess Collection of the Late George Allen.* Philadelphia 1878.

Baudrier J. Baudrier. *Bibliographie Lyonnaise. . . .* Vol VIII. Lyons, 1910.

Brunet Jacques-Charles Brunet. *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur des livres. . . .* Vol V, 5th ed. Paris 1864.

Cabeen D. C. Cabeen, gen ed. *A Critical Bibliography of French Literature.* Vol II: The Sixteenth Century, ed A. H. Schutz. Syracuse 1956.

Cioranesco Alexandre Cioranesco. *Bibliographie de la Littérature Française du seizième siècle.* Paris 1959.

Estreicher Karol Estreicher. *Bibliografia Polska.* Vol XIX, Kraków 1903; Vol XXXII, Kraków 1938.

Gay Jean Gay. *Bibliographie anecdotique du jeu des échecs.* Paris 1864.

Grässe J. G. T. Grässe. *Trésor de livres rares et précieux. . . .* Vol VI, 2nd ed. Dresden 1867.

Kay Christian Gottlieb Kayser. *Vollständiges Bücherlexicon. . . .* 36 vols. Leipzig 1834–1911.

Lasa T. von der Lasa. *Erneutes Verzeichniss meiner Sammlung von Schriften über das Schachspiel.* Wiesbaden 1896.

Linde Antonius van der Linde. *Geschichte und Literatur des Schachspiels.* 2 vols. Berlin 1874.

Panzer Georg Wolfgang Panzer. *Annales Typografici ab artis inventae origine ad annum 1536.* 11 vols. Norimbergae 1788–1797.

Renouard Philippe Renouard. *Bibliographie des Éditions de Simon de Colines.* Paris 1894.

Libraries

BM	British Museum [9]
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale [9]
Basel	Universitäts-Bibliothek, Basel
BSMunich	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich
Crem	Biblioteca Governativa e Biblioteca Civica, Cremona
DCU	Catholic University, Washington, D C
HKB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague [9]
Kraków	Biblioteca Jagiellonska, Kraków
Leipzig	Karl-Marx-Universitätsbibliothek (Albertina), Leipzig
LC	Library of Congress [9]
MB	Boston Public Library
MiU	University of Michigan Library
Naples	Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples
NjP	Princeton University Library
NN	New York Public Library
NNC	Columbia University Library
OCl	Cleveland Public Library
Vat	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City
Wolf	Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel

[9] For BM, BN, and LC, I have used also the printed catalogues; for HKB, there is a special chess catalogue: *Biblioteca van der Linde-Niemeijeriana; A Catalogue of the Chess Collection in the Royal Library, The Hague.* The Hague 1955.

Editions of Vida's *Scacchia, ludus* *

Latin

1 Marci Hieronymi Vidae, Scachorum liber. [1525]

12mo, 20 leaves. Italic letter. (Wolf)

This unauthorized edition was published anonymously, probably at Basel, though the only hint of publisher is the lily-like flower on the last leaf, under which is written "Florentiae." The copy in the Herzog-August Bibliothek at Wolfenbüttel is the only known copy. The title is found on f A iiii. The title-page contains only the following salutation: "Ad Lectorem. Lector candide, libellum hunc nuncquam antea emissum, nunc primum in lucem damus, tum ut honesto lusu animum tuum oblectemus, tum ut quid auctor hic praestare potuerit in gravioribus suis operibus, quae propaediem edituri sumus, possis perpendere. Tu lubens suscipe, & lege, ubi legeris sat scimus releges. Vale."

This volume contains a variant text of 742 lines, based on a manuscript sent to Hilary Bertulph in Basel by his friend John Hone. The text has numerous contemporary references and is addressed to Giuliano de' Medici; it was apparently composed before the election of Leo X. (The authorized text of 1527 has 658 lines in all; contemporary references have been removed, and the nomenclature of the chessmen changed.) The volume opens with a letter from Bertulph to John Taylor, Archdeacon of Buckingham and Derby, and now on a mission to Louise of Savoy. Bertulph describes the enthusiastic reception the poem has received by all who have read it, and goes on to describe the offhanded manner of his friend Erasmus at chess. Another letter follows the text, this one to a young man named Robert Dacres, Taylor's secretary, in which Bertulph commends himself to Sir Thomas More and refers warmly to Linacre. The date of publication is indicated on Cii.

2 Marci Hieronymi Vidae, Cremonensis, De arte poetica libri III. Eiusdem De Bombyce libri II. Eiusdem De ludo scacchorum liber I. Eiusdem Hymni. Eiusdem Bucolica. Romae, Apud Ludovicum Vicentinum 1527.

(*LS*: f 72–88v)

4to; 111 numbered leaves, [1] leaf. Italic letter. (BM, BN, Vat, HKB, NjP)

This first edition of Vida's poems was supervised by the author himself.

3 Hieronymi Vidae Ludus Scachorum, Anthonii Thylesii Araneola, et Cicindela. Parisiis, apud Simonem Colinaeum 1529.

8vo, 15 numbered leaves. Italic letter. (OCl, Naples, Basel)

This edition reprints, f 1–13, the text of the 1525 *Scachorum liber*; so far as I know, no other edition uses that text. The colophon reads: "Parisiis, Ex officina Ludovici Blaubomii, Impensis Simonis Colinaei. . . ." Renouard's bibliography of Colines lists this edition, but without remarking the unusual text. Renouard refers to only one copy, at Laval; I have located only three other copies.

4 Marci Hieronymi Vidae, Cremonensis, De arte poetica libri III . . . De bombyce ad Isabellam Estensem Marchionissam libri II. De ludo scachorum liber I. Hymni, cum nonnullis aliis. Bucolica. Epistola ad Io. Matthaeum Gybertum. Basileae 1534.

8vo, 175 p. Italic letter. No publisher is indicated. (BM, BN, Vat, OCl, HKB)

5 Marci Hieronymi Vidae, Cremonensis, Albae Episcopi, De arte poetica libri III. De bombyce, ad Isabellam Estensem marchionissam, libri II. De ludo scac-

* In the following entries, where *Ludus scacchorum* appears in the collected or selected works of Vida, the poem is located by the abbreviation *LS* followed by page (p) or folio (f) reference.

chorum liber I. Hymni, cum nonnullis aliis. Bucolica. Epistola ad Io. Matthaeum Gybertum. Lugduni, apud Sebastianum Gryphium 1536.
8vo; 155, [6] p. Italic letter. (BM, NjP, HKB) (*LS*: p 99–122)

6 Marci Hieronymi Vidae, Cremonensis, Albae Episcopi, Opera. Lugduni, apud Sebastianum Gryphium 1536. (*LS*: p 99–122)
8vo, 2 vols in 1. (Panzer VII 368, 812)
This is simply the preceding edition plus the *Christiad,* first published in 1535, Cremona, and 1536, Lyons (8vo, 220 + [1] p). The *Christiad* has a separate title-page. Grässe 302 lists another, a 12mo printing of the *Opera* by Gryphius in 1536, but I have not been able to verify it. Baudrier does not list any collected edition for 1536.

7 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Lugduni, apud Sebastianum Gryphium 1537.
8vo. (Naples)
I have no further information on this, having been unable to see a copy. Baudrier VIII 106 lists it, without reference to any library copies and apparently on the authority of Maittaire II 572.

8 Marci Hieronymi Vidae Cremonensis, Poetae, et Albae Episcopi, Opera, quae quidem extant omnia. Nempe, Christiados, hoc est, de Christi vita, gestis, ac morte, Lib. VI. de poetica, lib. III. de Bombycum cura ac usu, lib. II. de scacchorum ludo, lib. I. Item, eiusdem hymni, odae, bucolica, una cum aliis. Accesserunt in haec singula rerum ac veborum memorabilium Indices, summa diligentia & fide collecti, ac in studiosorum quoque gratiam superioribus additi. Basileae, per Balthasarem Lasium et Thomam Platterum 1537. (*LS*: p 344–369)
8vo; 24 numbered leaves; 403, [9] p. Italic letter. (BM, BN, Vat, HKB, OCl)
This was edited by Joannes Oporinus, who declares in a dedicatory epistle to Lucas Paliurus that he has restored some verses which had been weakened in their rhythm ("depravatos suis iam numeris"). The text is preceded by indices to the *Christiad,* the *Ars poetica,* and the *Bombyx,* and followed by indices to the *LS* and the other works.

9 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera, quae quidem extant omnia. . . . Venetiis, per Melchiorem Sessam 1538. (*LS*: p 285–306)
8vo; 335, [30] p. Italic letter. (NN, NjP, OCl, HKB)
Title-page as in preceding, with some changes. The indices, apparently adapted, are very carelessly done and the text is full of errors.

10 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Lugduni, apud Seb. Gryphium 1541. (*LS*: p 305–328)
8vo, 359 p. Italic letter. (BM, BN, Vat, HKB, OCl)
Contents: "Christiados Lib. VI. De arte poetica, lib. III. De bombyce, lib. II. De ludo Scacchorum, lib. I. Hymni cum nonnullis aliis. Bucolica. Epistola ad Io. Matthaeum Gybertum." This edition is reprinted in the next two listings.

11 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Lugduni, apud Seb. Gryphium 1541. (*LS*: p 305–328)
16mo, 359 p. Italic letter. (HKB, OCl)

12 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Lugduni, apud Seb. Gryphium 1548. (*LS*: p 305–328)
16mo, 359 p. Italic letter. (BM, Vat, HKB, OCl)

13 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Venetiis, apud Petrum Bosellum 1550. (*LS*: f 160–171)

16mo, 188 numbered leaves. (BM, OCl)

Contents as in 1537 Basel edition; no indices.

14 Marci Hieronymi Vidae, Cremonensis, Albae Episcopi, Poemata Omnia, tam quae ad Christi veritatem pertinent, Quam ea quae haud plane disiunxit a fabula, utraque seorsum ab alteris. Primo loco continentur Hymni de rebus divinis, nunc primum editi. Christiados libri VI. Secundo autem volumine De arte poetica libri III. De Bombyce libri II. Scacchia liber I. Bucolicae Eclogae III Carmina Diversi generis, pleraque non antehac edita. Cremonae, in aedibus Divae Margaretae. Jo. Mutius et Bernardinus Locheta impr. 1550. (*LS*: II, f 49–59v)

8vo, 2 vols: 216, 76 numbered leaves. Italic letter. (BM, BN, Vat, HKB, NN)

This is the definitive collected edition of Vida's poems, published under his supervision; subsequent editions are generally dependent entirely upon this one. The major addition is the entire canon of the hymns, now 37 in all.

15 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Lugduni, apud Seb. Gryphium 1554. (*LS*: p 520–542)

16mo, 575 p. Italic letter. (BN, Vat, HKB, NjP)

The contents (p 2) are listed in the same fashion as on the title-page of the Cremona 1550 edition; so, too, the head of p 3 reads: "Hymni de Rebus Divinis Nunc Primum Editi." This edition is repeated in entries 16, 17, and 18.

16 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Antuerpiae, apud Joannem Steelsium 1558. (*LS*: p 520–542)

16mo, 575 p. Italic letter. (HKB, NNC, OCl)

17 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Lugduni, apud haered. Seb. Gryphii 1559. (*LS*: p 520–542)

16mo, 575 p. Italic letter. (BN, HKB, OCl)

Brunet 1181 lists a 1559 Lyons edition based on the 1536, but I have found no other evidence of such a special edition. Grässe 302 lists a 1559 Antwerp edition of Vida's Opera, "apud Joannem Steelsium."

18 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Lugduni, apud Antonium Gryphium 1566. (*LS*: p 520–542)

16mo, 575 p. Italic letter. (Vat, HKB, NNC, NjP)

19 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Antuerpiae, apud Philippum Nutium 1566. (*LS*: f 222–232v)

12mo, 246 numbered leaves. Italic letter. (BN, HKB, OCl)

The second page is the same as that of entry 15 above; the order of works is also the same. According to the Cominiana editors, however, this edition is unreliable ("parum accurata").

20 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Poemata omnia nunc denuo edita ac diligentius emendata. Cremonae, apud Vincentium Contem 1567.

8vo, 646 p. Italic letter. (Crem)

This is a carefully edited volume. The contents page differs from that of preceding editions in spelling (*Scacchia* instead of *Scachia*) and in listing the hymns simply as *Hymni de rebus divinis.*

21 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Antuerpiae, ex officina Christophori Plantini 1567. (*LS*: p 483–504)

8vo; 535, [1] p. Italic letter. (BM, BN, HKB, NNC, OCl)
Colophon: Antuerpiae, Excudebat Christoph. Plantinus 1566.

22 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Antuerpiae, apud Philippum Nutium 1568. (*LS*: f 222–232v)

12mo, 246 numbered leaves. Italic letter. (BN, HKB, NjP)

23 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Poemata omnia nunc denuo edita ac dilligentius emendata. Cremonae, apud Vincentium Comitem 1568.

8vo, 647 p. Italic letter. (Crem, Vat, OCl)
Apparently the same as the Cremona 1567.

24 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Venetiis, apud Christophorum Zanettum 1571. (*LS*: p 505–527)

16mo; 559, [1] p. Roman letter. (Leipzig, HKB, OCl)
Contents page repeats 1550 Cremona.

25 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Lugduni, apud Antonium Gryphium 1578. (*LS*: p 518–541)

16mo; 573, [1] p. Italic letter. (HKB, OCl)
This edition is essentially the same as the preceding Lyons editions (entries 15, 16, 17, and 18); the difference in pagination is due simply to the omission of a blank page between the hymns and the *Christiad* (p 216), and the omission of white space in the latter half of the volume. Entries 29, 31, 35, 36, 40, 41 below all follow this edition.

26 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Antuerpiae, ex officina Christophori Plantini, Architypographi Regii 1578. (*LS*: p 456–476)

16mo, 504 p. Italic letter. (BM, BN, Vat, OCl)

27 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Cremonae, apud Chr. Draconium et Thomam Vachellum 1581.

8vo, 287 numbered leaves. (HKB, OCl, NjP) (*LS*: f 259–270)
This generally follows the 1567 Cremona edition, except that the hymns come after the *Christiad*. There is a separate title-page at f 212. The Cominiana editors considered this edition unsatisfactory.

28 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Parisiis, apud Mathurinam Praevost, edente Claudio Verterio 1581.

8vo; 573, [1] p. (OCl)

29 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum Catalogum sequens pagella continet. Lugduni, apud Antonium Gryphium 1581. (*LS*: p 518–541)

16mo; 573, [1] p. Italic letter. (BM, BN, NjP)
Brunet 1181, entitling this *Opera poetica*, mistakenly calls it a reprint of the Lyons 1536 edition.

30 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Antuerpiae, apud Christophorum Plantinum 1585.

16mo; 391, [1] p. (BN, HKB, OCl) (*LS*: p 354–369)

31 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Lugduni, apud Antonium Gryphium 1586. (*LS*: p 518–541)
16mo; 573, [1] p. Italic letter. (HKB, OCl)

32 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Poemata omnia nunc denuo edita ac diligentius emendata. Brixiae, apud Vincentium Sabbium 1586.
8vo; 565, [1] p. Italic letter. (OCl)
Separate title-pages; this is not a reprint of the Lyons editions.

33 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Mantuae, apud Franciscum Osannam 1588.
12mo, 480 p. (BM, HKB)

34 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Antuerpiae, apud Martinum Nutium 1588. (*LS*: p 517–541)
16mo; 573, [1] p. Italic letter. (BM, Vat, HKB, OCl)

35 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Lugduni, apud Antonium Gryphium 1592. (*LS*: p 518–541)
16mo; 573, [1] p. Italic letter. (BN, HKB, OCl)
Van der Linde lists a 1593 Lyons and a 1602 Lyons (apud Jacobum Roussin), but I have located no copies, not even in the Hague Royal Library, which now has Van der Linde's collection.

36 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Lugduni, apud Joannem Pillehotte 1603. (*LS*: p 518–541)
12mo; 573, [1] p. Italic letter. (BN, NN, OCl, NjP)
Colophon: "Lugduni, Ex typographia Hugonis Grazaei 1603."

37 Schachia. M. Hieronymi Vidae Cremonensis, poetae venustissimi, Ludus ingenii, virtutis et honestae voluptatis . . . notis quibusdam . . . illustratus, in quibus de eius usu, origine, et autore, nec non latrunculis, eorumque numero, ordine, nominibus, stationibus, incessibus, officiis. . . , totoque ludendi artificio breviter ac certo ordine agitur: adeo ut omni difficultate . . . obscuritate, & ambiguitate sublata, a quolibet proprio nunc marte addisci & commode exerceri possit opera & studio Lucae Wielii Liglio-Silesii. Argentinae, impensis Pauli Ledertz. [1604.]
8vo, 40 leaves. See Translations, entry 16, below. (BN, HKB, Wolf, OCl)

38 Marci Hieronymi Vidae Cremonensis. Scacchia Ludus, a Cosma Grazino emendatus. Florentiae, apud Cosmum Juntam 1604.
4to, 29 numbered leaves. (BM, OCl, NjP)
This is often found together with Grazini's Italian translation, which has a separate title-page. See Translations entry 14, below.

39 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Genevae, excudebat Jacobus Stoer 1605. (*LS*: p 501–523)
12mo, 555 p. Italic letter. (NjP, OCl)

40 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Lugduni, apud Antonium de Harsy 1606. (*LS*: p 518–541)
8vo; 573, [1] p. Italic letter. (BN, Vat, OCl)

41 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Lugduni, apud Jacobum Roussin 1607. (*LS*: p•518–541)
16mo; 573, [1] p. Italic letter. (Vat, OCl)

42 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Quorum catalogum sequens pagella continet. Antuerpiae, ex officina Martini Nutii 1607. (*LS*: p 537–560)
16mo, 592 p. Italic letter. (BSMunich)

43 Caspar Dornavius, Amphitheatrum sapientiae Socraticae jocoseriae; hoc est, Encomia et commentaria autorum qua veterum, qua recentiorum prope omnium. . . . Hanoviae, typis Wechelianis 1619. (*LS*: I, p 774)
2 vols, folio: vi, 854; 306 p. (OCl)
Vol I: *LS, Bombyx*. The entire text of *LS* is contained on p 774!

44 Joannis Henrici Alstedii Encyclopedia. Herbornae Nassoviorum. 1630.
7 vols. (NNC) (*LS*: VI, p 1941–1945)

45 ——— [Reprinted.] Lugduni 1649. (*LS*: III, p 703–707)
No publisher indicated. (Leipzig)

46 [Philippe Labbé, S J] Heroicae poeseos deliciae ad unius Vergilii imitationem. Ex summis poetis Sannazaro, Buchanano, Vida, Bembo, Naugerio, Castiliono, Flaminio, Fracastorio, Politiano, Sadoleto, Sammarthano, Barberino, Heinsio, aliisque. Selegit, recensuit, emendavit Philippus Labbé. . . . Parisiis, apud Gaspardum Meturas 1646. (*LS*: p 346–365)
12mo; [12], 384 p. (BM, NNC)
Ars poetica: p 265–318 *Bombyx*: p 319–345.

• 47 [Francis Atterbury, ed] [Anthologia] seu Selecta quaedam Poemata Italorum qui Latine scripserunt. Londini 1648. (*LS*: p 191–209)
12mo. (NNC)
Bombyx: p 78–102.

48 [Basil Kennett, ed] Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Poeticorum Libri tres. Accedunt Bombycum libri duo et Scacchia Ludus . . . Oxonii, e theatro Sheldoniano 1701. (*LS*: p 107–132)
8vo; [12], 132 p. (BM, NNC, OCl)

49 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Poematum, Quae haud plane disiunxit a Fabula, Pars Prima, Continens de Arte Poetica Libros Tres, Bucolica, et Epistolam. . . . Pars Altera, Continens Bombycum Libros Duos, Scacchiam Ludum, et Carmina diversi generis. Edidit Thomas Tristram. Oxonii, e typographeo Clarendoniano 1722–1723. (*LS*: part 2, p 45–76)
8vo; [20], ix, 145, 116 p. (BM, NN, NNC)
The two parts were published both separately and together; there are separate title-pages in red and black, individual title-pages (black) for each larger item, titles in red and black, head and tail piecs. The list of subscribers includes John Gay, Alexander Pope, Christopher Pitt, Matthew Prior, Richard Russel, and Sir R. Steele.
In 1725 and 1733, Edward Owen edited the *Christiad* and the *Hymns* in volumes uniform with this. Though there is no formal indication that these three handsome, well-edited volumes were projected as *Opera Omnia*, the uniformity of the volumes makes it likely that they were. Brunet and Grässe and some libraries treat them as such.

50 Carmina illustrium poetarum Italorum. . . . Collegit Johannes Gaetanus Bottarius. Florentiae, Apud J. C. Tartinium et S. Franchium 1719–1726.
11 vols, 8vo. (BM, BN, NNC) (*LS*: XI)

51 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Poemata Omnia quae ipse vivens agnoverat; duobus voluminibus comprehensa. Editio omnium emendatissima curantibus Jo. Antonio et Cajetano Vulpiis Fratribus. Quae praeterea accesserint, Epistola ad Lectorem satis ostendit. Patavii, Excudebat Josephus Cominus 1731. (*LS*: II, p 99–121)

2 vols, 4to: xx, 436; xvi, 183, 178 p. Vol II in two parts. (BM)
G. A. Volpi, 1686–1766; Gaetano Volpi, 1689–1761.

This seems the best edition of Vida's works. The editors carefully followed the definitive 1550 edition, but also consulted many other editions including the Oxford. They were not aware however of the variant *Scacchia* editions, had no manuscripts, have only a second-hand reference to the unverifiable "1520" edition of the *Ars poetica*.

The edition has separate title-pages for each major item and head and tail pieces. The excellent editorial apparatus includes full indices, important letters by and to Vida, the texts of rejected poems, the 1530 preface by Tartessio and the 1561 oration by Faballo, as well as Tristram's "Vita," various tributes, and an annotated list of editions.

52 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Poemata Quae extant Omnia. Quibus nunc primum adjiciuntur ejusdem Dialogi de Rei-publicae Dignitate. Ex collatione optimorum Exemplarium emendata: Additis Indicibus accuratis. [Ed Ricardus Russel.] Londini, Impensis Lawtoni Gilliver et Johannis Nourse 1732. (*LS*: I, p 38–57)

2 vols in 4 parts, 12mo: xxvi, 147, 192; iv, 194, ii, 212 p. (BM, HKB, NNC)

This careful, valuable edition was done independent of the Cominiana. It is dedicated to Alexander Pope. Each part has separate title-page and separate index. Vol I, part 1 contains the secular poems, ending with the *Ars poetica*; part 2 contains the *Christiad*. Vol II contains the *Hymns* and the *Republic*.

53 Selecta Poemata Italorum qui Latine scripserunt cura cujusdam anonymi anno 1684 congesta, iterum in lucem data, una cum aliorum Italorum operibus, accurante A[lexander] Pope. Londini, J. & P. Knapton 1740.

2 vols, 8vo. (BM, NNC) (*LS*: I, p 190–210)
Vol I, part 1: *Eclogae;* part 3: *Ars poetica, Bombyx, LS*.

54 [Francis Oudin, ed] Poemata didascalica, nunc primum vel edita, vel collecta. Parisiis, apud Aegidium LeMercier 1749. (*LS*: II, p 105–129)

3 vols, 12mo. (BM, BN)
Vol II: *Ars poetica*, with notes; *Bombyx*; *LS*.

55 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera metrica. Posonii, typis Anthonii Loewe 1789. (*LS*: II, part 2, p 84–104)

2 vols, 12mo: [6], 254; [4], 134, [4], 144 p. (OCl)

Vol I contains *Hymns* 2, 3, 4, and the *Christiad*; Vol II, part 1, the remainder of the *Hymns*; part 2, the *LS* and other poems.

56 Poemata Didascalica primum vel edita vel collecta studiis Fr. Oudin, in ordinem digesta et emendata a cl. v. Joseph. Oliveto. Secunda Editio . . . Parisiis, Aug. Delalain 1813. (*LS*: I, p 481–504)

3 vols, 8vo. (BN)
Vol I (iv, 507 p): *Ars poetica* with Oudin's notes, p 335–449; *Bombyx* with Oudin's notes, 450–480; *LS* with Oudin's notes, 481–504.

57 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Scacchia ludus. Londini, typis T. Bensley 1813.

8vo, 32 p. (BM)
Harvard: Fine, limited edition of 150 copies.

58 Hieronymi Vidae . . . Scacchia Ludus quem ludendi peritis una cum J. Balde Ludo Palamedis aperuit Car. Poppo Froebel. Rudolphopoli 1820.
32mo; vi, 90 p. (BM, Vat, HKB, NNC, OCl)
C. P. Froebel, 1786–1824. No publisher given.

59 ——— [Reprinted in] C. P. Froebel, Recentiorum poetarum selecta carmina. Rudolphopoli 1821. (*LS*, II, p i–vi, 1–68)
4 vols in 1. (HKB, Leipzig)

60 Marci Hieronymi Vidae . . . Opera. Neapoli, Ex Typographio Azzolino, et Soc. 1833. (*LS*: II)
2 vols, 8vo: 206, [9]; 356 p. (Naples, HKB)

61 Marci Hieronymi Vidae Scacchiae ludus. In *Chess Player's Chronicle* II (1841) 253–256, 270–272, 285–288, 301–304, 318–320.
No indication is given of the source or editor of the text; the standard text is used though the date assigned for composition is 1540 — the likely date of BM Harl 6518, according to Sir Frederic Madden.

62 August Gustav Friedrich Duhr, Schachgedichte alter und neuer Zeit. . . . Friedland, T. A. Richter 1860. (*LS*: p 14–33)
8vo; xii, 52 p. (OCl)

Translations

• 1 Guerra del Giuoco degli Scacchi, voltata d'Heroici, in versi Sciolti, da Nicolo Mutoni. . . . Romae, Antonius Bladus 1544.
12mo, 28 numbered leaves. (Linde II 264)

2 Le jeu des Eschez, translaté du latin de Hierome Vida. Lion, Jean de Tournes et G. Gazeau 1551.
4to, 44 p. (Linde II 266)
This is not listed in Cartier. The translation, by Louis Des Mazures, 1523–1580, is in octosyllabic couplets, 1,255 lines. According to Frédéric Alliey, a copy of this is in Grenoble.

3 Le jeu des Eschez, translaté du latin de Hierome Vida. Lion, Jean de Tournes et G. Gazeau 1554.
4to, 44 p. (Cioranesco 7646)
Translation by Des Mazures.

4 La guerre cruelle entre le Roy blanc et le Roy maure, traduite en vers par Louis Des Mazures. Paris, Vincent Sertenas 1556.
4to, 26 numbered leaves. (BN, OCl)

5 ——— *In* Oeuvres poëtiques de Louis, Seigneur des Mazures, Tournisien, contenant . . . le jeu des echetz traduit du Latin. . . . Lyons, Jean de Tournes 1557.
4to; xxiv, 80 p. Italic letter. (BSMunich)

6 Le iev des Eschecz translaté en François du Latin. . . , par Louis Des Mazures, Tournisien. Lion, Jan de Tournes et Guil. Gazeau 1557.
4to; [3], 43 leaves. Italic letter. (BN)

7 Jan Kochánowski, Szachy. Kraków, Wirzbiety n d [1555?]

4to, 12 leaves. (Kraków, Berlin)

This poem is a greatly amplified translation-adaptation of Vida, by the major Polish poet Jan Kochánowski (1530–1584). The relationship between the two poems is studied by Stanislaw Witkowski, "Stosunek 'Szachów' Kochanowskiego de poematu Vidy 'Scacchia ludus," *Rosprawy Akademii Umiejetności. Wydzia filologiczny* XVIII (Kraków, 1893), 164–203. Among many editions of the poem: Kraków 1562–1566; Kraków 1585; Kraków 1639–1640 (*Carmina*); *Dziela Polskie* 1803, vol I; *Wszytkie dziela polskie Jana Kochánowski*, vol I 164–177, Przemysl 1857; Kraków 1884, facsimile reprint of 1885, Lublin 1923. Kochánowski's poem was translated into French by Frédéric Alliey, *La Régence* III (1851) 165–178, reprinted in Alliey, *Poëmes sur le jeu des Échecs*, Paris 1851. (HKB; Gay 202 ff; Lasa; Estreicher XIX 367, and XXXII 432)

8 Le Jeu des Eschecz. . . . Paris, Danfrie et Breton 1559.

8vo, 31 numbered leaves. (Cabeen 2511)

Verse translation by Vasquin Philieul. 832 lines. See Translations, entry 64, below.

Another 16th-century French translation in verse, never published, exists in manuscript at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsénal, Paris (ms 3650). A copy of the manuscript, early 20th-century, is at OCl. No indication in either of translator or copyist.

9 [Ascanio Morosini] Rime d'Ascanio Morosini da Pratovecchio, nella traduttione delli duoi libri di . . . Vida sopra li Vermi che fanno la seta, e del Giuoco de' Scacchi. . . . Fiorenza, G. Marescotti 1586.

8vo, 54 numbered leaves. (Vat, HKB, OCl)

10 Battaglia de' Scacchi . . . ridotta in ottava rima da Girolamo Zanucchi da Conigliano. . . . Trevigi, A. Mazzolini 1589.

8vo; 4, 36 leaves. (HKB, OCl)

11 Ludus scacchiae, Chesse-play, a game, both pleasant, wittie, and politicke. . . , containing also therein, A prety and pleasant poeme of a whole game played at chesse, written by G. B. London, Printed by H. Jackson 1597.

4to; 16, 30, [1] p. (BM, OCl)

The translation, in ballad meter, is somewhat adapted. The commonest speculation for "G.B." is Giovanni Blochino. According to BM, the first part is merely an abridgment of Rowbothum's translation of Damiano da Odemira's "Libro da imparare giocare a scachi," published in London 1562, "The pleasaunt and wittie play. . . ."

12 ——— [Reprinted.] [London 1810?]

14, 30, 2 p. (NN, LC, NjP, HKB)

Huntington Library suggests: London, reprinted by Harding and Wright 1810.

13 ——— [Reprinted in] *Chess Player's Chronicle* VI (1846) 281–288, 313–320, 349–352, 391–396.

(NNC)

14 Il giuoco di scacchi . . . in ottava Rima nella Fiorentina favella da Cosimo Grazini tradotto. Fiorenza, nella stamperia di Cosimo Giunti 1604.

4to, 31 p. See Latin Editions, entry 38, above. (BM, OCl, HKB)

15 Le iev des eschets, traduit du latin. . . , mis en françois par M.D. C. Paris, A. l'Angelier 1605.

12mo; 2, 17 numbered leaves. (OCl)

826 verses. Dedicated to Marie de'Medici. See Translations, entry 63, below.

16 Schachzabel, Ein Künstlich, Erbar unnd lustig Spiel, so wol denen von der Ritterschaft, also von der Feder, und der studierenden Jugend zustendig... Hernach durch Lucam Wielium Lig. Silesium mit etlichen notwendigen Artickeln, und Grunden, besseres Verstadts unnd bequemer Lernung halben deutlich erkleret. Jetzt aber vom newen ins Teutsch gebracht, vermehrt, unnd gebessert. Straszburg, Bey Conrad Scher, Am Staden 1606.

16mo, 48 numbered leaves. See Latin Editions, entry 37, above. (Linde II 270; Allen 81–82)

Van der Linde II 265 lists the following: "Il Giuco degli Scacchi di M. G. Vida, ridotto in Poema Eroico. Vicenza, 1607. 4to" apparently on the basis of other bibliographies, not of any copy seen by himself.

17 La Scaccheide di Girolamo Vida, tradotta in ottava Rima da [Sebastiano Martini di Firenza] Accademico Innominato Imperfetto. Faenza, Giovanni Simbeni 1616.

4to, 34 p. (Linde II 265)

18 [Tommaso Perrone] La Cristiade . . . trasportata dal verso Latino all'Italiano da Tommaso Perrone . . . con argomento ad ogni libro, e annotazioni. . . . Aggiuntavi . . . due altri poemi dello stesso Autore de' Bachi, e del Giuoco degli Scacchi. Napoli, Gennaro Muzio 1733.

4to; xx, 360 p. Latin text. (BM, OCl)

The Censor's letter is signed "Giambattista Vico."

19 [William Erskine] Scacchia Ludus; or, the Game of Chess. . . . translated into English by Mr. Erskine. . . . With . . . a translation of Vida's three pastoral Eclogues, by Mr. Craig. [London, Millar] 1736.

8vo; viii, 220 p. Latin text. (BM, HKB, NN, NNC)

20 [George Jeffreys] Father Francis and Sister Constance, a poem . . . And Chess: a poem. Tr. into English from Vida. By George Jeffreys, esq. London, printed for Lawton Gilliver and John Clarke 1736.

4to; [2], 64 p. (BM, OCl)

NjP has a manuscript copy by E. B. Cook: "Scacchia Ludus; Englished by G. Jeffreys. London. 1736." According to *Notes & Queries* ser 12, IX (1921) 332, this translation was read by Alexander Pope.

21 George Jeffreys, Miscellanies in verse and prose. . . . London, The Author 1754.

4to; xviii, 435 p. (LC, HKB, OCl)

Chess: p 137–163.

22 Scacchia ludus: a poem . . . translated into English verse by . . . Samuel Pullein. Dublin, Printed for the author 1750.

8vo; vi, 95 p. Latin text. (BM, HKB, NN, OCl)

23 La Scaccheide. . . , tradotta in versi volgari da Carlo Pindemonti. Verona, A. Carattoni 1753.

8vo, 47 p. (Vat, HKB, OCl, NjP)

24 Das Schachspiel. Ein Heldengedicht. [N p] 1753.

4to, 24 p. (OCl)

25 Der im Schachspiel vom Merkur überwundene Apollo . . . aus dem Latein. Dresden 1754. Zweite Auflage.
8vo, 32 p. (Kay)
Van der Linde gives Karl Wilhelm Ramler as translator of entries 24 and 25.

26 Des Markus Hieronymus Vida ausführliche Beschreibung des Schachspiels in Versen, aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt von N. A. Hiesebock, In *Neue Erweiterungen der Erkenntnis und des Vergnügens* III, no 14, p 91–139. Frankfurt und Leipzig, bey Friedrich Lankischen Erben 1754.
(OCl)
Van der Linde II 265 cites the following from Oettinger: "La Scaccheide di G. Vida, tradotta in versi sciolti da Luca Viello. Cremona e Venezia, 1764. 4to." This is obviously a ghost; the title apparently crept into bibliographies through misunderstandings and errors. Verci cites it as a translation in "versi sciolti," published at Cremona without date (*Lettere di Giambattista Verci sopra il Giuoco degli Scacchi* [Venezia 1778]); this citation is taken over by Richard Twiss (*Chess* [London 1787] I 89) and by others, and conflated. The simplest explanation probably lies in the translation by Lucas Wielius (entry 16).

27 The Game of Chess: a poem: translated [by Thomas Morell]. With the Latin original. Eton, Printed by J. Pote 1769.
8vo; 4, 71 p. (BM, HKB, OCl, NjP)

28 Das Schachspiel, ein Heldengedicht im kleinen, aus dem Lateinischen . . . Magdeburg und Frankfurt an der Oder, Hechtel 1772.
8vo, 46 p. Translation by J. D. Müller. (HKB, OCl)

29 La Scaccheida o sia il Giuoco degli Scachi, poema . . . volgarizzato in ottava rima dal Sig. Ab. Gianfrancesco Masdeu. . . . Venezia, Antonio Zatta 1774.
8vo, 80 p. Latin text. (BM, HKB, Vat, OCl)

30 Vida's Game of Chess, translated into English. Oxford, J. and J. Fletcher 1778.
4to; iv, 40 p. Anonymous. (BM, OCl)

31 The Works of Arthur Murphy, Esq. London, T. Cadell 1786.
7 vols.
"The Game of Chess" with Latin text: VII, p 67–147. (OCl, MB)

32 Il gioco degli scacchi; poema latino . . . tradotto in verso italiano da Contardo Barbieri. . . . Modena, per gli eredi di B. Soliani 1791.
8vo, 97 p. Latin text. (Vat, HKB, OCl, NjP)

33 [Il Giuoco degli Scacchi: Poemetto . . . tradotto da A. Morosini, in Vol V of:] Poemetti Italiano, ed. Conte Vincenzo Marenco . . . Torina 1797.
12 vols, 12mo. See Translations, entry 9, above. (BM)

34 Samuel Friedrich Gunther Wahl, Der Geist und die Geschichte des Schachspiels. . . . Halle, Crtsch 1798.
8vo; xvi, 419 p. Translation with Latin text, p 242–270. (OCl)

35 Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Koch, Die Schachspielkunst nach den Regeln und Musterspielen . . . Magdeburg, G. C. Keil, 1801–1803.
2 vols, 8vo. Translation by J. D. Müller: II, 1–18. See Translations, entry 28, above. (NN)

36 [J. B. Levée] Les Vers à Soie, poëme de Jérôme Vida, de Cremone, Evèque d'Albe; suivi du Poëme des Échecs, et de Pièces fugitives du même Auteur . . .

traduits du latin; Par J. B. Levée . . . avec le Texte en regard, et des Remarques explicatives. . . . Paris, H. Nicolle 1809.
8vo; xxviii, 412 p. Latin text, prose translation. (BN, HKB, NN, NNC, OCl)

37 ——— [the prose translation with facing Latin text and brief introduction, reprinted in] *Le Palaméde; Revue Mensuelle des Échecs* III (1838) 13–15, 70–85. (NNC)

38 ——— Les Vers à Soie [etc] Paris 1859. (DCU)
Levée's manuscript, dated 1809, is at Grenoble (ms 1988, the gift of F. Alliey. *Schachzeitung* (1855) p 118, cites an "unimportant" manuscript at Brüssel (15,694): a French verse translation, anonymous, 1813.

39 La Scaccheide, poemetto . . . , trasportato dal testo Latino in versi italiani [sciolti] da Filergo. Italia 1810.
8vo, 55 p. Filergo = Manzi, Milanese attorney. (Vat, HKB, OCl, NjP)

40 La Scaccheide . . . tradotta in versi sciolti dall'abbate Francesco Domenichelli, con in fine alcune annotazioni e con le eggi di questo giuoco. Jesi, Bonelli 1810.
24mo, 62 p. (Vat, OCl, NjP)

41 J. F. W. Koch, Codex der Schachspielkunst nach den Musterspielen und Regeln der grössten Meister. Zweyte . . . Ausgabe. Magdeburg 1813–1814.
2 vols, 8vo. II 363–405: Translation by Müller with Latin text. See Translations, entries 28 and 35, above. (NNC, BM)

42 Des M. Hieronymus Vida Schachias aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt von Karl Lappe. *Greifswaldisches Academisches Archiv; eine Zeitschrift.* Vol I, part 1–2. Greifswald, C. Mauritius 1816.
(OCl)
Grässe 302 lists the following: Der Krieg den Phoebus mit Mercuren im königlichen Schachspiel hielt . . . ist hier mit deutschem Kiel entworfen von Phoebus-Schüler. N p, n d. I have located no copy of this.

43 Il giuoco degli scacchi, poemetto di Ascanio Morosini. Verona, Tip. di P. Bisesti 1822.
8vo; 57, 14 p. See Translations, entries 9 and 33. (OCl)
Two manuscripts of unpublished Italian translations may be cited here: One, at the Biblioteca Nazionale, Turin, ms 1966 (Q2)-V-10), is entitled "Girolamo Vida. Gli Scacchi. I bachi, poemi recati in versi toscani." There is no author or title; the translation apparently belongs to the late 18th or early 19th century. The other, at OCl, autograph, is dated 1739: "Traduzione della Scaccheide, fatta dal conte Giulio Volpe Borsello."

44 ——— [In Vol VIII 215–258] Raccolta di poemetti didascalici. Milano 1821–1823.
12 vols. (MB)

45 Karl Lappe, Blätter. Stralsund 1824–1829.
3 vols in 2. (OCl)

46 ——— Sämmtliche Poetische Werke. Rostock, J. J. Oeberg 1836.
5 vols in 2. "Das Schachspiel" in III 100–163. (HKB)

47 ———, ——— Neue wohlfeile Ausgabe. Rostock, J. M. Oeberg 1840
5 vols in 2. "Das Schachspiel" in III 100–163. (Linde II 271)

48 Joseph Aigner, ed, Die Christlich-lateinische Muse. . . . München, Jakob Giel 1825–1831.
4 vols, 8vo. (MiU)
Vol II, 352 pages, contains the 1581 Lyons text of *Ars poetica, Scacchia* (p 154–207), *Bombyx, Eclogues,* and *Carmina diversi generis,* with German verse translation by Aigner in the meters of the original on facing pages. In the preface to Vol II, Aigner speaks of his plans for a further volume, to contain the *Christiad* and the major hymns, but this never appeared.

49 Lehrgedicht über das Schachspiel, herausgegeben und metrisch übersetzt von J. Joseph Ign. Hoffmann. Mainz, Florian Kupferberg 1826.
8vo; xvi, 91 p. Latin text. (BM, HKB, OCl)
Line-by-line verse translation in hexameters.

50 La scacchiade; ovvero, Il giuoco degli scacchi; poemetto latino . . . tradotto in sciolto italiano dal dottore Giovanni Chiosi. Cremona, Stamperia Feraboli 1829.
8vo, 67 p. Latin text. (OCl, HKB)

51 Das Schachspiel; ein episches Lehrgedicht, übersetzt von Johann Ernst Karl Christian Jesse; mit einem Vorwort vom Pastor Schläger . . . Hannover, Helwing 1830.
16mo, 48 p. (HKB, OCl)
According to a note on the title-page, this was originally published in *Gemeinnützige Blätter* VI, Hannover 1830.

52 S. Waidder, Das Schachspiel in seinem ganzen Umfange nach allen Schriftstellern auf eine leichtfassliche Weise dargestellt. Wien, M. Lechner 1837.
2 vols in 1. Latin text, translation by J. D. Müller in Vol II. See Translations, entries 28, 35, 41, above. (OCl)

53 Het Schaakspel; klein-heroisch-komisch-mythologisch Gedicht, naar het Latin . . . door J. H. van Buul. Amsterdam, Gebroeders Diederichs 1839.
4to; xii, 55, [5] p. Latin text. (HKB, NjP, OCl)

54 A poem on the Game of Chess, being a translation . . . Winchester, Jacob and Johnson [1843]
8vo, 30 p. Translation by Philip Williams. (HKB, LC, NjP, OCl)
OCl, NjP: Preface dated 1844.

55 Il giuoco degli scacchi, Poema . . . liberamente tradotto in italiano dall'Abate Giuseppe Bianchi. Udine, Tip. Onofrio Turchetto 1846.
24mo, 61 p. (HKB, OCl)

56 ——— *In* Miscellanea sul giuoco degli scacchi . . . Napoli, E. C. Usigli 1861.
Folio; ii, 569–616, 49–168, viii p. (OCl)

57 Frédéric Alliey, Poëmes sur le jeu des Échecs. 1. latin, de l'évêque d'Albe, Vida; 2. polonais, de Jean Kochánowski; 3. anglais, de Sir William Jones: 4. allemand, du recteur Fischer; traduits en français. . . . précédées de la bibliographie compléte du poëme de Vida et d'un aperçu biographique de ce celebre poëte, par le même. Paris, Au Cafe de la Régence 1851.
8vo; [4], 31, [1], 32 p. (BM, BN, HKB, NjP, OCl)
Alliey's translation of Vida was first published in the Parisian chess journal, *La Régence* II (1850) 293–302, 328–338; the following volume III (1851) 165–178, contained the

translation of Kochánowski. Gay p 82 says that the translation of Vida, in 734 verses, is "assez mauvaise." A eulogizer in the Berlin *Schachzeitung* for 1861 (p 178–180) gives Alliey poor marks for all the translations. The bibliography, far from "complete," is studded with errors.

On Kochánowski, see Translations, entry 7, above.

Sir William Jones' comparatively short poem, *Caissa, or The Game of Chess: A Poem,* was adapted from Vida's by way of Marino's *Adone,* Canto XV. First published in *Poems* . . . Oxford 1772, and reprinted often (London 1777; London 1807; London 1810; London 1818; also in the *Works of the British Poets,* ed Thomas Park vol XLII, London 1808; ed Robert Walsh, Jr, vol XXXV, New York 1822). The poem was also reprinted in *Chess Player's Chronicle* II (1841) 46–48, 62–64, 78–80.

Two other adaptations may be cited here, both French: that by Joseph Cerutti (a Jesuit, who died in Paris in 1792), called mediocre by Jean Gay despite "vers . . . assez bien tournés," first published at Paris 1770; and *Les échecs, poëme en quatre chants,* Paris 1807, by the Abbé Jean-Joseph-Thérèse Roman (1726–1787). The relationship of Roman's poem to Vida's is discussed by Levée in his introduction (see Translations, entry 36, above) and by Marie Aycard, "L'Abbé Roman" *Le Palaméde* ser 2 v (1845) 227–238.

58 Vida's Game of Chess, Translated . . . [by Oliver Goldsmith?] in vol iv, p 377–394, of The Works of Oliver Goldsmith. . . , ed Peter Cunningham. London, Murray 1854. 4 vols.

The translation was printed by Cunningham for the first time, from a manuscript found among Goldsmith's papers and in the possession of Bolton Corney, who had overlooked it when he edited Goldsmith's *Poems* in 1845. A request by Corney in *N&Q* VIII (1853) 469 for evidence of the translator received no replies. In his biography of Goldsmith (1854), John Forster ascribed the translation to Goldsmith. R. S. Crane, in *CBEL* II 646 disputes the ascription: "Since . . . it is now clear that . . . the Game of Chess is written in a hand that bears only the most superficial resemblance to Goldsmith's, there can be no longer any reason for retaining the poem in the canon."

Among the numerous editions of Goldsmith containing this translation are: Epes Sargent's *Complete Poetical Works of . . . Collins. . . . and Goldsmith* (London 1854; N Y 1871); Forster, *Works* (London 1856, and reprints); the Aldine edition (1866); E. F. Blanchard, *Poetical Works* (London 1876); Austin Dobson, *Selected Poems* (Oxford 1887) and *Poems and Plays* (London 1891) and *The Poetical Works* (Oxford 1906 and many reprints); the Everyman edition (Dutton 1910, and many reprints). (LC, NN)

59 Scacchia . . . traducido por Don Angel Gallifa. In Jeronimo Borao y Clemente, El Ajedrez; tratado de sus principios fundamentales. . . , y un poema de Vida, traducido expressamente para esta obra por Angel Gallifa. Zaragoza, Biblioteca de el Saldubenes 1858.

8vo, 161 p. (BM, HKB, OCl)

60 ——— 2d ed. Zaragoza, J. Sanz 1888.

170 p. (BM, OCl, NN)

61 ——— 3d ed. Zaragoza, J. Sanz y. Navarro 1901.

171 p. (OCl)

62 Het Schaakspiel. Dichtstuk . . . naar het Latijn. Utrecht, C. Van der Post, Jr 1859.

4to; [6], 46 p. Translation by J. H. J. van Wageningen. (BM, HKB, OCl, NjP)

63 Le Iev des Éschets; traduction en vers français du poëme latin . . . par M. D. C. Réimprimé sur le seul exemplaire connu existant aujourd'hui à la Bibliothèque de Grenoble. Paris, Jules Gay 1862.

12mo; [4], 31 p. 115 numbered copies. See Translations, entry 15, above. (BM, BN, HKB, OCl, NjP)

64 Le Iev des éschecz; traduction en vers français du poëme latin . . . par Vasquin Philieul. Réimprimé sur le seul exemplaire connu existant aujourd'hui à la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, à Paris, et précédé d'une notice par M. P. L. Paris, Jules Gay 1862.

12mo; x, 26 p. (BM, BN, HKB, OCl, NjP)

M.P.L.: M. Paul Lacroix. 115 numbered copies. See Translations, entry 8, above.

65 Das Schachgedicht . . . metrisch übersetzt und mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen versehen von Alexander Baldi. Berlin, Julius Springer 1873.

8vo; xiii, 47 p. (BM,HKB, OCl)

66 The Game of Chess, a poem translated from the Latin. . . , followed by the original Latin text, with explanatory notes by Servaas de Bruin. Amsterdam, J. M. and G. H. Meijer 1876.

12mo; [2], 72 p. (BM, HKB, OCl)

BM: Translation by Arthur Murphy. See Translations, entry 31, above. An English translation dated 1868, by J. S. Bingham, is at OCl.

67 La Scaccheide. Poemetto . . . recato in sesta rima per D. Giovanni Accorroni. Osimo, Quercetti 1877.

8vo, 45 p. (BM, HKB)

68 Il Giuoco degli Scacchi. Poemetto dal Latino . . . par Guiseppe Giannuzzi. Napoli, Fratelli Tornese 1882.

8vo, 32 p. (BM, HKB, NjP)

69 ——— Napoli, Fratelli Tornese 1884.

16mo, 31 p. (Naples, OCl)

70 ——— Lecce, Tip. Garibaldi 1897.

8vo, 32 p. (Vat, HKB, OCl, NjP)

71 Il Giuoco degli Scacchi. Poemetto . . . recato in isciolti, preceduto da uno studio critico sulla vita e le opere dell'autore, con alcuni commenti, da Giacomo Pastori. Milano, Chiesa e Guindani 1895.

8vo, 50 p. (HKB, OCl)

This translation was first published in 1894 in *Mente e cuore di Imola.* Curiously Pastori thought he was the first to translate Vida's poem into Italian! See his article, "Girolamo Vida e il Poemetto *La Scaccheide,*" *La Scintilla* IX (1895) 17 ff, cited by Vincenzo Cicchitelli, *Sulle Opere Poetiche di Marco Girolamo Vida,* Naples 1904.

72 The Game of Chess. Done into English from the Latin of M. Vida & Printed by Richard Stanton Lambert; & Introduced by Richard C. Lambert; & Decorated with Woodcuts by Nell Lambert. The Stanton Press [Wembley Hill] 1921.

4to; [6], 61 p. Latin text. (NN)

The translation, in free hexameters, attempts vigorously to convey the "mock-realistic strife." This is a very handsome volume.

73 Il Giuoco degli Scacchi, con prefazione e traduzione di Gaetano Moroncini. Napoli, S.I.E.M. 1933.

8vo, 55 p. Latin text.

Notes on the Canon of John Cleveland's Poetry

By Daniel H. Woodward
Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia

AT THE END of Eleanor Withington's two-part article on "The Canon of John Cleveland's Poetry," in this *Bulletin* for May and June 1963 (LXVII 307–327, 377–394), is a "plea for further information." Her article contains a wealth of new material, especially attributions based on manuscripts, about the canon that is surely the most difficult to establish in 17th-century English poetry. But her request for information is undoubtedly a serious one, for the edition of Cleveland projected by Miss Withington, lately joined in the venture by Mr B. R. Morris, of the University of Reading, is likely to be the only one for a long time to come. The following notes are designed to supplement Miss Withington's work; they are the meager remainders of what was originally a survey of the same ground. The principal additions that I shall make to her study concern the two rare 1658 editions of Cleveland's *Poems* (unknown to Miss Withington), which print several manuscript poems ascribed to Cleveland and discussed in her article, and a new poem ascribed to Cleveland in a Folger Library manuscript. First, however, I shall consider in Miss Withington's order those poems about which I have additional information. The following numerical headings refer to hers.

25 Cleveland may well have written "The Author's Mock-Song" to someone else's "Mark Anthony." "Never Mark Anthony" was entered as one of three ballads in the Stationers' Register for Nov 4 1640 (ed G. E. B. Eyre [London 1913] I 1), but it seems not to have been printed before 1647. Whenever it appeared in a Cleveland collection it was accompanied by "The Author's Mock-Song." "Mark Anthony" can be found in B M Add. MS 27879, where the probably spurious "Newarke" also appears (discussed in 49), and in Bodl Ashmole 47. The former manuscript version is printed in J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall's edition of the Percy Folio MS (II 26–29). Others besides Cleveland wrote poems to the apparently lost tune of "Mark Anthony": cf the refrain of "The Flattering Damsel, or A False Heart Brings Sorrow," dated 1650–1656 (ed Hyder E. Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan*, p 444–450), and "What if the King, etc. Or, The Army hath helpt us," p 5–6 in a pamphlet, *Sir John Presbyter Not Dead* . . . (1647).

26 The Latin translation of "The Rebel Scot" appears not to be Cleveland's, as Miss Withington says. Worth recording as a misleading attribution, however, is that in David Lloyd's *Memoires of the Lives, Actions, Sufferings & Deaths of Those . . . That Suffered . . . for the Protestant Religion* . . . (1668) p 425: Mr Masters of New College, Oxford, "translated Cleavelands Poems

of the Rebel Scot into as good Latine as it is English, as did others into Greek, published by Dr. Langbain." Lloyd may not have been far off, for Miss Withington records two attributions of the poem to Thomas Gawen, also of New College, Oxford. By "Masters" Lloyd means Thomas Masters, who died on Aug 31 1643 (*DNB*), before "The Rebel Scot" was written. I have not seen any volume containing Greek translations of Cleveland's poems.

28 Before concluding, rightly, that a manuscript poem, "Mr. Cleveland's Reply from Belvoir to the Three Newark Poets," first printed by J. M. Berdan in his edition, is possibly Cleveland's, Miss Withington comments on the "J. C." initials in BM MS Egerton 2725. She then notes that "An Elegy upon the Death of William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury" (1) was initialed in Egerton 2725, (2) was kept by the editors of *Clievelandi Vindiciae* (1677) and (3) appears in the Osborn MS. Despite the fact that it appears in two 1647 editions under the heading "Additional Poems by Uncertain Authors," and on the basis of these points in favor of its authenticity, she says that the elegy on Laud "is assuredly Cleveland's" (p 317). I would suggest that the poem is no more than doubtfully Cleveland's. (1) The argument that the prose letters in Egerton 2725 must come from a manuscript independent of published versions is not especially significant in regard to any poem other than "Mr. Cleveland's Reply." Miss Withington's comments linking the Egerton manuscript with Newark and Belvoir Castle and eventually Cleveland (p 316) appear to be speculative. Miss Withington also says that the poems have eclectic texts and that "several [poems] — notably the unsigned epitaph on Strafford and the initialled elegy on Laud — have unique variants usually inferior but possibly early" (p 315). There is no importance is this, however, for these two poems are the two in Egerton 2725 that are labelled in two 1647 editions by the section heading "Uncertain Authors," so even a superior or authentic text for them (which Miss Withington does not claim) would not necessarily link them to Cleveland's genuine poems. Except for the signed "Mr. Cleveland's Reply," all the poems attributed to Cleveland (the others by inference from the initials "J. C.") are also in his 1647 editions. If the initials placed after "On the Archbishop of Canterbury" really were carefully considered, as Miss Withington says, then the absence of initials after "An Epitaph on the Earl of Strafford" (33) should be particularly damaging to the case for this poem; yet Miss Withington is unwilling to reject it despite "admittedly tenuous" evidence for its authenticity (p 321). (2) The *1677* editors are not always reliable in their attribution of association poems to Cleveland, as Miss Withington points out, and the texts of poems in their edition are seldom if ever preferable to earlier versions. They seem to have made at least one mistake (see 26), and some of their attributions are doubtful (see 25, 27). Their support of the elegy on Laud is certainly significant but by no means the last word. (3) I have not seen the obviously important Osborn MS, but it would seem unwise to say that the elegy on Laud is "assuredly Cleveland's" without making sure that the Osborn MS is closely and irrefutably linked to the author's own ms, especially in this case where the other evidence is inconclusive. Perhaps in their edition Miss Withington and Mr Morris will be able to offer further evidence of the authenticity of this poem, which is not yet established as Cleveland's.

28, 32 The major problem arising in items 28 and 32 concerns the heading which appears near the end of two editions of *The Character of a London-Diurnall: With Severall Select Poems* (1647): "Additional Poems by Uncertain Authors." In Wing C4666, containing twenty-two poems,[1] the four poems under this heading appear on p 52–[58]: "Epitaph on the Earl of Strafford" (33), "The Scots' Apostasy" (32), "On the Archbishop of Canterbury" (accepted as Cleveland's by Miss Withington, p 308), and "On I.W.A.B. of York" (41). Of these only "The Scots' Apostasy" was new to a collection of Cleveland's poems in this edition. On the other hand, two other poems new to collections of Cleveland appeared in this edition: "Square-Cap" and "Upon the Death of M. King Drowned in the Irish Seas," both almost certainly Cleveland's. It would be surprising if two genuine poems were added to the Cleveland canon and another genuine poem added to a section headed "Uncertain Authors." On the other hand, the new heading for those three poems already in *1647* editions may have come for one of these reasons: (1) the authors of the poems protested their inclusion in what was widely known as a collection of Cleveland's poems, even though the volume was published clandestinely; (2) Cleveland protested his innocence of writing these poems; or (3) the bookseller wished to add a further puzzle to the already mysterious collection of poems and satires.[2] In Wing C4667[3] was added to this section "A new Letanie for our new Lent," never reprinted in collections of Cleveland. It appeared on March 15 1647 as an anonymous pamphlet under the same title. The Bodleian copy of Wing C4667 includes six leaves of manuscript additions, Latin and English interleaved, signed "Henricus Stapleton" and "Henry Stapleton."

In retaining "The Scots' Apostasy" as possibly Cleveland's Miss Withington relies considerably (p 317) on Robin Bostock's reply, "The Scots Constancy. Or, An Answer to Cleveland's Scots Apostasy," dated April 1 1647 by Thomason. The anonymous broadside of "The Scots' Apostasy" appeared on March 10 1647. Cleveland was of course the most popular royalist satirist at the time, already famous for "The Rebel Scot." Bostock may have assumed that "The Scots' Apostasy" was his also, or simply have used it as an occasion to reply to Cleveland's satires generally. It seems impossible to date Wing C4666 exactly, but in the Harvard copy is a ms inscription, "I bought this booke at Rotharam [Yorkshire] the 10th of May 1647." Conceivably, the heading "Uncertain Authors" was an attempt to correct a popular misapprehension such as Bostock's about the authorship of "The Scots' Apostasy" and the other poems. Stylistically, "The Scots' Apostasy" appears to be a close yet insipid imitation of "The Rebel Scot" and lacks almost entirely the vigor of

[1] For purposes of identification, the following are copies of this edition: Harvard: *EC 65/C5993/645cg; Folger: C4666; B M: 11490. This edition is described in the Grolier Club, *A Catalogue of Original and Early Editions . . . Wither to Prior* (New York 1905) 160.

[2] In no edition of *1647* is the name of the printer or bookseller given. In fact, the initials and recognizable devices of booksellers are not used until the 1653 edition of *Poems*.

[3] For purposes of identification, the following are copies of this edition: Harvard: *EC 65/C5993/645ch; Yale: Ij/C599/644j; Folger: 150730; Bodl.: Vet A3e7. This edition is described in the Grolier Club, *A Catalogue of Original and Early Editions* 161.

Cleveland's satire at its best. This can be seen by comparing lines 61–64 of "The Rebel Scot":

> A Land, where one may pray with curst intent,
> O may they never suffer banishment!
> Had *Cain* beene *Scot*, God would have chang'd his doome,
> Not forc'd him wander, but confin'd him home.

with lines 39–42 of "The Scots' Apostasy":

> In foreign nations may your loath'd name be
> A stigmatizing brand of infamy;
> Till forc'd by general hate, you cease to roam
> The world, and for a plague [go] live at home.

At any rate, in an edition of Cleveland none of these poems headed by "Uncertain Authors" should be given more than doubtful status.

40 To accounts of the duel between Henry Compton and Lord Chandos can be added that of David Lloyd, *Memoires*, p 363–368.

40, 42, 43 These poems are of questionable authenticity, as Miss Withington says. But their appearance in collections of Cleveland was not especially late: "To the Hectors" (40) appeared in the first 1653 edition of *Poems*, and "To Julia, to Expedite her Promise," unquestioned by Miss Withington, was added to the second edition of that year; "An Elegy Upon Dr. Chaderton" (42) and "Marie's Spike-Nard" (43) joined *Poems* in 1651, second edition, as did such unquestioned pieces as "The Antiplatonick" and "Fuscara, Or the Bee Errant." The most damaging point against the three poems under discussion is their omission from *1677*. But the editors of that volume were Anglican clerics who may not have appreciated a poem on Dr Laurence Chaderton, a puritan. John Lake and Samuel Drake came up to Cambridge in 1637, only three years before Chaderton's death, and they may not have realized that the former Master of Emmanuel College was a widely respected and much venerated old man known as a moderate among the puritans, and his character could well have appealed to the Fellow of St John's before he came to write his anti-puritan satires. "Marie's Spike-Nard," if unlike anything else of Cleveland's, is not uncharacteristic of the experimental verse being written at Cambridge in the 1630s — e g, Crashaw's — but it is a poem long out of fashion in 1677. "To the Hectors" is a topical poem that, except for the allusion to the Hectors, must have been of as little interest in 1677, twenty-five years after the event, as it is today. In short, while these three poems are doubtful, it would seem to me wrong to exclude them altogether from a new edition of Cleveland, for the case against them is not really conclusive.

60–66 The ms poems (with the exception of 62) discussed here appear in the two 1658 editions of Cleveland's *Poems*. In view of the rarity of these editions, it seems appropriate to give a brief description of them.[4]

[4] For pointing out to me some years ago the location of copies of *1658A* I am indebted to Mr B. R. Morris.

1658A. [No border rules] POEMS, | CHARACTERS, | AND | LETTERS. | [rule] | *By J. C.* | [rule] | WITH | ADDITIONS | Never before printed. | [rule] | *LONDON,* | Printed in the yeere | 1658.

Coll.: Leaves uns^{2} "A5"^{1} uns^{1} A-D^{12} F^{12} G^{2}. P 1 (A1^{r})–124 (G2^{v}); the following are numbered incorrectly: p 53 (5 plus illegible digit in Cardiff copy; number correct in Queen's College copy), 66 (no number), 68 (no number), 92 (26). Poems, p 1–67, [92]–103, 118–124; letters, p [68]–75, 109–114; "The Character of a London-Diurnall," p 76–84; "The Character of a Country-Committee-Man, with the Ear-mark of a Sequestrator," p 85–91; "The Character of a Diurnall-Maker," p 104–109; Cleveland's petition, p 115–117; portrait — 1st uns leaf^{v}; title page — 2nd uns leaf^{r}; table — p "A5"^{r}–3rd uns leaf^{r}. In the Queen's College copy the type slipped on p 80, raising the first letters in four lines and the first digit in the page number. Forty-four poems. Copies: Cardiff, Wales, Public Library; Queen's College, Cambridge: M.18.25. Microfilms of these copies are in the Mary Washington College Library.

1658B. [No border rules] POEMS, | CHARACTERS, | AND | LETTERS. | [rule] | *By I. C.* | [rule] | WITH | ADDITIONS | Never before printed. | [rule] | *LONDON,* | Printed in the year | 1658.

Coll.: Leaves uns^{1} "A5"^{1} A-E^{12} F^{6}, presumably unsigned leaf following leaf "A5" is missing, for the table on pp "A5"$^{r-v}$ is incomplete. P 1 (A1^{r})–132 (F6^{v}); the following are numbered incorrectly: p 49 (94), 52 (illegible), 53 (smeared, possibly 33), 72 (612), 74 (no number). Copy: Trinity College, Cambridge: H.24.44, a shaved copy with the following leaves missing: D2–11 (p 75–94), F2–5 (p 123–130). The following signatures are incorrect: C9 signed C5, E7 signed F3. Forty-two poems, plus one without the title, plus one with the end part only in the defective Trinity College copy. There are probably forty-six poems in complete copies of this edition (if any survive), for there are two poems in *1658B* not found in *1658A,* nor in other editions of Cleveland's poems: "The Four-Legg'd Elder Or, A Horrible Relation of a Dog and an Elder's Maid. The Tune of the Ladies Fall" (first line: "All Christians, and Lay-Elders too"), and an untitled piece (first line: "Some Christian people all give ear"). The two poems found in *1658A* and missing from the defective Trinity College copy of *1658B* are "Chronosticon" and "An Elegie upon the Death of King Charles the First." Poems, p 1–[74], 100–111, 131–132; characters and letters, p 95–99, 112–122. Apparently *1658B* was set up from *1658A.* Either the 1657 *Poems* or one of the 1658 editions was printed between August 1, 1657, and June 1, 1658, according to information in William London's *A Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England* (London, 1658), p 2I$_{1}$^{r}.[5]

The following poems found in mss by Miss Withington are printed in the 1658 editions (the page numbers refer to *1658A*):

A "Another to the Memory of Mr. Edward King, Drown'd in the Irish Seas," p 10–11 (63) (of these seven poems appearing in *1658A-B,* only *E* was printed in other collections of Cleveland's poems).

B "Upon a Scratch on a Ladies Arme," p 92–93 (66).

C "Parting with a Frend on the Way," p 93–94 (60).

D "On a Gentlewoman that died in the Night Snow falling the Next Morning," p 94 (64).

E "On Princess Elizabeth born the Night before New-Years Day," p 94–95 (first printed here in editions of Cleveland's poems; reprinted in the 1677 and 1687 editions and accepted as genuine by Miss Withington, p 308).

F "Humane Inconstancie," p 95–96 (61).

G "Englands Jubile," p 101–103 (65).

[5] Pointed out to me by Mr A. J. V. Chapple, of the University of Manchester.

The printed version of "Parting with a Frend on the Way" in *1658A* agrees more closely with Rawlinson Poet 84 than with the Lansdowne or Osborn mss. *1658A* includes the following variants from the Osborn MS as printed by Miss Withington (p 384–385):

1–2 *In 1658A:*
The horses at their suddain turning, thus
Transcribe my self the torne *Hippoletus*
3 fat] Fate
5 Hither & hence] Hither and thither thy] Thus
7 his . . . hī] my . . . mee
8 his . . . hee is] my . . . I am
15 wing, & I expresse] Wings, and now I feele
16 my Principles] its Principle
17 tags] tugs
24 thy] your

In the case of this poem one can have some doubts about the superiority of the Osborn MS. At any rate, the relationships of the manuscripts and the printed versions of these poems should be studied carefully by the editors of Cleveland.

The additional information that I have found on the new poems in the 1658 editions consists of the following:

"Humane Inconstancy" is attributed variously to James Graham, First Marquis of Montrose, and to George Wishart, his chaplain. James Fraser (fl 1669–1690), who backed Wishart's authorship, said Cleveland "avers that he would renounce all his art of poetry provided he were master of these thirty lines" (see C. V. Wedgwood, "The Poems of Montrose," *Essays and Studies 1960* (New York 1960) p 61–63).

"The Four-Legg'd Elder . . ." (*1658B* only) was written by Sir John Birkenhead, according to Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (London 1820) III 1205, and H. F. Brooks, "Rump Songs: An Index with Notes," *Oxford Bibliographical Society Proceedings and Papers* v part 4 (1940) 294.

"Some Christian people all give ear" (*1658B* only) is entitled "The Fire on London Bridge, &." in *Merry Drollery Complete,* 1691 (ed J. W. Ebsworth, p 87–90). It first appeared at the end of *The Loves of Hero and Leander,* 1651, and refers to a fire on Feb 13 1633, according to Ebsworth (ed), *Choyce Drollery,* p 376–377; see also Hyder E. Rollins (ed), *The Pepys Ballads* III 56–61.

A number of spurious poems in editions of Cleveland were reprinted in Thomas D'Urfey's anthology, *Wit and Mirth* (London 1719–1720; repr New York 1959). These include "On Black Eyes" (III 111); "A Sing-Song on Clarinda's Wedding" (III 102–105); "The Wife-Hater" (III 106–109), the last two said to have the same tune; "The Old Gill" (III 346). The two poems from *1658B* that are discussed above also were reprinted: "The Four-Legg'd Elder . . ." (v 1), and "Some Christian People all give ear" (IV 1).

The 1658 editions of Cleveland are interesting for introducing some new readings to the texts and for adding several new poems to the Cleveland col-

lection. The fact that some of these new poems are very unlikely to be Cleveland's, plus the fact that a large part of these editions consists of poems and prose pieces, genuine and spurious, printed as Cleveland's through the 1650s, weakens the authority of *1658*. Some of the new readings in *1677* echo readings in *1658* (oddly, the 1659, 1661, 1662, 1665, 1669 *Poems* were unaffected by *1658*), but it seems likely that the editors of *1677* used mss rather than *1658*. One puzzle about these editions is their rarity: with the exception of the first of four editions of *Poems*, 1651, known to me only in the imperfect Bodleian copy (Wood 84), the relatively late *1658A-B* are the rarest of all the myriad of 17th-century collections of Cleveland's poems.

In the Folger Shakespeare Library MS V a 169, f 40, is a twenty-line poem ascribed to "J. Cleveland." The ms is a commonplace book of the mid-17th century. Apparently the poem has never been printed.[6]

Fetch me an occulist for the sunne
And bid some Posthume blow the moon:
For since my M^rs^ eyes appear'd
Those illustrious twins are blear'd;
The chrystall orb that rowles aboue
Doubles its Heaven in my love,
Where each reflexion that's espy'd
Returns the body glorifyed.
How poore is Jove whoe Nectar sipps
While I drinke healthes upon her lippes,
Those Ruddy grapes wch plump wth blisse
Bleede at the wine-presse of a kisse.
Heere Virgins of the Vestall Quire
Her lip Enshrine; the immortall fire,
The lovely warmth that it bequeathes,
Kindling the incense wch shee breathes.
To which then shall I first apply
Hot service both in lip and eye,
And if her lookes can scortch a sutor,
Tis ordeall tryall to salute her.

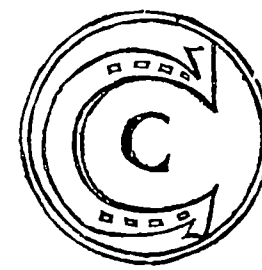
J. CLEVELAND

The style of this poem is similar to that of Cleveland's "Fuscara" and "To the State of Love." Of course, like "News from Newcastle," the poem could be the work of an ingenious imitator.

[6] Reproduced here by the kind permission of Mr Louis B. Wright, Director of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

There is a great need for a new edition of Cleveland's poems. Not to be neglected in the face of difficult problems concerning the canon, the bibliography, and the text is a commentary on the poems. To most modern readers Cleveland's persistently witty and allusive verse must be merely obscure. Yet in some ways his poems provide an encyclopedia of mid-century academic banter, seldom profound but always alert, knowledgeable, and amusing. Perhaps it is because there was so much in his poems that his editions were in such great demand for half a century. Miss Withington has already done an important service in purging Cleveland's canon of Tom, Dick, and Harry's dross; as the editors of Cleveland she and Mr Morris should remove the tarnish from Cleveland's gold, so that we can recognize in our time this "Gyant of Wit as well as Bulk," as a premature elegist in 1655 described the portly poet.[7]

[7] In an earlier form this study was assisted by a grant from the University Center of Virginia. More recently it has been improved by the friendly criticism of Miss Withington, who does not agree, of course, with all of its arguments.



The Letters of George Gissing to Gabrielle Fleury

Edited by PIERRE COUSTILLAS
University of Paris

A SELECTION: PART II

15

August [16] 1898

7 Clifton Terrace, Dorking

I have waited very anxiously for this last letter, dearest, and now that it has come I feel very sorry that you had to write those last two pages. Let me explain why I spoke to you on such a difficult subject.[1]

Having no personal knowledge of the woman from whom I have parted, you cannot of course understand how improbable (I may say impossible) it is that she will ever give me a chance of obtaining a divorce. She has no personal attractions, and is of such a bitter disposition that she repels everyone who approaches her. Her instincts are terribly malicious; she *hates* the human race, and above all those people who have tried to be kind to her.[2] As long as she lives, she will be lonely and embittered, — her *one* consolation the thought that *I* cannot marry again.

Knowing all this, I felt it a simple duty to put before you the hopelessness of my position. You were so sanguine, and I, at first, overcome by my rapture [. . . .] had not the courage to speak of hard facts. But I *must* show them to you, dear, in all their cruelty, that you may realize what is before us. It would be unjust — dishonourable — if I held out to you hopes which I cannot really entertain. A thousand times, my dear one, I ask you to pardon me for the pain I am giving you; yet more for the demand which I *seemed* to make. Gabrielle, I ask nothing of you, my beloved. I only want you to see clearly what a sad future is before us. Probably I shall *never* be free — never. Year after year will go by, and I shall feel myself growing old, and shall have the worse misery of thinking that, for my sake, *your* life has been wasted in long, long hoping.

Do not, do not, misinterpret me, darling. I should be mad if I thought you ought to put yourself in conflict with received ideas, and sadden all your friends. I do not look for *that*. Only tell me that you understand the real hopelessness of our position, and then, if you can still bear it — if you can look forward without despair — I too will strive against nature, and for your sake live on in solitude.

And, in excuse of my having spoken of these things, remember that my life has been a story of vain hope. From twenty to thirty-three, I worked hard for

[1] The fact of his being legally bound to Edith, his second wife — a subject he had developed in the preceding letter.

[2] Miss Orme as well as Miss Collet would certainly have agreed with him on this point. At all events some further proof of his wife's violent behaviour was given a few days later when Edith's landlord wrote to him. His diary for Aug 23 reads: "Letter from Watts, saying that E's furniture was removed last Sat., amid much uproar on her part. She has maliciously destroyed their front garden, tearing up creepers, etc."

success in literature — always regarding it as a mere stepping-stone to that much greater thing, the love of the ideal woman. Success would not come to me, and in despair I abandoned both hopes at once. Since then, I have made a sort of literary reputation — [. . .]

16

August [18] 1898

7 Clifton Terrace, Dorking

Language is a poor thing, Gabrielle, when love such as mine is trying to express itself. I find myself using the same words over and over again, hoping they may go to your heart as they come from mine; yet, when I read my letter over before sending it, it seems so utterly inadequate, it makes me ashamed of myself for being able to find no new language. When, some day, we are always together, a single look will convey more than half-a-dozen pages of writing. How I long for that time! You cannot know me completely until we have been daily companions. You attribute good qualities to me; and yet I am very sure that my love of you will endow me with qualities far finer — so that the more I love you, darling, the worthier shall I be of your love in return. I am impatient to devote my life to your happiness, beloved. Words are not enough; I want to *live* my love.

Just now I have a new trouble. My friend Wells (we shall never forget his house at Worcester Park) is lying seriously ill at the seaside in Kent — happily at the house of a medical man.[1] He has been attacked with an internal disorder which will, it is feared, never be quite overcome; at present he lies in bed helpless. Mrs. Wells is of course nursing him. She is a good, brave little woman, and I sympathize with her very deeply in her anxious waiting. I do hope he will become his old self again, and that some day we shall all of us meet in some other garden, with no misery weighing upon us. To me, that lawn at Worcester Park will always be a sacred spot. Alas! they will not be able ever to live there again. It is the climate of that place, I fear, which has undermined Wells's health.

My mother made the journey without difficulty, in spite of the great heat, and is now very comfortable here.[2] She seems to enjoy herself, and my excellent housekeeper does everything necessary.[3]

I am thinking, day and night, of your visit. My love, my own darling, what a time that will be for us! — One thing I wish to ask you. If I could hire a *piano* just for those days, would it be agreeable to you, or had you rather I did not? I

[1] On Aug 14 Gissing had written in his diary: "Heard from H. Hick that Wells is lying ill at *his* house, having come over from Seaford; abcess in kidney." He had written to Wells immediately (Aug 15 1898). After bidding him "keep up heart of grace," he added "Some day there will be good news for you about my idiot self — news unexpected and inspiriting. To me one of the happy features of the story is that it is connected with Worcester Park." (*George Gissing and H. G. Wells*, edited by Royal A. Gettmann, Rupert Hart-Davis 1961). On Aug 18 he had received a letter from Mrs Wells, who said her husband was too ill to write even in pencil.

[2] His mother had arrived on Aug 17. He had met her at King's Cross (Diary).

[3] His housekeeper, Mrs Boughton, may have served as a model for Ryecroft's own housekeeper in *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft* (Constable 1903), the last book of Gissing's that was to be published in his lifetime.

could manage it, I think, easily enough; but of course will not do so unless you think well of the project. [. . .]

If you were alone in the world, we should *never* part — never! But of course I recognize the claim that your father and mother have upon you. It saddens me — I want you so — I have such need of you, my love, my sweet! But one word from you will overcome my selfishness.

Remember always that I am your slave, darling — I mean, that you have infinite power over me — that I could never resist you in anything you hold to be right. Bid me do whatever you wish. Count on my perfect obedience. I have only one object in life — to make you understand that your will is mine; that our hearts are one, for ever inseparable.

I dreamt of you last night, and saw you just as you appeared to me for the first time at the railway station. But I had a different feeling towards you; I loved you passionately, knowing you could not possibly love me, for you did not know me. How beautiful you were in that dream! But not more beautiful than you will be, my darling, when I next see you stepping towards me!

There is a fear which I want you to remove from my mind. When you read my books, I am afraid you may form from them a conception of my character. I beg you not to do so, dearest. You will not find my true self in these books. My character has had a very slow development, and has passed through strange phases; in looking back, I often despise, and sometimes hate, my old self. Gabrielle, there is no harm in saying that I am a better man, now, than at any previous period of my life. I have more strength of will for good, and certainly a greater capacity for tender feeling. Alas! I feel that I have spent so large a part of my life in outgrowing follies and vices and ignorances. How I wish I were ten years younger yet with my present mind! How I wish it for your sake, my love, my sweet, my dear, dear Gabrielle!

You ask me in your last letter never to misinterpret your words, and, if I am in doubt, to ask your meaning. Darling, do the same with me. I should tremble if I thought it possible for you to misunderstand me in a bad sense. But you will not. You have a large and generous mind; I would risk my life (oh yes, my life!) on the assurance that you will always interpret me rightly.

I have invented a name for the extract of cereals; we call it *Cerealis*. I drink it regularly; in this hot weather, my housekeeper makes it fresh every day.

The honey has arrived! It is delicious — the finest I ever tasted. Thank you, dearest girl, for your great kindness in sending it. What gift is more poetical than honey? Its scent recalls the old world — the world of Homer, of Theocritus, of Virgil. Ah, I have heard the bees humming on the slopes of Mount Hymettus —

think of that! If we live a few years longer, you and I, sweet, will stand together there, and look over the Acropolis to Egina and Salamis!!

I am going to reach the age of 80, and to be as young of heart then as I am now. Fate owes me a second lifetime. Browning has a poem, which begins:

> "Grow old along with me.
> The best is yet to be:
> The last of life, for which the first was made." [4]

Ah, but we have to be young together, sweetheart, before we grow old!

Love to you for ever, darling.[5]

[4] These are the first lines of *Rabbi Ben Ezra,* a poem which was published in *Dramatis Personae* (1864).

[5] The original letter bears no signature.

18

[August 24 1898]

[. . .] your love is a great love, strengthens me against that ghastly torment. Thank you, my dearest.

You, being so hopeful, cannot realize what I have suffered. In the night, a voice speaks to me — the voice of fate — mocking at my heart's desire, bidding me renounce it, reconcile myself to eternal solitude. And then another voice tells me that, if years go by, and I am still alone and [. . .]

Aug 25th

I have received a letter from Paris, from M. Halpérine-Kaminsky,[1] asking my opinion of Tolstoi's essay "Qu'est-ce que l'art?" [2] He wishes to incorporate it in an article he is going to write. I am addressed as "honoré confrère" and "cher Maître!" All this is very flattering, and quite confirms what you told me about my reputation in France. Fancy anyone addressing *me* as "cher Maître!" I am delighted — not on my own account, but because I am able to tell *you* about it; and everything is precious to me which will give pleasure to you. I shall work hard in future for praise and honours — that I may lay it all at your feet.

When you tell me that you wake each morning with a smile, what a picture you put before me! Ah, coquette! Do you wish to break my heart with longing? Your smile is very vivid in my memory, and nothing lovelier ever appealed to my imagination than the thought of your eyes opening after sleep, and smiling at the happiness of which you once more became conscious.

[1] A French man of letters, translator and critic of Russian origin. Among the authors whom he brought to the acquaintance of the French public Tolstoi and Dostoievski stand first. As late as 1931, he published "La Tragédie de Tolstoi et de sa Femme."

[2] "What is Art?" had been published in Russia in 1896. Halpérine-Kaminsky gave two translations of the book in 1898; the first "Le Rôle de l'Art d'après Tolstoi" was a partial version reprinted from *Le Correspondant,* the second "Qu'est-ce que l'Art?" contained the whole text.

Listen to a story. I once had a visit at Dorking, from a very beautiful girl. When we had spent an hour or two in conversation, she went apart for a little, and, on returning, she seemed to me to be in some way changed; she looked, not *more* beautiful, but beautiful in a new way. And presently I understood: she had re-arranged her hair.[3] Now, why did she do that, I wonder? The *result* was immediate, on my part; at once I found myself falling in love, and, to tell you the truth, I have been in love ever since. — Shall I tell you the girl's name? —

Sweetest, it is because you are so truly a woman, that I love you so passionately. Women must never lose these delightful characteristics; let them become intelligent as they will, but — at all events whilst they are young and beautiful — let them cultivate every charm and grace natural to their sex. It ought to please you, dear — it *will* please you — when I say that you are more sweetly and profoundly a woman than any women I ever knew. — You would be my perfect companion, intellectually speaking; and at the same time you would be to me an enchantress, whose touch gave a thrill of ecstasy, whose eyes were my soul's worship.

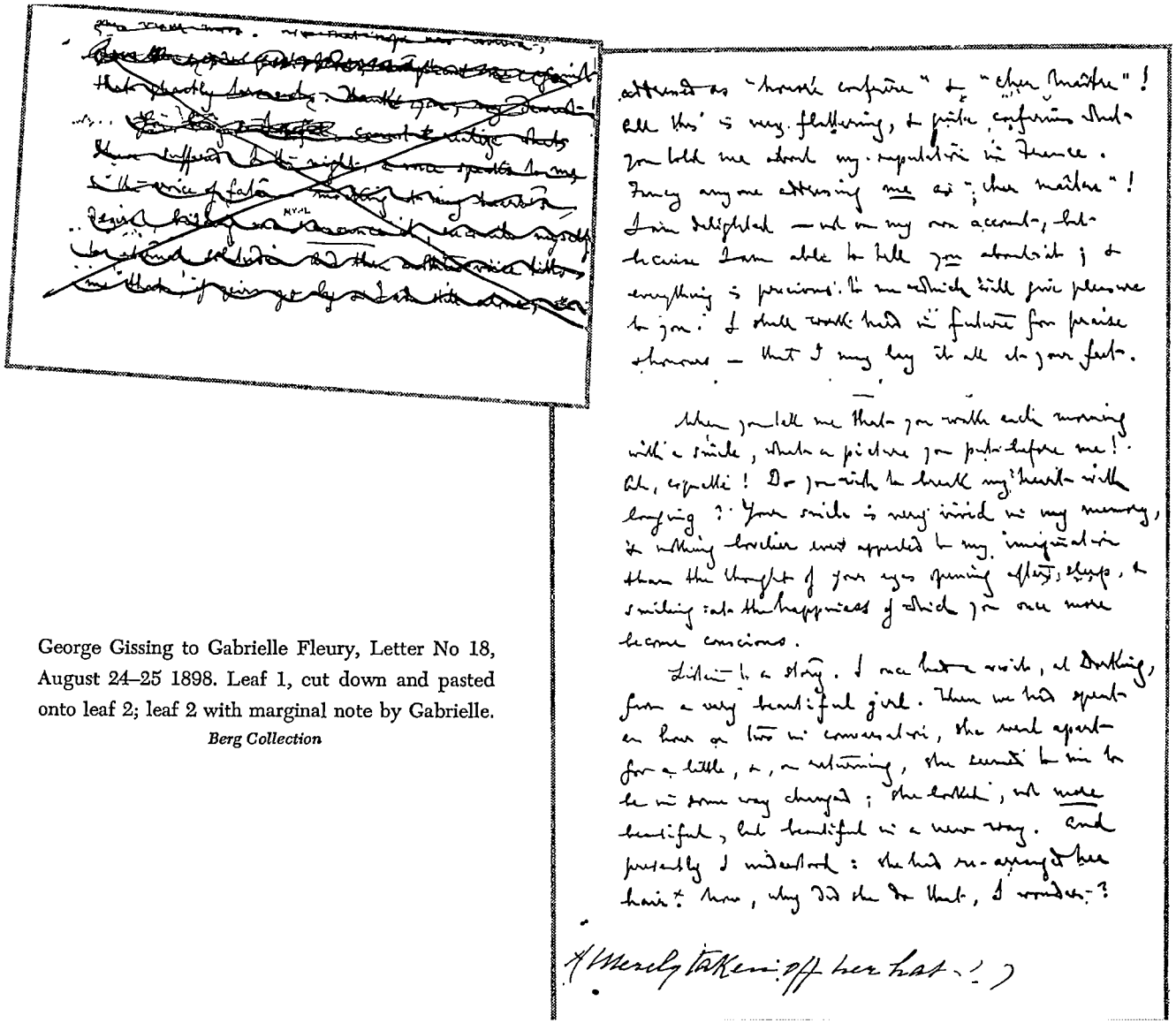
Aug 26th

Having told you of my moments of suffering, I ought to remove that painful impression from your mind by speaking of the very great joy — which often comes to me when I think of you. It is a spiritual ecstasy of which I had no idea before I loved you; to endeavour to express it in every-day language is useless; I shall have to quote from Dante, to come near an utterance of this wonderful mood. It lasts a very short time — the shadow soon falls upon me again — but how can I reverence the woman who has opened to me this world of rapture? I feel that I was a poor, sordid, earthly creature before I knew this highest passion of love. At such moments I do not ask myself whether you will ever be my wife; I forget every desire in the supreme joy of knowing that *I* and *you* love each other. Your spirit becomes one with mine. If I could ever doubt again of the truth of your love for me, such doubt must always vanish in one of these rapturous visions — for indeed they can only be called visions, as at those times I *see* what at ordinary hours I only feel in a vague, unsatisfying way.

I am writing in the early morning; it is not yet 7 o'clock. I want to post a letter to you to-day, and I am afraid I may have to go to London immediately after breakfast;[4] so I got up earlier than usual, to talk with my darling. Through the window before me I see the beautiful green landscape — and gradually it is being veiled in a soft, silvery mist, the first mist of autumn. The great heat has passed over, and I do not think it will return. So much the better for me, as I am useless for any work at that season.

[3] "Merely taken off her hat" (a footnote in Gabrielle's hand).

[4] In fact he went to London on the 27, and had an unsatisfactory interview with Brewster. Gissing noted in his diary: "He has been able to do nothing except move the furniture from Mansfield Rd to Maple's. E[dith] demands a house of her own, *both* children, and legal separation. She has written an insulting and threatening post-card to Miss Orme, addressed 'Bad Eliza Orme'."



George Gissing to Gabrielle Fleury, Letter No 18, August 24–25 1898. Leaf 1, cut down and pasted onto leaf 2; leaf 2 with marginal note by Gabrielle.

Berg Collection

Dearest, did you ever read any of the poetry of Elizabeth Browning — wife of the poet Robert Browning? I think she is England's greatest woman-poet. Her best work is the so-called "Sonnets from the Portuguese," not *really* a translation, but disguised under that title; the sonnets were addressed to her husband, and rarely has a woman's love found such noble expression. I am going to send you the volume; will you promise me to read one of the sonnets every night?

I should of course have known that you love poetry; to know *you* is to be aware of that; but I had pleasant evidence of it at Dorking, when once or twice you quoted lines of French verse to me, in that voice which is my heart's music. — Oh, darling, you and I will read much poetry together, in many languages! French, English, German, Italian — we know these. As for Latin and Greek, well, life is too short; I shall never ask you to study the old tongues. Of course they are much to me; but for my Greek and Latin poets, I should perhaps have been brutalized in the long years of poverty. How many a time I have read Homer when I was living in a wretched garret, and had scarcely enough to eat! [5] After all, ought one not to be thankful for the soul of an idealist? Now that you love me, I can feel glad of these qualities in myself, and I feel able to speak of them quite simply, without arrogance.

If I do not thank you for each one of your letters, Gabrielle, it is because I thank you, in truth, with every breath I draw. Your letters are wonderful and delightful beyond all words; I should like to keep them in a casket of gold. Even the very paper on which you write, I touch delicately, as though it were sacred; and it always has a faint, sweet perfume. Has not *everything* a perfume that has been near Gabrielle?

October — October! Oh, how we shall talk — your hand in mine. My beloved, my darling, my queen! — The country will be exquisite in autumnal colours. I live only on hope.

For ever yours, my own dearest love,

GEORGE

[5] In *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft,* Gissing was to express some doubts about his full understanding of Homer's poetry. "I am wont to think that I can read Homer, and, assuredly, if any man enjoys him, it is I; but can I for a moment dream that Homer yields me all his music, that his word is to me as to him who walked by the Hellenic shore when Hellas lived?" (Summer XXVII).

20

August 2[9] [1898]

7 Clifton Terrace, Dorking

To-day, dearest, you will receive the letter I wrote on Friday. I have waited very impatiently for the moment when it would reach you. For the first time I felt that a letter of mine had made you unhappy; that thought gave me no rest. Are you at ease, now, darling? Have you forgotten that passing trouble?

[How many times I have read the closing lines of your last letter. I know that only the profoundest feeling could enable you to say those words. You mean them with all your heart, and I, Gabrielle, accept them with great love and gratitude.

They move me very deeply. Be assured of this, my own darling, such words from you can never seem to me a matter of course to be lightly taken, they are to me [. . . .] beyond that of any word ever spoken to me through all my weary life.] [1]

In the same way, I try to express myself with absolute sincerity in writing to you. I use no idle phrases, just for the sound's sake. Every word I *mean,* and I hope they are as dear to you as yours to me.

As I walked this morning in the sunshine (a glorious morning, after rain) I had a few moments almost of light-heartedness — at all events of real faith in the future. And this mood led me to think how much, after all, I am and have been influenced by hope in life. Of course it can only be the spirit of hope that has kept me alive through such evil years. After all, I have gained many things that I wished for and struggled for. Ten years ago, I desired literary reputation, but it seemed very, very far away. I suppose I may say that I have won it.[2] In my wretched London lodgings, I longed for a little house in some beautiful part of the country, and thought it beyond possibility; yet here I am, in that very house. Certainly, fate has been very kind to me in many ways; I am favoured beyond multitudes of men; I have overcome terrible obstacles, constantly moving onwards. Shall I not, then, dare to hope for the supreme blessing — the crown of life? Perhaps it will be granted to me — perhaps.

(Reading a letter by Thackeray, the other day, I came across this sentence: "For behold, love is the crown and consummation of earthly things." I was so pleased at the coincidence.)

When I try to imagine complete happiness, picturing you as my wife, there comes the sad thought that it could be for only so short a time — a few, few years at best. To console myself I say that one month — one week — of such a life would comprise in itself an infinitude of blessedness; that I should know in a few days the sum total of human joy. — That consoles me for a moment; yet, on reflection, I know that, the longer we were together, the richer should I become in all the elements of true happiness. Suppose you had been my wife for *ten years*! What words could utter the tenderness with which I should regard you? Words, indeed, would have ceased to be necessary. My soul would speak to yours at every moment of our life — thanking you and worshipping you for its exquisite memories.

Now and then (very rarely) when I have spoken a word or two to my intimate friend, complaining of my solitude, the reply has been that I ought not to feel it burdensome; that I had my work and my child to think of — quite enough for occupation and happiness. Well, to some men it would be enough, and I have sometimes thought that such resignation was a thing to admire. Yet is there anything to be ashamed of in *my* need of another form of contentment? It is *in my nature* to desire the love of a wife. As I sit here alone, my heart aches with longing for intimate affection. — But I do not suffer so often or so acutely as in the days

[1] This passage was cancelled by Gabrielle and could only be deciphered with the utmost difficulty.

[2] From 1895 Gissing was often referred to as one of the three leading English novelists, the other two being George Meredith and Thomas Hardy.

past. When that mood comes, I look at your portrait, and the beautiful eyes speak to me, telling me of hope. —

Do you know that, several times lately, I have felt a sort of pity for the man who loves [. . .] merely the everyday woman without much charm, without any remarkable beauty. It is a form of arrogance which, of course, makes me smile at myself. But, when I have dismissed it, I still find myself saying: "Gabrielle is one of the few — unmatched among all women that I have known — lovelier and nobler than any woman I ever imagined — and *me* she honours with her affection." — Then again I pity the man who cannot hope for love such as hers.

Aug 30th

So you are happy again, dearest girl! I will reproach myself no more, and only feel glad that the day or two of distress had resulted in such proof (though I did not need it) of your perfect [. . .] [3]

The volume of Mrs. Browning which I have sent contains a great number of her poems. But read first of all *Sonnets from the Portuguese*. You will feel a rare sympathy of heart and mind in that noble verse. For you, too, my darling, are a poet; I feel it, in every word you write.

To M. Halpérine-Kaminsky I replied at considerable length. I began by saying that Tolstoi's spirit seemed to me very noble, and that I thoroughly agreed with him that our social system is founded on harsh injustice. I agreed, too, that *one* of the aims of art in our time is to promote the fraternal spirit among men. But in the details of Tolstoi's theory I found much to criticize. First and foremost a democratic idealist, he maintains that the only true art of to-day is that which has a religious motive, and that the only people capable of appreciating true art at all are those of the poor, uncultured classes. — Here surely is an illusion. *Les simples*, in the true sense of the word, do not belong especially to the lower class; they are found — a small minority — in every class of society; and I am very sure that the uncultured are far less capable of appreciating the great, noble art which Tolstoi has in mind, than the best of the educated and wealthy. — His judgment of art by a moral standard is familiar to Englishmen as the teaching of John Ruskin, and, very strangely, Tolstoi does not even mention Ruskin's name, though he reviews the whole history of aesthetics! — Undoubtedly it would be a great thing if the *multitude* were the true arbiters in art and morals. But we are very far from that ideal, and for my own part, I fear that both art and morals will always depend for their active existence upon a leading minority of the human race.

Tolstoi confuses corruption with civilization. The wealthy and refined are by no means so corrupt as he imagines; his charges apply only to a small class, living chiefly in great cities.

I agree heartily with him that art is not only a form of pleasure; that it is a serious and noble activity. But surely a great artist may be inspired by ideals altogether at variance with the religious spirit of his time.

The most valuable thing in his book is his *definition of art* itself: a new definition, scientific and admirable. "L'art constitue un moyen de communion entre les

[3] Gabrielle crossed out a word and changed "perfect" to "perfection."

hommes s'unissant par les mêmes sentiments . . . L'art est donc un moyen de transmettre les sentiments." Does not this seem to you very good? [4]

Don't grieve, dear, that the old languages are unknown to you. As I said, life is so short, and the knowledge you already possess is far more than enough for our intellectual communion. It delights me that you know many things of which I am ignorant. You will often be my teacher. In one thing — all that concerns the higher life of the soul — I shall always be your pupil.

Gabrielle, if it is permitted to live with you for a few years, I shall *forget* all my life that came before. It will be impossible to realize myself apart from your love and guidance. And some day, my beloved, some day, everyone who reads what I write and cares for it shall know my debt to you. The only difficulty will be to express it in mere words.

About the history of the English language. There are several delightful books on the subject; it used to be one of my favourite studies. You shall know them before long. But at present, dear girl, I cannot let you undertake any more reading. You have more than enough on hand. Remember your health, sweet, and *never* overtax yourself with study.

Of course it is delightful to know that you are translating my stories, but I fear you are often wearied. And not all the stories in the world are worth *that*. Seriously, darling, be very careful. I dare not think of a failure in your health.

A lot of interesting books have just come from the library. There are two plays of Pailleron,[5] a volume of the "Vie Littéraire" by Anatole France,[6] the Nouvelles of Théo. Gautier,[7] and Les Poètes of Barbey d'Aurevilly.[8] In English

[4] We have failed to find in the French press the article Halpérine-Kaminsky projected to write. As to the passage alluded to by Gissing, it reads as follows:

"Art is a means of union among men, joining them together in the same feelings, and indispensable for the life and progress toward well-being of individuals and of humanity.

"As, thanks to man's capacity to express thoughts by words, every man may know all that has been done for him in the realms of thought by all humanity before his day, and can in the present, thanks to his capacity to understand the thoughts of others, become a sharer in their activity and can himself hand on to his contemporaries and descendants the thoughts he has assimilated from others, as well as those which have arisen within himself; so, thanks to man's capacity to be infected with the feelings of others by means of art, all that is being lived through by his contemporaries is accessible to him, as well as the feelings experienced by men thousands of years ago, and he has also the possibility of transmitting his own feelings to others." (American translation by Aylmer Maude, *What is Art?*, The Library of Liberal Arts, 1960)

[5] Edouard Pailleron (1834–1899), a French poet and playwright, today altogether fallen into oblivion. His most popular play was "Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie" (1881).

[6] The five volumes of "La Vie Littéraire" by Anatole France (1844–1924) contained the critical articles he had contributed to the Paris daily *Le Temps*. The first volume was published in 1888.

[7] Théophile Gautier (1811–1872) is best known by his poems and his novels. His volume called *Nouvelles* was published in 1845.

[8] Barbey d'Aurevilly (1808–1889), a French novelist and critic. He was, like Gissing though in quite a different way, haunted by the decadence of society. His novel "Les Poètes" was published in 1862.

George Gissing in 1895

Courtesy of Madame Denise Le Mallier and University of Washington Press

Gabrielle Fleury about 1904, with "Bijou"

Courtesy of Madame Denise Le Mallier and University of Washington Press

there is a history of Europe in the Middle Ages. I think I have not told you yet of my strong interest in the Sixth Century. For some years, I have studied it, when I had time, and (don't laugh) I have even got together a great many materials for a historical novel of that time — one of the figures in which would be S. Benedict. — But this will not be written until I am at peace; that is to say, not till you and I have joined hands for ever. And perhaps you will think the subject not very hopeful. We will speak of it some day.[9]

The relations between my mother and myself would seem to you rather strange. We are excellent friends, but — as is so often the case in England — we have very little in common, mentally or morally, and *never* talk in a confidential way. My mother has lived a very narrow life in a little provincial town; she is purely domestic, and religious in a very formal way. Often I have lamented the lack of sympathy between us. But it does not cause her any suffering — of which I am glad.

Well, this is English, you know.[10]

I want to tell you something about my sisters. The elder (Margaret) has always been in poor health; she is rather bitterly religious, but, I am bound to admit, acts strictly in accordance with her ideals of duty. The younger (Nelly) is more in sympathy with me. She plays and sings — is passionately devoted to music; knows enough French, German and Latin to read ordinary books in those languages; and has a practical intelligence. I think very highly of her moral nature; and only wish she were not such a hopeless slave of religious formalism. Her sensibility is extreme; she cannot bear to think that even a mouse should be killed. A good, gentle, tender-hearted girl, greatly loved by her friends. — Provincialism is the defect of both. It cannot be helped, and of course I never contest their views or try to disturb their ideals.

9 This story — which he failed to complete — was published posthumously as *Veranilda* in 1904.

10 There is an interesting earlier statement in a letter to his brother Algernon: "I was rather struck with some remarks Mrs. Gaussen made about Mother's portrait the other day, in looking over my album. She said it was a strikingly handsome face, and extraordinarily full of character. I amazed her by explaining that I was really quite unable to say whether the character was in reality there or not: so utterly a stranger, on reflection, do I find my own mother to be to me. A curious state of things." (Oct 26 1884)

22

September 9 1898

7 Clifton Terrace, Dorking

My darling, it is inevitable that a lover should use language which sounds extravagant in praising the woman he loves; passion will not be content with anything less than the most fervid utterance. Yet, the more I think of you as you show yourself in your letters, the harder it is to believe that *any* terms of admiration can in this case be excessive. Speaking calmly, I find myself obliged to use the same language as when I lose myself in a rapture of worship. I am very sure, my Gabri-

elle, that no woman ever (in prose at all events) gave more perfect expression to the most perfect tenderness than you when you are writing to me. Some of your sentences make me, for the moment, feel faint with responsive emotion. In spirit I fall on my knees before you, subdued by such a revelation of exquisite womanhood. The reaction is no less delightful; for, after that mood of subjugation, I remember that your tenderness has its natural counterpart in my passionate desire; I recover myself, I rise and clasp you to my heart, and kiss your sweet face, and, in a frenzy of imagination, seem to make you all my own. Beautiful, we love each other; that is the first and the last word; we love each other with the strongest and the highest love.

How it has touched me, your request that I should say in what manner I prefer to see your hair arranged! Sweet, I beg that *you* will decide that. — And yet, I think I know *how* you will decide. The Gabrielle who comes to me must be the Gabrielle whom I first saw. It is marvellous how clearly I keep that vision! — I was looking this way and that, on the station platform, wondering what sort of lady I had to expect. Suddenly my eyes fell on a figure which, in the same instant, I *hoped* was hers. And (I have never yet told you of this little experience) so strongly did I hope it, that the hope excited a corresponding fear lest I should be mistaken. Though finding myself near you, I *deliberately turned and moved away.* Of course you could not be aware of that, but I have several times recalled it. It was as though an instinct made me tremble in your presence; I could not approach with matter-of-fact readiness to the woman who, so mysteriously, was about to take possession of my life. Another glance from a distance, and I drew near again. Then — your voice — your voice —

I must tell you something. I mentioned to my housekeeper the other day that "Mlle Fleury" would probably be my guest early in October for a few days. Her reply was: "I am so glad. It will be so delightful to hear *her voice* again."

Indeed, your voice is perfect music. My beloved, how I hope that a word of tenderness, spoken as you can speak it, will be the last thing I hear on earth.

I have asked myself: can I, after winning her love, *retain* it? When Gabrielle is my wife indeed, shall I weary her, shall I pain her, will she become disillusioned? — But I think not. All I know is that I shall live only in the thought of deserving your love, and I *cannot* believe that I shall fail. Your equal, sweet, I cannot be; but if I give you my whole heart and soul, and strive — always strive — upward to you, your love will supply all my deficiencies.

Your remark on Tolstoi's definition of Art is full of intelligence, and, from one point of view, perfectly just. But I ought to have told you that he refuses the name of true Art to anything but that which is *universal* in its appeal. He would say: "The highest art is exhibited in the Old Testament narratives, which ask only a human mind and a human heart for their comprehension." — Then again, he would defend his definition by saying that art is the *effort* to communicate sentiments — an effort which may or not succeed. Indeed, I should like to amend his phrase in this way; and then, I think, it would be completely true. — For all that, your remarks seem to me thoroughly sound. We will talk of the subject — *TALK*

of it! And let me never hear that my Gabrielle utters "des bêtises!" Thank Heaven, that is impossible!

I have been reading so much lately, dear, because the heat has made it impossible to work. Never mind; *three* of the Dickens prefaces are finished, and I shall not need to do any more of them for some months.[1]

By the bye, I have taken a great liking to Anatole France. The first thing of his that I read was a novel: "Le lis rouge,"[2] and I did not greatly care for it. I thought it needlessly sensual; the fact is, I am not attracted by pictures of physical passion; love is, to me, much too sacred to be confused with this sort of thing. But since then I have read a volume of his "La Vie Littéraire," and I find his critical attitude most sympathetic. He is a classical scholar, sometimes delightfully (and consciously) pedantic, and this appeals to me very strongly. I shall get the other volumes.

I am so glad to know that you have a telegraph office, for it *might* be necessary. If a letter had not come this morning, I fear I should have been very miserable all day. I could not touch my breakfast until the postman's arrival. — Gabrielle, whatever may come of it, you and I are united for life. If I lost you, I have a terrible certainty that despair would make an end of me — yes, in spite of my strong sense of the duty I owe to my poor little children. To live without you, is very hard, to live without *hope* of you would be impossible. I have had a warning of that despair in the sinking of the heart which comes upon me when, after a few days, a letter has not arrived. I *know* it will come; the unhappiness of the moment is absurd; but it tells me what would result if I lost you[r] [. . .][3]

Darling, though it may seem sad to you that I receive so little intimate affection from my relatives, this involves one consolation. My nature is made for love, and *all* the love of which it is capable goes forth to you. When I call you my wife, oh, how much that means! The word has acquired a new significance for me; most happily, I have escaped from all the old associations it carried. [. . . darling. . . . Even if we could . . . (which heaven forbid) we never could have the perfect . . .] to my last breath, I should live only for you — day after day holding you to my heart, whispering to you my tenderest thoughts and hearing yours in return.

It is pleasant to know of the deep sympathy between you and your Mother. Yes, I understood it, dearest. Though an Englishman, I have the highest opinion of a mother's rights and duties; I am very sure that social progress is only possible in that direction — the sanctifying of the relations between a woman and her children. I tried to make this clear in "the Whirlpool,"[4] and that is why I care more for this story than for most of the others. — How good, how delightful, that you and I are absolutely in sympathy on these points of highest importance! It is as I have said before; some day we shall understand each other so perfectly that a mere look between us will be equivalent to many words.

[1] The prefaces to *David Copperfield, Dombey & Son,* and *The Pickwick Papers.*

[2] *Le Lys Rouge,* a novel published in 1894, tells of the *liaisons* of the Countess Thérèse Martin-Bellème in a worldly artistic atmosphere.

[3] The opening sentence of the next letter seems to suggest "respect" as the missing word, but the ms does not confirm this assumption.

[4] *The Whirlpool* was published in April 1897 by Lawrence and Bullen. In this novel Gissing studies the disintegrating forces at work in London society.

I wish you could have been among your glorious glaciers, darling. Yes, you are at home in that pure air, on those high mountain slopes. You, with your noble mind, your great heart. Some day, beloved, some day!

From time to time I shall quote to you a few lines of my favourite poetry — the lines that are oftenest in my mind. Do you know Landor? Probably not. He wrote not much verse, but very perfect, very noble, on the Greek pattern. Take this *Epitaph* written for himself.

"I strove with none, for none was worth my strife.
Nature I loved, and, after Nature, Art.
I warmed both hands before the fire of life;
It sinks, and I am ready to depart." [5]

Some day I shall send you a little volume of Selections from Landor.
[.....]

GEORGE

It is always like this — I *can't* say good-bye to you — I come back, my heart throbbing and longing. Gabrielle, Gabrielle, my dear, dear love!

[5] A quotation from Landor's poem "Age," included in *Imaginary Conversations and Poems*, in Everyman's Library, p 351. Gissing quoted from memory. The second line reads in fact: "Nature I loved, and, next to Nature, Art;"

29

[October] 3 1898

Dorking

My dearest, we are having wonderful weather. How I hope it will not change before you come!

Yesterday (Sunday) was such a glorious morning that I started at 10 o'clock for a long bicycle ride.[1] I returned at 1, having ridden nearly 30 miles — away into the lovely lanes of Sussex. Perfect weather! A blue sky, a cool breeze; on everything the soft colours of autumn. I felt well and happy and hopeful. My whole being was a song of joy and gratitude — of gratitude to you, my own dear love, you who have made a new man of me, and have given me a new world to live in.

"Perhaps never." — You remember that phrase? How long ago it seems! And when I said it, I was secretly longing for your love. But I said to myself: "Don't be foolish; don't hope for the impossible; crush all your desires under your feet!" — Even when I had your first kind letter, you know how I replied. I thought: "What is the use of indulging a hope that can lead to nothing? I am not free. I have no right to offer her my love, nor accept hers.[2] What good can come of it?" [.....]

---

[1] "In morning a long and glorious ride to Rudgwick" (Diary, Oct 2 1898).

[2] Gabrielle changed Gissing's words to "or to ask for hers."

I used to be so envious of people who were — or seemed to be — happy. Now, I envy no one in the world. I have the best thing any man can possess. It is for others, now, to envy *me*?

I have just read Tolstoi's "Sonate de Kreutzer." [3] I had to read it, because it is concerned with the subject I am treating in my new novel.

Well, the book is either a disgusting outrage, a horror or an infamy; or it is a very fine moral lesson. Which? — I am afraid, the former. I fear Tolstoi meant it really as an expression of his ascetic philosophy — the old philosophy which maintains that the body is evil; the philosophy which is really Manichæism, which has appeared and reappeared throughout the history of civilization. In that case, the book is detestable, brutal, vile. No spiritual aim can save it from utter condemnation.

If, on the other hand, Tolstoi had meant to show the result of marriage without love, when the man is a brute, and the woman foolish — why, then, it would be a very painful, but a very fine work.

Indeed, I find it very difficult to believe that so great an artist intended this story as a *defence* of the theories set forth by the narrator. Yet, I fear the critics were right in understanding it so. I fear they were justified by Tolstoi's other (later) writings. — But *how* can a noble-minded man imagine that his philosophy, or his religion, is supported by such a picture of unspeakable brutality?

Perhaps you have not read the book. (I forget; we just mentioned it.) Some day we will talk about it, and will laugh at the outrageous falsity of its theories. As a *picture* it is true — dreadfully true as I know only too well.) It proves, however, what everyone knew already: that marriage without love is an abomination.

Well, well, I see more clearly than ever my task in "The Crown of Life." This book will not be a piece of cheap and foolish idealism; but I think it will exhibit the great truth that Love is the purifier of hearts; and that where Love exists there is no such thing as base sensualism. Man and woman are not spirit only; there is body as well as soul; and the senses have their just part in sexual love. How vast is the distinction between love and sensuality, I hope to make very clear.

I abhor that creed of asceticism. It means every sort of intellectual vice, and, in truth, favours just the vices it is supposed to attack. In true love, body and soul are indivisible; there can be no perfect love without surrender of both. — I am quite sure you will not misunderstand me. You will give me credit for presupposing self-respect and self-control: in short, for presupposing an undepraved character.

Some day, we will talk of all this, and make clear our thoughts about it. For intelligent people, it is at the root of all happiness.

October 4

I am almost ill with excitement on receiving your letter. Thank you, my darling, my darling! Even if it be a day or two later than Thursday, at least you are coming!

I have made careful inquiry about trains. The journey is slow, but not difficult. [. . .]

[3] *The Kreutzer Sonata* had been published in 1889. Apparently he read the book in the French translation. Gissing's violent condemnation of Tolstoi can be accounted for by the epigraph to the book itself: "But I say unto you, That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart" (Matthew 5, 28).

30

[October] 23 [1898] [1]

Dorking

My beloved, my own dear Gabrielle, I have longed for the moment to come when I could write to you. At other times, I am always *talking* of you, talking silently, and hearing your sweet voice reply to me. — I am glad, dear, of all you tell me in your last letter; except of the one thing, that Mme de Musset thought you had grown thin. However, you have promised me to take care about your health. Do you realize what it would mean to me if you were ill? The whole world would be darkened; I should live in utter despair. Make it a duty to take a good deal of nourishing food, my dear girlie, and let me see the beautiful face still more beautiful when we meet again.

[. . . .]

You will be glad to hear that I have at last received the money from America. They tell me that "The Town Traveller" continues to sell.[2]

I have had an admirable week's work. Will you believe that I have done *four chapters*! This is an excellent beginning. I think the stuff is not bad, and I see the progress of the story very clear before me. At this rate, if there are no interruptions, I ought to finish the book in January.[3]

The truth is, that I have not felt so well for many years. In spite of wet and stormy weather, I rise every morning in the best spirits and work all day without the slightest fatigue. There can only be one explanation of this. You have given me a new life, physical as well as mental. It is the simple literal truth! I feel a revival of youthful energy. My breathing gives me no trouble at all; I can walk rapidly with ease; my mind is clear and cheerful.

My beloved, what shall I say to the woman who has done all this for me, and who, in addition, has filled my heart with rapture such as I never dreamt of? I want to fall on my knees before you, to kiss your feet, to bless you and worship you. You are more than a woman to me; you are something divine, holy. I cannot resist the feeling that you were sent to me, in my terrible need; there is something supernatural in our having met.

I am become an extravagant optimist. I never regard the possibility of unhappiness befalling us — and simply because I *dare* not. Moreover, the thought seems a wild inconsistency with the wonderful things that have happened. When you consider how many details of life had to be specially adjusted in order that you and I should come together [. . .] are you not overwhelmed with astonishment? I feel a conviction that we have many years of life together, before us. Little by little, my existence has come out of darkness; step by step, from poverty to

[1] Gabrielle's visit to Dorking lasted from Oct 8 to Oct 15. They decided their life in common should begin the next spring. Gissing's mother was not at Dorking during Gabrielle's stay, as H. G. Wells stated in a letter to Edmund Gosse dated January 4 1904: "Afterwards she came to England again and stayed at Dorking under circumstances of extreme decorum — his mother was in the house with him at the time." (*George Gissing and H. G. Wells*, ed Royal A. Gettmann, London, Rupert Hart-Davis 1961).

[2] Gissing alluded to the £100 Stokes had promised for the book. On the whole it was very favourably reviewed both in England and America.

[3] He had begun *The Crown of Life* for good; he finished the book on Jan 16 1899.

comfort, from obscurity to reputation; and now I have before me the supreme attainment — the crown of life!

You know the stories of painted madonnas which become alive when worshippers regard them. Strangely enough, whenever I look at your photograph, I seem to see it smile at me; the eyes brighten, the lips move; it seems about to *speak*. I am not exaggerating. This has happened several times, and has almost frightened me.

[...]

Indeed, my power of feeling passion seems to increase. It is certain that I love you more and more; that you take more complete possession of me. Sometimes I am almost afraid to think of the day when we shall meet never to part; I have a fear that my strength might fail, that I might die of happiness — But this only comes in the night-time, when I lie thinking of you. It is great suffering, and yet I would not have it otherwise.

[....]

To-day the sun is shining; the first time since you left Dorking. It has been a week of violent winds. Oh, how fortunate that you came down when you did! Do you know that the great storm began the day *before* you went; then it lulled for the Saturday, just to allow you to cross the Channel; before breaking out with greater violence than ever!

I am so glad that you can picture the life I am [leading day by day] [4]

[4] End of letter missing. The last words were added by Gabrielle.

32

[November 4 1898]

[....]

Mon âme, ma chérie, quand je réfléchis sur votre caractère, il me semble regarder une pierre précieuse à beaucoup de facettes. Votre esprit charmant, délicat, a tant d'aspects. Il y en a le sérieux, le tendre, l'enjoué — et bien d'autres. En ce moment, j'aime à rappeler votre exquise gaieté, votre rire — la musique de mon âme! C'est le côté de votre génie (vous avez un vrai génie en mille choses) qui me fait vraiment du bien, qui m'a rétabli la santé. Vous souvenez-vous que nous avons plusieurs fois ri ensemble, d'un rire franc, naturel, bienfaisant; ce qui ne m'était pas arrivé depuis bien des années! J'avais perdu la faculté de m'égayer, comme vous le savez bien. Voilà un moyen, my darling, de faire votre vieux George encore jeune.

[...]

Mon petit oiseau aux yeux d'or, si vous étiez ici pour me chanter ce soir! J'aime votre voix; je l'entends nuit et jour; elle me caresse le coeur, et me donne de beaux rêves. J'ai tant besoin de vous après les heures de travail, quand tout est tranquille, quand nous pourrions causer à notre aise. Mon cher petit oiseau! Vous vous en êtes allée avec les hirondelles; heureusement qu'avec elles vous allez revenir!

N'est-ce pas que nous rirons un jour, chérie, de tout ce que nous avons à souffrir maintenant? Mais la souffrance est dure. Vous savez si je suis fort, si j'ai

de la patience; pourtant, à certains moments je me trouve tout près des larmes. Je ne comprends guère pourquoi nous sommes séparés. Tout ce que je sais, c'est que j'ai faim et soif de votre présence. [. . .] Je n'ai vraiment pas le courage de contempler la vie sans vous. A mon esprit, vous personnifiez la vie même. En vous je respire; en vous j'ai tout mon être. Car vous m'avez créé de nouveau; vous m'avez donné la joie de l'existence.

Mon agent littéraire m'a fait part d'une intéressante proposition. Un journal provincial voudrait avoir de moi un article hebdomadaire — n'importe sur quel sujet — et offre un payement de £6 par semaine! Je ne peux pas l'accepter; je n'aurais pas le temps d'écrire un tel article; outre que je n'ai aucun désir d'entrer dans le journalisme. Mais il est bon de savoir que nous aurions toujours cette ressource, si le public se fatigue de mes romans.[1]

J'ai besoin d'un nom pour un personnage du roman — un Suisse (du côté français). Pourriez-vous m'en trouver un? Le nom devrait être bien sonnant. Si vous pourriez me donner aussi le prénom, tant mieux.[2]

Cet après-midi on m'a fait visite, inopinément. Une dame, avec son petit garçon; elle s'appelle Mrs. Williams;[3] je ne crois pas de vous en avoir parlé. C'est une amie des Wells, et j'ai fait sa connaissance à Rome, l'hiver passé. A vrai dire elle n'est pas très intéressante, (le petit garçon est insupportable,) mais je la crois passablement intelligente, et (étant riche) elle va un peu partout dans le monde. Veuve, elle a huit soeurs toutes mariées à des hommes riches ou distingués, dont deux Membres du Parlement. Elle s'intéresse aux pauvres de l'East-end de Londres; et est vraiment bonne et charitable, et se déclare socialiste. Se trouvant à Dorking pour visiter des amis, elle a passé chez moi, et je lui ai offert une tasse de thé. J'ai été bien amusé en remarquant sa curiosité; si peu de gens pénètrent dans le cabinet de travail de G.G.!

Dimanche viendra Morley Roberts, homme de lettres, que j'ai connu depuis vingt-deux ans. Nous étions ensemble au Collège. Il voyage beaucoup, et en ce moment est de retour du Cap. Il y a quelques ans, il est devenu amoureux d'une femme mariée,[4] très-malheureuse; après un délai décent, le mari a eu l'obligeance de mourir, et voilà Roberts uni à la femme qu'il aime. Elle n'est pas belle, et elle a trois enfants, âgés de dix à quinze ans, je crois. (Rappelez-vous le portrait de Roberts, à la cheminée de la salle à manger?)

Encore une fois, bonne nuit, ma chérie. Je vous aime! Je vous aime! Que je souffre du besoin de vous voir! [. . .]

1 Gissing informed Colles of his decision of declining the proposal on Nov 9. He never outgrew his dislike of journalism.

2 Among other names Gabrielle proposed Moncharmont, which Gissing adopted (see letter of Nov 20 1898).

3 Mrs Rosalind Williams was the youngest sister of Beatrice Webb. Gissing refers to her several times in his correspondence with H. G. Wells and his wife. She lived at Holmwood at the time.

4 Roberts had married Alice Selous in 1896. For a short biography of Roberts, see *Morley Roberts, the Last Eminent Victorian,* by Storm Jameson (London, The Unicorn Press 1961).

33

[November] 6 [1898]

Dorking

My darling Gabrielle, it delights me to hear that you [and Maman] are going to Nevers,[1] for that means that things are quieter at home.[2] They are quieter, also, I believe, in the great foolish world, and I have been able to do my work with a happier mind.[3] To-day, sweet, I am able to tell you that I have finished 10 chapters; that is to say, *a quarter of the book*! And in my opinion it is better than anything I ever wrote. But perhaps I deceive myself.

Again and again I turn to "Deux Collectionneurs." I never read anything of mine which seemed to me so good! But that is because it has passed through *your* mind; because it is the work of *your* dear hand. I am very proud to stand *en tête* of the *Gaulois*, and it makes me seriously hope that I may get a strong position among French readers. That would rejoice me, as you know.[4]

How active you are, dearest, in disposing of the short stories! I know you do this, very literally, *con amore*. I know you are yourself as glad as I am to find my work accepted. But let me entreat [you dearest wife] not to feel it too much if there should ever come a rejection. It would be rather a dreadful thing for me, now, if I some day found myself falling into neglect — forgotten by the public which now cares for me. No, it would not disturb us; [your love and mine does not hang on such things;] but I should be vexed on your account. I want always to succeed *for your sake*. I never cared much about it before; now it is precious to me, as is everything which pleases you.

When I sat down to work last evening, a very beautiful sunset was before my eyes. It turned to a cold, greenish, melancholy sky, which for a moment saddened me. Then all at once I realized the great fact that I am passing the last lonely evenings of my life! So many — ah, so many! And now I am passing the last of them. It is a glorious thought. What an impulse it gave me in my work!

In spite of this attack of eczema, I must really be very well. The coiffeur to-day amused me by saying that my hair grew constantly thicker, and that this was undoubtedly a sign of good health. I am sure it is. — And yet it is quite certain that the climate of Dorking does not quite agree with me. If I am so well here, what shall I be in Switzerland, with you! My firm belief is that I shall altogether renew my youth.

I never had such a multitude of ideas for books. I never felt so equal to work, and so hopeful about it.

Yesterday I received a letter from a town I never heard of, in Tennessee (United States), an enthusiastic letter from a man who has read all the books of mine he can get hold of, and wants a complete list of what I have published. More-

1 Chief town of the Nièvre department, on the Loire, in Central France, 145 miles south-east of Paris. There lived her grandparents and cousins.

2 M Fleury had been ill.

3 Gissing referred to the "newspaper threats of war with France. If it breaks out G. and I will go at once to Switzerland" (Diary, Nov 3 1898). Political tension between England and France resulted from the Fashoda incident between Lord Kitchener and Captain Marchand. The crisis came to an end when the French evacuated the place.

4 This was the translation of "Two Collectors" first published in *The Sketch* (Oct 23 1895). The translation appeared in *Le Gaulois du Dimanche* (Oct 28–29 1898).

over, he has written about me in the "*Sewanee Review*!" What a terrible name! But it is a sign of my growing reputation in America, you see.[5]

[. . .]

I have just finished reading the *Chronique du Règne de Charles IX*, and have found it decidedly interesting.[6] I have finished, too, Michelet's "La Montagne"[7] — a book I shall always remember. Very beautiful are those passages in it from the hand of his wife. They, I am sure, truly loved each other, and she was worthy of love. I can imagine *you* writing just as delightfully about the mountains that you love. Indeed, I feel sure that some day Gabrielle will write something very original, very admirable. It will come quietly, unexpectedly, without effort — the natural expression of your natural heart and mind.[8]

I sent the photograph to M. Quantin,[9] and hope he will have received it safely. It is not a very good likeness, but that does not matter very much, I think. The public may form what image of me they like; only let Gabrielle see me and know me as I am.

[. . .]

[5] Gissing's correspondent was Greenough White who had published a ten-page review article entitled "A Novelist of the Hour" in enthusiastic praise of *The Whirlpool* (*Sewanee Review*, July 1898, 360–370).

[6] A historical novel by Prosper Mérimée, published in 1829.

[7] Published in 1868. A romantic and pantheistic description of the Alps, the Pyrenees and other mountains. Michelet's idea of nature as a moral force was later to be developed by Barrès.

[8] Gabrielle came very near indeed to fulfilling this prophecy. An unpublished manuscript in her hand, called "Une enjambée sur les Pyrénées," is now the property of Mme Le Mallier. The story, a dozen pages long, relates an excursion Gabrielle made with Gissing to Roncesvalles in the summer of 1903. He gave Edward Clodd an account of their trip in a letter dated Oct 17 1903, which was published in Clodd's *Memories* (Chapman and Hall 1916).

[9] Has escaped identification, but very likely a friend of Gabrielle's.

40

[December] 18 [1898]

Dorking

My love, my love! I can think of nothing but these photographs. How shall I ever thank dearest [. . .] for sending them? [. . .] This little girl of five years old is the sweetest and loveliest little girl I ever saw in my life. Oh, the dear little mouth — so serious, so full of tenderness; and the beautiful, earnest eyes! How can I explain to you what I feel in looking at this portrait? Imagine the strange mixture of emotions — when I remember that this is Gabrielle! Always this will be my own little child, my sweet, darling little girl. I love her with the tenderest, purest love. It will be as if I had had a little daughter who died in childhood — and yet there will be nothing of the sorrow of loss! I have kissed the innocent, bright little face; I have whispered loving words to it; I have been overcome with emotion.

Mascarille[1] is wonderful, but I regret — indeed, I resent, one thing, and that is the *moustache*. What a pity! Without that, the face is marvellously beautiful. Never mind! There is still a charm such as no other such picture could have. [. . .]

[1] A character in three comedies by Molière: *L'Etourdi*, *Le Dépit amoureux*, and *Les Précieuses ridicules*. Gabrielle had successfully played the part of Mascarille in theatricals.

Darling, one troublesome thought mingles with my delight. I look back on my by-gone life, and I contrast it with the purity of yours. Gabrielle, will you forgive me everything? Can you forget, my darling, my beloved? Indeed, *I* have all but forgotten; it is only now and then that the dark thought comes back. Say that you forgive me, dearest love! Say that you will never look at that dark, hateful time. Believe, it does not enter in my present life. Believe that my love of you is unshadowed by anything unworthy! Say a word of comfort to me, beloved; assure me that you forgive all the wretched past.

Walter will be delighted with his present; he is not at all too old for it. Mrs Boughton will have hers at Christmas; she is pleased and flattered that you have not forgotten her. And the Caramels will be delicious, I know!

Now for my report. I went to the doctor, on Friday, and his opinion of my state is very encouraging. There is no active disease whatever — merely the same old tendency to weakness of the throat and chest. Heart quite sound. He thinks my respiration is distinctly better. Of course the eczema has complicated matters. He thinks I ought not to *rub* the skin at all, and advises a bath only a week, for the present. — Well, so far, so good. But I shall attach far more importance to the opinion of the doctor at Lausanne.

The Omar dinner was not very interesting this time.[2] The pleasantest man I met there was the artist Forestier — a delightful Burgundian, who has lived many years in England, and works for the *Illustrated London News*. He is always very cordial with me. Strange, I like him better than most Englishmen whom I know.

By the bye, my place at table was beside the President.[3]

I went home with George Whale, and there found a postcard from Mrs. Boughton, announcing the arrival of your parcel. Dieu merci! — At Whale's I stayed all yesterday. There came to lunch, on purpose to meet me, an interesting literary woman named Mrs. Clifford — middle-aged, a good talker. She told me that last week she dined in a company with the Bishop of London, and all through dinner the Bishop talked of nothing but — "The Town Traveller!" This is really astonishing — as you would realize if you knew the English feeling with regard to bishops.

I reached Dorking at 7 o'clock, and found your parcel!

As for your questions — yes, "Ionics" must be *ioniques*. "A minore" leave as it is, with a line drawn underneath it; and I should think "with an anacrusis" may become *avec anacruse*. These technical terms are much the same in all languages.

Yes, better translate *Miss* as well as *Mrs*; much better.

"Demos" was published anonymously, and for a very English reason. A year or two before, I had published "The Unclassed" (Chapman and Hall) — and Smith, Elder and Co. thought it such a shocking book that they were *afraid* to put its author's name on the title page of *Demos*!! [4] But I am told that in Tauchnitz's

[2] The Omar dinner had taken place two days before.

[3] L. F. Austin, whom he had known for some years.

[4] There was, however, another reason. Another novel of his, *Isabel Clarendon* (1883) was then in the hands of Chapman and Hall, and it seemed, both to author and publisher, better not to have two novels published under the same name within a few weeks.

Catalogue *Demos* appears under my name; and of course it has long since been published with my name in England.[5]

I wish to say a few more things about "L'Amour" and "La Femme."[6] One sees very easily that these books were written for a bygone generation. The *woman* of which they speak is not the woman of to-day. She is too weak, too unintelligent, too dependent. Dear old Michelet would have been gladdened by the change that has come about.

He says "La femme est une malade." Now this displeases me. I am perfectly sure that it is not true of the natural woman — the woman who is allowed to live a healthy life. You understand what he alludes to. But that is not *une maladie* — not at all; it is a physiological process, compatible with perfect health and strength.

Then again, I much dislike generalisations about women. They are just as unfair as generalisations about men. A woman is an individual. I utterly resent the thought that Gabrielle should be classed among a multitude. She is *herself*; a woman, yes, but also a human being. It would be not only unjust, but ridiculous, to suppose that Gabrielle resembled the typical young woman whom Michelet has in view — a person sadly unreasonable, a creature of instincts and impulses.

Yet, I repeat that the books are very interesting, and I quite approve the view he takes of physical relations. Let me say this one thing to you. [. . .] I agree completely with Michelet's earnest declaration that "Mariage, c'est *consentement*." I cannot imagine myself ever acting in contradiction of this. [. . .]

Dear girl, I do not like to think of you working so hard at N.G.S. It troubles me. I beseech you, have regard for your health! Remember, sweet, that there are still three months before you.

I am very glad you did not write a letter in reply to mine. Your dear hand must be weary of the pen.

I have reached page 100 of the MS of "The Crown of Life." — which means more than 300 printed pages; for each of my MS pages contains 1000 words — I write so small. I now see my way to the end. The book excites me. I feel that I am saying something that ought to be said, and which will interest all the best readers.

It will be very opportune, for it is concerned a good deal with Russia, and its aim is the encouragement of Peace. A very serious thing; I planned the book long before the Czar had sent out his proposal for disarmament. Yet the critics will accuse me of having made use, for my own advantage, of the present state of politics.

Of course, the chief interest of the book, as a novel, is the love-story, and as I draw towards the end I feel very strongly the emotions with which I am dealing artistically. Oh, how delighted I shall be when you can read it! I must let you

[5] *Demos* had appeared in two volumes in the Tauchnitz series shortly after the first English edition (1886). To profit by the popularity of *Demos*, his next novel *Thyrza* (1887) had been presented to the public as by "George Gissing, author of Demos."

[6] Published respectively in 1858 and 1859. In the latter, Michelet developed themes which Gissing had dealt with in his own novels: e.g. woman's place in society, her attitude to marriage, her physical and moral growth.

have the first copy in type-writing, I think — for you might be able to suggest alterations here and there.[7]

My heroine's name is *Irene*. Another curious thing; when I chose the name, I did so without reflecting that it means "peace!" (Please tell me; is not the French *Irène*?)

How right you were to decline to act Mascarille when Mme de Musset suggested it! I am not a prude, as you know, but here a point of essential delicacy was involved.

Of course you will let me see those translations of [. . . .] [It breaks] my heart to think that the years will pass by —that I shall grow older and older — that — !

My darling, my darling, let us love each other in this little life that remains. Let us live only for each other. I am driven to despair by the thought of leaving you. Very often, I can hardly bear my separation from you, in this time of waiting — it seems cruel.

I look again at the photographs. Yes, at the age of 16 you were indeed "la plus belle fille de France et de Navarre" ! It is a face of marvellous outline and expression — one of the purest types of beauty conceivable. I tremble in thinking of you. I ought to kneel before you and kiss your feet.

The truth is, I am too happy; it is almost too much to bear.

[. . .]

GEORGE

[7] There is no evidence that he carried out his promise.

46

January 25 1899

9 Wentworth Terrace, Wakefield [1]

Darling Gabrielle, dear, sweet, beautiful girl, your last letter is still warm in my mind, and I feel I did not thank you half enough for it. I cannot write as you do, my heart's darling; in this, as in everything else, you are far above me. And how glad I am to feel you so vastly my superior! All through my life I shall feel that, by love of you, by being near to you, I am made better than I otherwise could have hoped to be. I have said it many times, and I shall say it how many times more, in the years to come: it is you who have *saved my life*. In return I give it to you — all to you — in every moment and until the last.

Dear, it was with an aching heart that I travelled *away* from you, to the cold north. But I had your letter with me, and I knew that a few words from you would reach me here. — How could I live now without the hope of your letters? What a blank my life would be!

[1] He stayed with his mother and sisters from Jan 23 to Jan 28. One aspect of his journey to Wakefield he did not record in his letter. Algernon's disastrous financial position and poor health necessitated his family's help. George contributed £50 of the £150 promised by Ellen to enable her younger brother to rest.

I am trying to rest, beloved, but only because I wish to obey you. In truth, there is no rest for me, henceforth, except in one place — by the side of Gabrielle. But I do not feel cheerless; I am full of hope, looking forward.

No, I could not have seen you now only to say good-bye again! It would have been too hard; I doubt whether I could have returned to England. I remember too well what I suffered in that moment when I stood on the shore at Newhaven, and saw you going away, away from me — with the dread of the unknown future in my heart. You are right in saying that we must make the most of the time that is given us. How I hope it may be long!

Yesterday I received a note from Mlle Chevalier, saying that she accepted my terms for *The Whirlpool*, but that she would not be able to undertake the work before summer. I shall reply to her soon. — Just a polite word or two.

Since I arrived in Yorkshire, the weather has changed. There is severe frost, and wretched fog. I don't think I shall ever bring you to see this part of England. It is far from beautiful, this manufacturing district; the air laden with black smoke, and the country between the towns very bare and uninteresting. The towns themselves are hideous, hideous!

I am glad to find Walter in excellent health and spirits. He is very tall for his age, and very intelligent. It is noticeable that he excels in English composition; I have seen several of his class-compositions, and they are remarkably good — so well arranged and so perfectly grammatical. To me he is very affectionate. I am sure it delights him to see me, and he asks anxiously how long I am going to stay.

I shall return to Dorking on Saturday. My nerves are quiet again, and all black thoughts have disappeared — thanks to my beautiful bird, who sings to me such exquisite music!

Darling girl, I shall now live with my eyes on the day of our meeting. What day that will be, of course remains for your decision; you will tell me when another two months have gone by. And, when you tell me, will you promise to give me strength to bear the news? How shall I live through the last few weeks? And what shall I say when I *see* you once more standing before me? — What will *you* say?

Let us think of nothing but good and hopeful things — nothing else. The shadow of grief which has been resting upon you must pass away. [. . .]

My position here reminds me of yours when you were at Nevers. It is very difficult to write a long letter. Never mind; I shall soon be back again in my own study, and will write you a real love-letter. But you know that, if it were only half-a-dozen words from me to you, it would still be a love letter. For I cannot think of your name without a throbbing of the heart. — Dear, I often think that, of all French names I know, yours is far, far the most beautiful; and of English names there is not one to compare with it. It will be the last word that sounds from my lips.

Many, many kisses to my darling, to my Gabrielle. I fold you in my arms, sweetheart, and press you passionately to my heart. I love you for ever and ever, my beautiful, my treasure!

GEORGE

(*To be continued*)

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

President, GILBERT W. CHAPMAN
First Vice-President, ROY E. LARSEN
Second Vice-President, JOHN M. SCHIFF
Secretary, BETHUEL M. WEBSTER
Treasurer, GRANT KEEHN
Assistant Treasurer, UNITED STATES TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK
Director, EDWARD G. FREEHAFER
MRS VINCENT ASTOR
C. WALLER BARRETT
ROSWELL GILPATRIC
MORRIS HADLEY
ARTHUR A. HOUGHTON, JR
DONALD F. HYDE
DEVEREUX C. JOSEPHS
MRS MILLICENT C. McINTOSH
NEWBOLD MORRIS
THOMAS L. PERKINS
ROLAND L. REDMOND
DAVID A. SHEPARD
FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN
NORMAN H. STROUSE
WALTER N. THAYER
MRS ARNOLD WHITRIDGE

THE MAYOR, THE COMPTROLLER, AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, *ex officio*

HONORARY TRUSTEE
ELIHU ROOT, JR

STAFF OFFICERS

DIRECTOR, Edward G. Freehafer
DEPUTY DIRECTOR, John Mackenzie Cory
ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR, James Wood Henderson (Acting)
CONTROLLER, Mrs Angela M. Lyons
EXECUTIVE OFFICER, Bayard Schieffelin
CHIEF OF THE PERSONNEL OFFICE, Alan L. Heyneman
CHIEF OF THE PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICE, Miss Marion L. Simmons

REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

Central Building, Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street. Annex, 521 West 43rd Street
JAMES WOOD HENDERSON, Chief

EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT, Gilbert A. Cam
AMERICAN HISTORY AND GENEALOGY DIVISION, Gerald D. McDonald, Chief
ANNEX REFERENCE SERVICES, 521 West 43rd Street, Saro John Riccardi, Chief
ARENTS COLLECTIONS, John D. Gordan, Acting Chief
ART AND ARCHITECTURE DIVISION. Karl Kup, Chief
BERG COLLECTION, John D. Gordan, Chief
BOOK DELIVERY DIVISION, David C. Maclay, Chief
DANCE COLLECTION, Miss Genevieve Oswald, Curator
ECONOMICS DIVISION, John Fall, Chief
INFORMATION DIVISION, Archibald P. DeWeese, Chief
JEWISH DIVISION, Abraham Berger, Chief
MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, Robert W. Hill, Keeper of Manuscripts
MAP DIVISION, Gerard L. Alexander, Chief
MUSIC DIVISION, Philip L. Miller, Chief
ORIENTAL DIVISION, John L. Mish, Chief
PERIODICALS DIVISION, Barron M. Franz, Chief
PREPARATION DIVISION, Joseph A. Rosenthal, Chief
PRINTS DIVISION, Karl Kup, Chief
RARE BOOK DIVISION, Lewis M. Stark, Chief
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY DIVISION, George S. Bonn, Chief
SLAVONIC DIVISION, John L. Mish, Chief
SPENCER COLLECTION, Karl Kup, Adviser
THEATRE COLLECTION, George Freedley, Curator

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

Headquarters: Donnell Library Center, 20 West 53rd Street, New York, N. Y. 10019
MRS JEAN ORTH GODFREY, Chief

ASSISTANT CHIEF, Miss Mary Dana
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES, Mrs Julia Brody, Coordinator
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT, Mrs Dorothy Homer
TECHNICAL SERVICES, Mrs Sydney G. Marcu, Coordinator
ADULT SERVICES, Miss Katherine L. O'Brien, Coordinator
CHILDREN'S SERVICES, Mrs Augusta Baker, Coordinator
YOUNG ADULT SERVICES, Miss Margaret Scoggin, Coordinator
MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES & RECORDS CENTER, James Katsaros, Administrator

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT, *continued*

LIST OF BRANCHES AND LIBRARIANS

MANHATTAN

COORDINATOR, Miss Casindania Eaton

ASSISTANT COORDINATOR, Walter Roziewski

AGUILAR. 174 East 110th Street.
Miss Marie Ferrigno

BLOOMINGDALE REGIONAL. 150 West 100th Street.
Miss Erna Obermeier

CATHEDRAL. 564 Lexington Avenue.
Robert Powers

CENTRAL CHILDREN'S ROOM. Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street.
Miss Maria Cimino

CENTRAL CIRCULATION. Fifth Ave. & 42nd St.
Miss Mary C. Hatch

CHATHAM SQUARE. 33 East Broadway.
Miss Virginia Swift

COLUMBIA. Room 101, Butler Lib., Col. Univ.
John Slade

COLUMBUS. 742 Tenth Avenue.
Miss Eliza Perry

COUNTEE CULLEN REGIONAL. 104 West 136th Street.
Miss Esther Walls

DONNELL LIBRARY CENTER. 20 West 53rd Street.
Miss Loda Hopkins

EPIPHANY. 228 East 23rd Street.
Miss Regina Sludock

FIFTY-EIGHTH STREET. 127 East 58th Street.
Raymond Harris

FORT WASHINGTON REGIONAL. 535 West 179th Street.
Mrs Winifred Carruthers

GEORGE BRUCE. 518 West 125th Street.
Howard Rickert

HAMILTON FISH PARK. 415 East Houston St.
Mrs Mary Pieper

HAMILTON GRANGE. 503 West 145th Street.
Mrs Dorothy Pitman

HARLEM LIBRARY. 9 West 124th Street.
Mrs Rosa C. Brown

HUDSON PARK. 10 Seventh Avenue South.
Mrs Alice Vielehr

INWOOD REGIONAL. 4790 Broadway.
Miss Clara Rees

JACKSON SQUARE. 251 West 13th Street.
Miss Ruth Shinnamon

LIBRARY FOR THE BLIND. 166 Avenue of the Americas.
Miss Charlotte C. Harrison

MACOMB'S BRIDGE. 2650 Seventh Avenue.

MUHLENBERG. 209 West 23rd Street.
Miss Alice McQuaid

MUNICIPAL REFERENCE LIBRARY. 2230 Municipal Building.
Eugene Bockman

Public Health Division. 125 Worth Street. Room 224

MUSIC LIBRARY. 127 East 58th Street.
Mrs Catharine K. Miller

NATHAN STRAUS. 20 West 53rd Street.
Miss Elizabeth A. Boyle

NINETY-SIXTH STREET REGIONAL. 112 East 96th Street.
Miss Irene Patjens

115TH STREET. 203 West 115th Street.
Miss Anne Judge

125TH STREET. 224 East 125th Street.
Dale Middleton

OTTENDORFER. 135 Second Avenue.
Miss Mercy Kellogg

PICTURE COLLECTION. Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street.
Miss Romana Javitz

RIVERSIDE. 190 Amsterdam Avenue.
Miss Myrtle Reynolds

ST AGNES REGIONAL. 444 Amsterdam Ave.
Miss Dorothy Cobb

SCHOMBURG COLLECTION. 103 West 135th Street.
Mrs Jean Blackwell Hutson

SEWARD PARK. 192 East Broadway.
Miss Joan Treble

SIXTY-SEVENTH STREET. 328 East 67th St.
Mrs Margarethe Kortenbeutel Voorhis

TOMPKINS SQUARE REGIONAL. 331 East 10th Street.
Mrs Alice Alexander

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS. 1000 St Nicholas Avenue.
Mrs Regina M. Andrews

WEBSTER. 1465 York Avenue.
Miss Edna Thomson

YORKVILLE. 222 East 79th Street.

THE BRONX

COORDINATOR, Gerald Gold

ASSISTANT COORDINATOR, Miss Mary Barrett

ALLERTON. 2740 Barnes Avenue.
Miss Grace Iijima

BRONX BOOKMOBILES. 321 East 140th Street.
Mrs Mabel Bell

CASTLE HILL. 2220 Cincinnatus Avenue.
Philip Wolcoff

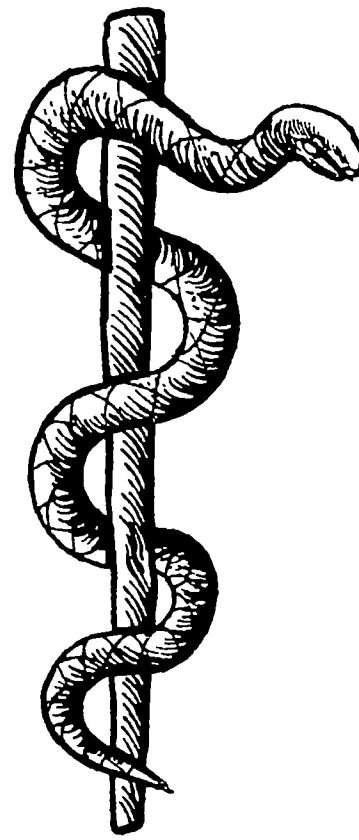
CITY ISLAND. 325 City Island Avenue.
Mrs Stella Webber

CENTRAL LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY

NOVEMBER 1964

BULLETIN
OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations



BULLETIN OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

VOLUME 68 NOVEMBER 1964 NUMBER 9

CONTENTS

PUBLISHING THEN AND NOW: 1912–1964 BY ALFRED A. KNOPF 555

DOCTORS AS MEN OF LETTERS: ENGLISH AND AMERICAN WRITERS OF MEDICAL BACKGROUND AN EXHIBITION IN THE BERG COLLECTION BY JOHN D. GORDAN 574

THE LETTERS OF GEORGE GISSING TO GABRIELLE FLEURY (A SELECTION: PART III CONCLUSION) EDITED BY PIERRE COUSTILLAS 602

LATEST PUBLICATIONS NYPL 618

EXHIBITIONS IN THE CENTRAL BUILDING 622

On the cover: A caduceus, in the single form which is the true symbol for Medicine. (The double form symbolizes military medical corps.) From the Picture Collection, from a plate in Maxime Laignel-Lavastine's *Histoire Générale de la Médecine*, Paris 1936–49.

Printed and published monthly except July and August, by The New York Public Library at Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10018. Subscription $3.00 a year, single numbers 30 cents.

Editor, DAVID V. ERDMAN; WILLIAM H. KNEEDLER, *Editorial Assistant*

Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y. November, 1964. Volume 68. Number 9.

form p5 [xi-10-64 19c]

Vol Dec 1964 No 10 Not-Received

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CENTRAL LIBRARY

Publishing Then and Now 1912-1964*

By ALFRED A. KNOPF

I SHOULD BEGIN by telling you that more than fifty years ago I secured my first job — as an eight-dollar-a-week clerk in the accounting department of what was even in those days a great firm, Doubleday, Page & Co in Garden City. So all my working life I have been in publishing and have known no other trade or profession. Thus while I have undoubtedly acquired a certain familiarity with the world of books, there may well, on the other hand, be disadvantages in so worm's-eye a view. And note that my experience has not been with technical books or those intended for students in elementary or high schools, but primarily with what we call "trade books" — those sold in book and department stores and intended for the general reader. I have also had a good deal of experience with college textbooks in the social sciences, if indeed there is any such thing as social science.

I would preface my remarks with two quotations — one, the well-worn French proverb *"Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose"* (have you ever noticed that all the old clichés, damn them, seem to be true?); the other, "Times change and men deteriorate," which my old friend and mentor Henry Mencken ascribes to the *Gesta Romanorum*, circa 1472.

The attitude of the young toward their elders and of the older generation toward the new never seems to change. So I am quite prepared to have any young person who hears or reads what I say this afternoon write me off as just another old man. Nevertheless I do believe that during the past half century times *have* changed, but not for the better, and that this is true of book publishing and publishers. But our industry — you can no longer call it a profession — is a difficult one about which to make generalizations. Yet they have to be made, even if as soon as you utter one an exception to it flashes through your mind.

How do publishers differ today from what they were fifty years ago? The first great change, to my mind, has been the emergence of the editor. When I went to work at Garden City I heard of only one *editor* aboard the ship: Harry Peyton Steger was the friend of O. Henry and Booth Tarkington, neither of whom required the services the author of today expects his editor to render. Let me quote from a letter I received not long ago from a

* Paper read in The New York Public Library on October 15 as 21st in the series of E. R. Bowker Memorial Lectures. Available as a separate publication of the Library at 25 cents a copy.

young and not unsuccessful novelist. He was explaining why he felt he had to leave us for another house. There he would have the assistance of a friend who "more than anyone else anywhere has for almost fifteen years now encouraged me, kept after me, slaved with me over my writing as an editor and a friend . . . there is no longer anyone in your firm with whom I have anything even approaching this kind of relationship which is of such great importance to me." In the old days, I think, the serious novelist believed more strongly in his own competence. Of course men like Conrad and Hudson and Galsworthy welcomed the advice and companionship of such a reader as Edward Garnett, but Garnett did not work for the houses which brought out most of their books. Steger died not long after I went to work and I cannot recall that he was replaced. Yes, the firm employed a reader — a middle-aged lady who disposed of the hopeless material, which probably didn't then amount to anything like the mass of worthless unsolicited manuscripts that clog up the publishing machine today. Every intelligent person from the head of the house down read submissions which seemed to have promise. Thus I, who had been promoted to a clerkship in the manufacturing department, was the first to read the manuscript of Conrad's *Chance* because I was a Conrad fan and familiar with his work. But in general authors wrote and publishers published. Kipling, Tarkington, Ellen Glasgow, the author of *Elizabeth and her German Garden*, David Grayson (he was actually the Ray Stannard Baker who later became Woodrow Wilson's first official biographer), even an English couple, C. N. and A. M. Williamson, who produced each year a sort of travelogue in novel form, *wrote* their books — and wrote them well. Of course this happens once in a while even today: I seldom know anything about the novels John Hersey, Shirley Ann Grau, Elizabeth Bowen, and John Updike are working on until I read their finished manuscripts. But fifty years ago publishers were publishers, and though they had to be reasonably competent businessmen if they were to stay afloat, they read for themselves. Indeed their relations with most of their authors made this necessary.

Now, despite what I said earlier, there *is* one generalization to which I have never known anyone in the trade to take exception — far too many books are being published nowadays. I think this is due in no small part to the steady growth in American publishing of the position and influence of the editor.

Today a writer who publishes a short story in *The New Yorker* has within the week offers of a substantial advance payment against royalties from

three or four publishers for a novel. No one — including the author much of the time — even knows whether he *could* write a novel. The prevailing view seems to be that anyone has at least one novel in him. It reminds me of the Irishman who when asked if he played the violin replied that he didn't know because he had never tried.

Not very long ago a distinguished professor at one of our great universities whose new book we had accepted for publication kept asking me, before we had even gotten around to signing a contract: Who is my editor going to be? Who is my editor going to be? He should not have needed an editor — only a publisher. But he *did* need an editor and chiefly because, like so many of his contemporaries, he didn't feel sufficient confidence in his own ability to make his own book exactly what he wanted it to be. As it turned out, I don't think his editor helped him nearly enough! And most frequently (though not in the case I'm speaking about) our American author, whatever his age, experience in life, and technical knowledge, simply can't write. I don't mean that he is not the master of a prose style of elegance or distinction; I mean that he can't write simple straightforward and correct English. And here, only an exceptional editor will really help him, because editors generally speaking can't recognize bad writing when they read it. Nor do they try very hard to learn to recognize it.

Let me, for example, quote a few passages from a book by a chairman of a department in a large university, as published by a large and distinguished house and *after* the manuscript had passed through an editor's hands. I know this because I had been offered this particular manuscript, and the published volume includes many passages which I had particularly noted as objectionable.

> "From now on the river would be abandoned in favor of the horse. Another dimension of mobility had been added."
>
> "But it was waterways whose fingers stretched out toward the plains that really brought forth men and women."
>
> "The river acted as a navel cord, feeding that embryonic community until railroads could deliver it as a lusty agricultural frontier."
>
> "So successful were their endeavors that most of the roads leading out of the region became quite unsafe as financial arteries."
>
> "Jim Hill had thrown a pair of rails across Northern Dakota and Montana, clear to the Pacific coast."
>
> "Within a decade after 1880 Dakota became plural."
>
> "Congress decided that to control the Missouri's tail was not enough; the whole animal had to be domesticated."

"Like many another and earlier frontier, cash simply had fled the country."

"In short, all hell broke loose as nature reached down to the bottom of its bag for its worst climatic weapons."

Speaking of the dust bowl of the thirties and help extended its victims by the federal government: "Then, when some of the sores were healed over, man could not refrain from picking at the scabs."

Such are samples of English prose read and approved for publication by an editor in a most respectable and respected publishing house. But we can go one step further. I watched carefully for reviews, even in the quarterlies, of this book, but did not find one that was in any way critical of the author's style. Indeed, one reviewer said that the author "writes easily and lightly, but is never frivolous, and his humor illuminates while it entertains." And another: "The style is quite lively considering the heavy burden of details."

This widespread weakness of American writers is a serious matter. My friend J. M. Barker, one of the builders of that great corporation Sears, Roebuck, in the course of a talk at the Graduation Luncheon of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology on June 7 1957 (his was the class of 1907), said:

> I speak first of the prime importance of mastery of the use of English. A word is the symbol of a thought concept, just as a friend's name is the symbol of the whole complex of associations which you have with his personality. Most of our constructive thinking is done with the shorthand of these word symbols. To think to a purpose requires a clear concept related to each word symbol. It is a sobering thought that each of us gives his hearers and his readers a chance to look into the inner working of his mind when he speaks or writes. If the outward expression is clumsy and vague, it is pretty certain that concepts are foggy, and the thinking defective. Only an incompetent mind is content to express itself incompetently.

William C. Warren, Dean of the Columbia University Law School, in his annual report some years ago wrote:

> Bluntly stated, as we encounter it, the liberal education which the bachelor of arts degree is supposed to represent has certain marked deficiencies. We are entitled to expect that the college graduate be able to read argumentative or expository prose swiftly, comprehendingly, and retentively; *that he be able to express himself in speech and writing grammatically, literately, and precisely* [italics mine]; that he has learned the basic lesson of using a dictionary. But we have found that few of our

entering students, however carefully selected, possess these skills to the extent needed for law study.

I am not speaking of copy editing. It's a rare author indeed — I've met only two in my time — who can prepare a manuscript so meticulously that the publisher can pass it on to the printer with instructions to follow copy exactly and ask no questions. The copy editor has to make sure that spelling and punctuation are correct, that capitalization is uniform, and so on. Incidentally, this is a service the publisher renders without cost to the author, and thereby saves him many a dollar in charges for corrections in his proofs.

Of course there *were* editors in the old days. But as often as not they were men of letters on their own account. One thinks, for example, of Robert Bridges and Edward L. Burlingame at Scribner's and Frank Doubleday's partner, Walter H. Page. Men such as these were not hired to go out and get books, though they obviously attracted authors to the house. But today the editor is hired largely for that purpose. So he does the best he can and if he can't get good books he usually takes what he *can* get — books that are not so good. And then he sometimes wrecks himself trying to make a silk purse out of what can never become anything but a sow's ear. If he is hired away from another firm (as happens all the time, for loyalties today are not very strong) and is lucky, he may bring with him some successful and even distinguished writers. But I suspect that most publishers today lack the ability to smell out a budding talent and prefer to buy away a property that has been discovered and built up by someone else. A few publishers are scrupulous about poaching on a competitor's preserves, but most are not and I can think of one house — and a very good one, too — whose list has been studded for decades with names that first appeared over other imprints. This house published the early and not very successful novels of Sinclair Lewis. One of its heads was foolish enough to solicit — I use the word advisedly — Dorothy Canfield, who happened to be more than just a Henry Holt author. She was a close and dear friend of Alfred Harcourt, who at the time was head of Holt's trade department. So Alfred — and he told me this himself at the time — looked over his unfriendly competitor's list very carefully, picked out what he considered the two most promising young novelists on it, sent for them, and gave each the price he asked for coming over to Holt. Sinclair Lewis was one of the two — the other did not pay off. True, Lewis never appeared on Holt's list, but that was because Harcourt had set up his own firm before *Main Street* was written. But a publisher seldom enjoys such sweet revenge. When we were a very young firm we didn't

realize the extent of this poaching (actually it was rather uncommon before the First World War). We didn't watch our fences so to speak and thus lost in quick order, among others, Julian Huxley, Sheila Kaye-Smith, E. M. Delafield, Mary Borden, and H. M. Tomlinson. You may recognize only two of these names — a sad reflection on the mortality of contemporary writing. It is hard to remember that every forgotten book (and we have published hundreds such) once seemed to its publisher something of value and likely to live for a long time. Here you may ask if we didn't steal Willa Cather from Houghton Mifflin. We did not. She simply walked unannounced into our two-room offices on West Forty-second Street one day, introduced herself, and was astonished that I knew her work and had read her most recent novel, *My Antonia.* She brought me *Youth and the Bright Medusa.* She didn't ask for an advance then — or ever.

As Willa Cather was so different in so many respects from any author I know or know about today, I will speak of her at some length. She was a lady of a very special kind — now all but extinct. Loyalty was one of her great qualities; if she was on your side it was almost impossible for you to do anything that she regarded as wrong. And if she was not on your side you simply couldn't do anything of which she approved. She left a most unusual will, but I know it expressed what she strongly believed. It forbids motion pictures or dramatizations to be made of any of her books. She used to say to me that if she had wanted to write a play or a motion picture she would have written a play or a motion-picture script. But she didn't — she wrote a novel or a short story or a novelette. The will also forbids the publication of any of her letters. She had, to be sure, once allowed a motion picture to be made of one of her best-known novels, *A Lost Lady.* But the experience was so disillusioning that she determined never to risk its repetition. One day Benjamin H. Stern, our close friend and long-time lawyer, who also represented her for many years, told me in his office that he had an offer from Hollywood for her that ran into six figures. Ben's office was on the thirty-fifth floor of the French Building, and I immediately told him that I would as soon jump out the window as mention this offer to Miss Cather. I added that I thought, if he wished to retain her good will, that he should not mention it to her either. He didn't.

She also refused to permit any cheap editions of her books to be published. Here again, she once made an exception and allowed *Death Comes for the Archbishop* to be included in the Modern Library. But as soon as this contract expired she would not permit us to renew it. One day Ferris Greenslet,

himself a man of letters, who directed the editorial work at Houghton Mifflin and had published her first four novels, came to my office to tell me that he had a proposition which would enable us — and Miss Cather — as he put it, to clip coupons from bonds for years to come. His plan was to include some of her books in the celebrated Riverside Press series of school and college editions of classics. She refused this offer out of hand, telling me that she did not want boys and girls to grow up to hate her because they had been forced to read her books when they were students.

Like many intelligent authors, she had a shrewd idea of the relative value of her own work, and when she brought me the manuscript of *Death Comes for the Archbishop* she said that our son would one day be paying royalties on it to her niece, and asked for special terms. But she was not greedy: she wanted an increase of one percent in the royalty, and refused to accept this on any later book.

She was opposed to book clubs, and for many, many years refused to permit us to offer them anything of hers. She said she felt most strongly that only people who really *wanted* to read her books should be asked to buy them. How she came to make an exception in the case of *Shadows on the Rock* is a small story in itself. The steady refusal of so important and popular a novelist to permit any of her work to be offered to members of the Book-of-the-Month Club was, naturally, a matter of some concern to the Club's management. Harry Scherman, with shrewdness that was not uncharacteristic, had one of his judges write a very long letter to Miss Cather explaining the workings of the Club and the advantages which it brought to authors. The judge selected to write this letter was Dorothy Canfield. She and Miss Cather had been friends since they had been undergraduates together at the University of Nebraska, where Dorothy's father was Chancellor. Miss Cather in her usual way brought the letter to me and asked my advice, saying that while she hadn't changed her mind about book clubs she hesitated to offend Henry Seidel Canby, the chairman, and the other judges.

At that time the retail book trade was conducting a vehement, though ineffective, campaign against book clubs. I decided to telegraph each of our salesmen to ask the most important bookseller he visited that day whether or not we should let the Book-of-the-Month Club have *Shadows on the Rock*. I naturally assumed that these booksellers would live up to their public protestations and support Miss Cather's position. I couldn't have been more mistaken. With one exception, they all said that they would like to see the book taken by the Club because this would increase their sale of it.

The buyer in a department store — a very small and unimportant outlet — voted in favor of what he thought was the position of the entire retail book trade. It was this refusal to sacrifice immediate sales for a longer objective that made the victory of the book clubs inevitable in this battle. Thus I remember visiting a favorite midwestern shop whose owner was always denouncing book clubs and finding right in the middle of his store — indeed in front of his own desk — a big display of the latest Literary Guild selection.

In the fall of 1921 Paul R. Reynolds, the dean of New York literary agents, wrote me that a publisher had told him that in his opinion there was no reason why Cather's work shouldn't be as well known as that of Edith Wharton, and that he would like a chance to make it as well known as Edith Wharton's. Reynolds asked if Miss Cather would not like to meet this man. I sent her Reynolds' letter, and she returned it without comment, simply writing in the margin: "I wonder who?" Nothing came of this proposal.

But I would not like to give you the impression that she was not interested in what happened to her books after we published them — and, indeed, before. She concerned herself about their typography, their bindings, their wrappers, and the copy that appeared on the wrappers. She followed our advertising closely — only once in all the years we worked with her did she complain that there was not enough of it. She watched our copy and objected when she found it, as she sometimes did, "dull and uninteresting." Then as likely as not she would sketch out and send us the sort of advertisement that she felt did her work justice. In the case of *Death Comes for the Archbishop* she supplied the text for the wrapper and we printed exactly what she gave us. She said, wisely, that a jacket should tell readers what they want to know — something about how and why the book was written, for that, she said, is what strangers usually write authors letters about.

With it all she was extremely modest and always showed the greatest pleasure when Blanche and I wrote or wired her enthusiastically after we had read a new manuscript. She told me that *Shadows on the Rock* was the only book she had ever felt nervous about, and that it was a great comfort to her that Blanche and I and other people in the office had confidence in it.

Publishers are always asked about the influence wielded by book reviewers and other people who talk and write about books. When I was a young man William Lyon Phelps, or "Billy" as he was known to everyone, was in his prime as a teacher at Yale. There was no question of his ability to convey his enthusiasm for a book to many, many readers. The same was true of Henry Mencken, though Henry frequently made sales for a book by damning

it in his characteristically exuberant and amusing fashion. Burton Rascoe, writing regularly in *The Chicago Tribune*, had a very sizable following, as did Fanny Butcher on the same paper. When Henry Sell started a book page for *The Chicago Daily News* he wrote lead reviews himself that were frequently contagiously enthusiastic. Heywood Broun had a considerable following. Indeed, I remember that when we published Floyd Dell's first novel, *Moon-Calf*, it sold very modestly until Broun printed something like — I can't remember the precise words, but this is about what he said: "Read *Moon-Calf* by Floyd Dell; yes, even *Main Street* can wait." And *Moon-Calf* was on its way.

Even so the influence of the critic was usually strongest when he had no connection with the world of book reviewing. Thus in the early thirties when Walter Lippmann devoted a column to high praise of a new book by Sir Arthur Salter, the publisher sold out his edition the same day. When George Sokolsky, writing in the old *New York Sun*, strongly recommended a small book on Japan by Hugh Byas which we had just published, we began to receive telephone orders for it the same afternoon. When Theodore Roosevelt reviewed an early book by William Beebe in *The New York Times Book Review*, Beebe was established at once as a very popular writer. And of course there's the classic example of Stanley Baldwin's reference in an after-dinner speech when he was British Prime Minister to the books of Mary Webb, which had enjoyed very small sales up to that time though they had presumably all been reviewed in the usual way.

Things are different today. I know of only one man writing about books professionally who can really *make* one — Orville Prescott of *The New York Times*. And I must say in fairness that Mr Prescott's enthusiasm must be wholehearted and without reservation of any kind.

But to return to Miss Cather. In August 1931, when *Shadows on the Rock* had sold over 65,000 copies, I wrote her: "I am glad that you feel as you do about the New York reviews. I am pretty sure that it has taken the better part of four years for most of these people to become convinced of the greatness of the *Archbishop*. I suppose when your next novel comes out they will be writing what a grand book *Shadows on the Rock* was."

She had written me that the New York reviews had not disturbed her and recalled that when the *Archbishop* had come out the reviews, with few exceptions, were very nasty. Indeed, she said that the worst reviews she ever got were for *My Ántonia* — that in the whole country there were only three enthusiastic ones — that only *A Lost Lady* and *Youth and the Bright*

Medusa had had good reviews. In fairness I must add that *Shadows on the Rock* did get some very good notices, especially those written by Governor Wilbur L. Cross of Connecticut (formerly a very distinguished professor at Yale), by Fanny Butcher in *The Chicago Tribune* (she was ever faithful to Cather's work), and by the reviewers in *The San Francisco Chronicle* and *The Atlantic.* And in 1934 when she was traveling in Europe I wrote her that "*Lucy Gayheart* pursues the even tenor of her way—without benefit, as usual, of the reviews." And a little later when the sale had nearly reached 50,000 copies: "I hope you don't read many of the American reviews — vicious is the only word to be applied to most of them. I almost wish we had sent out no copies of the book for review at all."

So I think another generalization holds: reviews alone don't sell books.

At about the time that Miss Cather brought us *Youth and the Bright Medusa* Mencken came to us; so did Carl Van Vechten, Clarence Day, Hergesheimer, Thomas Beer, Sigrid Undset, Kahlil Gibran, and Katherine Mansfield, and with none of these was an advance ever a consideration. They came either through a friend of the house, or like Willa Cather because they admired what we were doing. We did, I think, pay small advances to Katherine Mansfield and once Gibran asked us for two thousand dollars for his *Jesus, the Son of Man.* We paid it cheerfully enough and naturally went on to offer it for his next book, only to have him refuse it. He explained that when he asked for it he was only testing our belief in him and was now quite satisfied. So when I think of what publishing is like today I realize how spoiled we were. And not only because most of our authors trusted us to give them fair contracts but also because they were competent professionals who wrote their own books. We read their manuscripts with pleasure and admiration and they cherished our enthusiasm, but we never thought to tell them how to improve on what they had done. (Once in a while we might come up with an idea — never for a novelist — but somehow the resulting books were usually their authors' less successful ones. Logan Clendening's *The Human Body* was a notable exception.) Of course there are such writers on our list today — the names of John Hersey, Elizabeth Bowen, Conrad Richter, Jon Godden, Ross Macdonald, Hammond Innes, John Updike, Robert Nathan, and Shirley Ann Grau come immediately to mind.

These, you will notice, are all novelists. What about writers of non-fiction? Here the literate publisher soon becomes bored stiff by men and women (and there are so many of them) who have good material but can't organize it or write decently. I am not speaking of the public figure, say a great indus-

trialist — we have no right to expect him to be a writer as well — but people who think they can write books and really want to write them but simply have not mastered competent straightforward English prose. When I complained about the horrible style in which a manuscript had been written by friends of his, the late Walter P. Webb told me that these were simple folk while I was a sophisticated city slicker who wanted elegant prose. I told him he could hardly have been more mistaken, that I had given up years and years ago any hope of finding elegant prose where it didn't exist in the first place. In my insanely quixotic days I have worked over manuscripts by friends and suffered that most painful and infuriating experience of having to read sentence by sentence very slowly to make sure that the author had at least made his meaning clear. And these were manuscripts by men whose letters and speech possess all the simple good qualities that their formal writing lacks. How can this be so? Absence of training — rhetoric and composition it used to be called when I was young — the consequent lack of an ear, and laziness, sheer laziness. And above all — and this I want to emphasize — that ever-present editor who makes it so easy to get a book accepted for publication. The writer who can't do his job looks to his editor to do it for him, though he wouldn't dream of offering to share his royalties with that editor. However, the editor as often as not is lazy too, has a poor ear, and is less than eager to tackle work that is boring at best and painfully slow. I have read many a book of ours with a feeling of shame for the shabby way in which the editor had dealt or rather failed to deal with the author's prose.

On the other hand there are historians — and people in other disciplines too; I just happen to know historians best — who *can* write and with whose prose one would not dare to tamper. Samuel Eliot Morison comes immediately to mind. And Kenneth Stampp is one of the only two writers who have ever given me a typescript so letter-perfect that not a word or capitalization or punctuation mark had to be altered before the printer began to set.

But publishing has changed. Only recently I read in a piece by a young editor that "the primary function of a good Editor is to mediate between the Writer and their mutual employer, the Publisher. To the Writer the Publisher represents Society and is therefore the Enemy." The young man continued: "A writer once defined for me the typical Publisher-Author relationship as 'a knife to the throat.'" While this writer may have thought he was uttering an original epigram, I can tell you on good authority that it

was my first employer, Frank N. Doubleday, who told a younger colleague that the relationship of the *agent* to a publisher is that of the knife to the throat. My young man went on: "To the Publisher, the Writer represents a punchy meal-ticket: i.e., an amalgam of economic unreliability and social instability." And earlier in the same piece he wrote: "It would be impossible to overestimate the importance of a good editor to a good manuscript." This young editor is a successful one, and I am told a good one as editors go these days. But he seems to me to confuse the functions of the editor and the publisher. After all, if the publisher is anything like the man he ought to be he will have great curiosity, broad interests, and that very old-fashioned quality, taste. Of course, many publishers today are making a great deal of money out of books which can only offend the taste of any cultivated reader. If the publisher is wise, he will try to publish to please himself. I always envied Grasset, the French publisher, the series which he called "Pour Mon Plaisir." The English language, alas, just doesn't lend itself to so perfect and charming a phrase. To publish what you don't like because you think a lot of readers will disagree with you is, I think, a mistake. Of course, I have published many, many such books, but if you select from our entire list only those titles which have sold more than 100,000 copies in the original edition, you might well conclude that virtue *is* rewarded. And even in the field of college textbooks, which I am not talking about today, the one that I have long regarded as the best we have ever published has had by far the largest sale of any that bear our imprint.

I have said that reviews don't sell books. Does advertising? It certainly cannot sell a book that people do not want. If this were not the case a publisher would only need sufficient capital to insure his success. To be sure, a publisher faces an almost unique problem in that each book is a product completely different from every other book on his list, and he must somehow or other advertise all of them, even though he knows much of the time that he is pouring good money after bad. When I talk about advertising I always think of what happens when you attempt to push an automobile. If it is standing still on dead center it takes a tremendous application of force to move it. But if it is already moving, even ever so slowly, an occasional push will keep it going and may even speed it up. Thus if a publisher were the Enemy of the Author that my young Editor says he is, he would hardheartedly confine his advertising to those of his books that were selling. Yet no publisher does this. Well then, what does make a book sell? Charles Darwin gave the right answer to Samuel Butler when he was asked this

question: "Getting talked about is what makes a book sell." And sometimes even that talk is so soft and gentle that the publisher never hears it. In 1923 we published Kahlil Gibran's *The Prophet.* Up to that time we had published three books by Gibran and their sales were tiny. We sold 1,300 copies of *The Prophet* the first year, 2,600 the second year, over 5,000 the third, and in no year since then have we sold fewer than 10,000. In fact the annual sale rose by slow stages to over 70,000 and last year exceeded 175,000. We advertised the book only once, and believe it or not the sale seemed to slow down. We stopped the advertising in a hurry. Incidentally *The Prophet* is another one of those books the appeal of which seemed to be well known to its author before it was published. You remember what Willa Cather said to me about *Death Comes for the Archbishop.* Well whenever I saw Gibran in the few years of life that remained to him after 1923 and gleefully reported how well *The Prophet* was doing, his reply was always the same — he shrugged his shoulders and said: "What did I tell you?"

The publisher's advertising problem is greatly aggravated by what we have all agreed is true — too many books are published, most of them doomed in advance to a short and inglorious life. Gresham's law works here too and poor books undoubtedly tend to drive out good ones. Many a novel is dead the day it is published, many others survive a month or two or three. The sales of such books are always small, and what little advertising they get may be rendered doubly useless by the fact that the bookseller tends to return to the publisher his stock of slow-moving new books before they have had time to be exposed to very many potential customers. Indeed, the poor bookseller has to clear his shelves constantly of many, many new books in order to make room for the newer ones that are arriving every day.

Suppose we distribute a thousand copies of a book in advance of publication. This is a far from uncommon figure whatever the public may think. Say our income from these copies amounts to three thousand dollars. (And I am assuming that all the thousand are sold, something that doesn't happen very often.) If a publisher spends fifteen percent of his income on advertising a new book, he is being fair to it and to its author, though by no means extravagant. Indeed, he frequently spends twenty percent, thirty percent, and even more. So in this case he starts out with a so-called budget for advertising of $750. What can he get for his money? Fifty years ago a page in the *Publishers' Weekly* cost $25; today $385. A page in *The New York Times Book Review* now costs $2,360; against $320 in 1914. Forty years ago a page in *The Atlantic* cost $350, against $1,525 today, and forty years ago when it

started publication the *Saturday Review* charged $200 for a page, against the rate today of $1,715. Of course the retail prices of books have risen greatly too but the sum the publisher has available to spend reflects this, since he has fixed it as a percentage of his income from the sale of the book. Our $750 (and to the cost of the space you must add the cost of the composition of the advertisements and the art work they may require) will pay for a single advertisement of respectable size in the *Times Book Review.* Such a "campaign" couldn't possibly sell any book and the publisher knows it. Why then does he throw good money after bad? Conscience, pride, the author, competing publishers, other authors, and agents. And his own feeling of frustration makes him feel he must do *something* for the book. But overproduction remains the basic cause of his difficulties. His books cannibalize one another. And even if he hasn't deliberately lowered his editorial standards (and he almost certainly has) he is still publishing more books than he can possibly do justice to. Yet all the editors on his staff are working every day to increase the size of his list. Of course, there are many good books that fail ingloriously. Perhaps they would under any conditions, but smaller lists would give them a better chance than they have now. At least the publisher could pay more attention to them.

The situation is also helped along, I believe, by the tremendous growth of the jackpot which the *very* successful writer wins. For a novel nowadays to earn a million dollars for its author is by no means unheard of. (Think of Allen Drury's *Advise and Consent* for example.) There's the sale of the original edition, say 100,000 copies at least; the paperback rights, which may bring the author $150,000 or more; book-club money, a motion-picture sale, and perhaps a dramatization on Broadway. Later on television rights can be counted on to produce further income. And translation rights no longer are negligible as they were years ago. Thus the rich get richer and the poor get precious little. There is of course not the remotest connection between excellence and financial reward.

Another fact sets the publisher apart from most other advertisers: he does not own his product and is not free to dispose of it as he will. The author is his partner. Now while I have no clear recollection of what publishers' advertising was like half a century ago, today much of it seems to be calculated to act on the reader more as an emetic than as a persuader. Everyone knows that masterpieces are few and far between. Yet the reader of the *Publishers' Weekly* or *The New York Times Book Review* is asked on every hand to believe that they are a dime a dozen. No one feels embarrassed to

buy Grade B rather than Grade A milk. But cows are not as vain as authors, and it is hard to imagine a publisher admitting frankly in an advertisement that one of his books by a living author is only Grade B — as if that were not most of the time clearly the case.

Times change and men deteriorate, and they deteriorate, I fear, even when times change for the better, as they most decidedly have in my day in the matter of censorship. Our first small list, that for the autumn of 1915, included a Polish novel, *Homo Sapiens*, by an author with the unpronounceable name of Przybyszewski. I have never reread it, but I am quite sure it was not a very good novel. I had a tiny office then in the Candler Building on West Forty-second Street, with only an office boy and a young assistant working for me. One day a stranger appeared and bought from my assistant, for cash, a copy of *Homo Sapiens*. A few days later I was summoned to appear in a magistrate's court, the complainant being John S. Sumner, secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice. I will not tell the whole of this story. Suffice it to say that on that first list of ours were a volume of four plays by the Frenchman Émile Augier and a collection of short stories by Maupassant. The assistant district attorney, a Mr Van Casteel, who was prosecuting the case, told the court that he intended to show that our entire list was pornographic. At one point he shook a finger at me and asked: "You are aware that de Maupassant is considered the greatest erotic writer in French literature, are you not?" I replied that I was not aware of that view and did not so consider him. Here my young counsel, Osmond K. Fraenkel, whose subsequent work on behalf of civil liberties is, I am sure, well known to you, interposed: "De Maupassant translated by Mrs John Galsworthy can hardly be called obscene." To which Mr Van Casteel replied with a straight face: "I never knew that the respectable marital relations of a translator had anything to do with the moral quality of the work." *

Through the interposition of a partner in the firm of lawyers which represented my father who turned out to be a director of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, the charges were withdrawn and Mr Sumner convinced that I was really an upstanding and decent young man. But there seemed no point in continuing to offer for sale a book that people would now buy only out of curiosity because they knew it had been brought

* I quote directly from the stenographer's minutes of this hearing in the City Magistrate's Court, Second District, of which I purchased a copy as a souvenir.

into court and consequently regarded it as dirty. So we withdrew it and melted the plates.

In respect to censorship, things are very different today. It is now almost impossible to publish a book that can be convicted in a court of law of violating any criminal statute. I should feel happier about this than I do, for I have always felt that a civilized person could take only one position with regard to censorship — to be against it in every known form. Who is fit to be the censor? You censor my book today and next year I will censor yours. It comes down, it seems to me, to a matter of taste, and this you cannot legislate. And so you see shockingly bad taste displayed by so many authors and publishers today. But while you realize that they are placing an undue burden on the courts and may someday bring about a horrible legal backlash, you can only philosophically grin and bear it and take comfort in the belief that time will dispose of the worthless books.

From the very beginning we have frequently been asked the meaning of the word "Borzoi" and what it has to do with books. When I started in business the publisher I admired most was London's William Heinemann, and the sign of a Heinemann book was a windmill, drawn for him, I think, by William Nicholson. Since a windmill obviously had nothing to do with books, I saw no reason why we could not adopt the Borzoi as our mark. We had an alliterative trademark that was calculated to provoke curiosity. Knopf is a difficult name for many people to pronounce, and I felt there might be an advantage in having two strings, so to speak, to the bow of our imprint. Now everyone in the trade knows how few people ever remember the name of the publisher of any book. I think we have been more successful than any of our contemporaries in breaking down this ignorance. The letters I have received over the years from unknown correspondents on this point have been many and flattering, frequently to the point of exaggeration, as when the correspondent says that he is always safe in buying a Borzoi book, that all Borzoi books are good books, and such nonsense. Of course we know better. Nevertheless, I think a letter like this, which I received not too long ago from a complete stranger in one of the smaller cities of Texas, tends to justify our position:

> I have just received my anniversary issue of *Saturday Review*. Reaching page 72 I found an old friend: Borzoi. [This was our advertisement in that issue.] And, on page 131 John Tebbel introduced me to his master.
>
> I recall that when I was in my late teens (and that's quite some time ago) and was just beginning to be particular about what I read, and

> certainly what I *bought* to read, my criterion was whether it was published by Knopf. Friends thought I was a bit odd in this — whoever heard of selecting a book either by its appearance or its publisher! But, until I had cut my reading teeth so to speak, I did just that. A book published by Knopf was the one I selected at the library. Now that I "know you" I want to thank you for your help then — and still today.

You will notice that this correspondent speaks of being attracted to our books by their appearance. Over the years hundreds and hundreds of readers have taken time to write me about how much they liked the way our books were designed. Well, I didn't design them after the first three or four years and I deserve credit only for hiring good men, giving them a free hand, and supporting them if, as often happened, the author wasn't as keen about their work as I was. With a single notable exception, I always felt able to tell the author that the designer had not interfered with his writing of the book, and would he please not try to interfere with, say, Mr Dwiggins' plans for its production. That exception was *Life with Father*. Clarence Day didn't like what Dwiggins proposed for it, and I thought it was the part of wisdom not to try to press Clarence to accept something he didn't like. The result, I must confess, is that *Life with Father* was one of the most undistinguished-*looking* books we ever published. But Clarence liked it.

When I came into the business my god was Frederic W. Goudy. I admired everything he did. I didn't realize that he was fundamentally a designer of typefaces and not of books. In those very early days Claude Bragdon, a very good architect — he was responsible for the New York Central Railroad Station in Rochester, where he lived — invented what he called Projective Ornament, a system based on the projection on flat surfaces of four-dimensional designs that were interesting, attractive, and made more so by the brilliant colors he used. He supplied us with bindings, wrappers, and endpapers. But then one day Elmer Adler moved to New York from Rochester, showed me the difference between Goudy and Bruce Rogers, set me to collecting B.R. in quite a big way, and finally — no, he didn't introduce me to W. A. Dwiggins; Fred Melcher did that — persuaded me to give work to Dwig, as he was always known. The result was a unique association between a trade publisher and a designer and a collection of books unsurpassed in number, each interesting and attractive both inside and out and most of the time with jackets also by WAD. Meanwhile my good friends Warren Chappell and George Salter came along, and have lent their brilliant personal stamp to many of our books. And there is our own Guy Fleming.

On rarer occasions, but welcome ones, we have been able to persuade Herbert Bayer (authors never seem to like what he does, but I do), Rudolph Ruzicka, Paul Rand, and Carl Hertzog to lend us a hand. Publishing books designed by these distinguished men has given me great pleasure and satisfaction, but I am convinced that over the years their work has had a not entirely inconsequential effect on our sales.

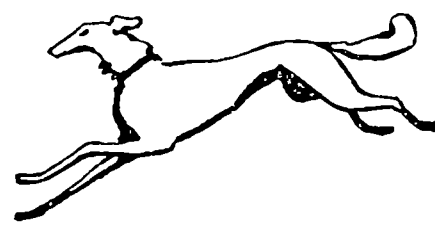
A year ago at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions (The Fund for the Republic to some of you) I engaged in a three-cornered discussion of publishing with Harry Ashmore, that courageous Little Rock editor who is now one of the top executives of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, and with W. H. Ferry, vice-president of the Center. Mr Ashmore felt that the old-fashioned publishing house, "the book publisher who operates in the grand tradition" — and he very flatteringly included my firm as a notable example — now appears very different from the publishing industry as a whole, where he felt, and correctly, that a bureaucracy was growing up with a resulting diffusion of responsibility. He was thinking of the mergers that had recently taken place and of the number of publishers who had sold stock in their companies to the public. This happened, I think, because some bright young fellow on Wall Street discovered the population explosion, and realized that millions and millions of babies would soon be going to elementary school and in decreasing but still enormous numbers to high school, college, and finally graduate schools. They would all have to use books along the way and, *presto*, book publishing became that darling of the speculator of only a few years back, a *growth* industry. So the public — and, I should add, some investment trusts that should have known better — snapped up at inflated prices every stock in a publishing house that was offered. But please remember that the Street was not much interested in the kind of book we are considering this afternoon — the trade book addressed to the general reader and sold almost exclusively in book and department stores. To be sure, when such books are best sellers they supply glamor — become so to speak the icing on the cake. But the real profits lay in the textbook end of the business. Many people viewed this public ownership and these mergers as threatening the whole nature of publishing lists. After all, stockholders would want to receive bigger and bigger dividends and to see the price of their shares go up and up. If this didn't happen they would surely exercise pressure on management to alter existing programs. They wouldn't care about quality, since frequently the poorest books made the most money. Well, up to now, things haven't worked out that way. The merger with

which I am most familiar is of course that of Knopf into Random House, Inc, of which we are a wholly owned subsidiary. This merger, which took place nearly five years ago, has not affected in the slightest degree, and I repeat, in the slightest degree, our editorial policy. We have continued, without any interference whatever, to publish what we have wanted to publish and the design and production and advertising and promotion of our books have been in our hands. We and we alone have been responsible for our mistakes, which, alas, have always been, and I suspect always will be, many.

And I think it would be very difficult to adduce evidence that any *merger* has resulted in the production of more books of poor quality than would have happened had the merger never taken place. It is of course quite fair to say that this is all very well, since publishers are making money these days. What will happen if business turns sour, dividends shrink, and publishing stocks sell at much lower prices (most but not all *do* sell at much lower prices than they realized three years ago)? I am not a soothsayer and cannot read the future — it's been difficult enough to say what I have said about the past and the present. And remember that whenever I make a generalization I know I can come up with an exception to it on very short notice indeed.

So I end where I began. I recognize that to younger men and women I'm an old fogy, just as when I was young the age group to which I now belong seemed to me to be made up of old fogies. But somehow I believe I was right then and am right now; that times change and men deteriorate (I'm only an echo of what I think I was fifty years ago), and *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.* Make your choice.*

* In the preparation of this talk I have become greatly indebted to my friends Harding Lemay and Aaron Sussman for understanding advice, criticism and encouragement.



Doctors as Men of Letters

English and American Writers of Medical Background

An Exhibition in the Berg Collection

By JOHN D. GORDAN

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY owes the Berg Collection to a doctor who, though he was not a writer himself, found his avocation in collecting English and American literature. It is in tribute to Dr Albert A. Berg and to his brother Dr Henry W. Berg, who shared his collecting enthusiasms, that an exhibition of non-professional writing by doctors — literary work as distinguished from medical — has been arranged in the Collection given by the Berg brothers.

The work of some eighty writers, each represented by one title, is on display. The criteria for inclusion have been that the writer must be associated with English and American literature in the broadest sense and must have received at least some training in medicine. He may or may not have been a practising physician. Such a wide seine has netted various and curious specimens. The writers span half a millenium, from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries, from Thomas Linacre, who was born about 1460, to Somerset Maugham, the doyen of English letters. Many of them both practised medicine and wrote simultaneously all their lives, like Weir Mitchell and William Carlos Williams. Some combined medical work with other pursuits, like David Livingstone and Sir Wilfred Grenfell, the medical missionary explorers, and wrote highly literate accounts of their experiences and observations. Some of them did not practise medicine at all, like William James, even though they completed the full training. Others dropped out at various early stages of study: James Joyce, for instance, studied little more than six weeks whereas Gertrude Stein stopped just short of taking examinations. Those who turned altogether to writing became journalists like George William Bagby and Thomas Dunn English; poets like John Keats and Robinson Jeffers; social anthropologists like Robert Briffault; novelists like Tobias Smollett and Zane Grey; scientists like Erasmus and Charles Darwin; or philosophers like John Locke and Thomas Huxley.

There are essays, literary criticism, accounts of exploration, histories, biographies, scientific, political, and philosophical studies, plays, poems,

novels, and short stories in this exhibition. The only kind of book excluded is the professional study, the medical treatise written for other doctors.

Though most of the books on view are first editions, some are not. A few of the books are genuine rarities. Owing to the nature of the exhibition, many of them are not collector's items at all. Most of the exhibits are from the Berg Collection; a number come from other divisions of the Library specializing in rare books. Many have been drawn from the Library's general collection. The locations of those from outside the Berg Collection are indicated.

The printed catalogue of this exhibition is believed to be the first devoted to the subject. The compiler of these notes is indebted to good-natured friends who have been badgered to add specimens to the catch. He owes many of the most interesting and unexpected to knowledge wider than his own. He wishes to express his gratitude to all who have patiently and generously assisted him in the production of this exhibition and catalogue.

Thomas Linacre

c 1460 – 1524

AFTER early training in the classics at the cathedral school in Canterbury and at Oxford University, Thomas Linacre, still in his twenties, had the incomparable experience of living half a dozen years in Italy at the height of the Renaissance. In Bologna he became a friend of Politian, the poet and humanist, young and already famous. In Florence Lorenzo de Medici allowed him to be instructed with his sons, one of whom became Pope Leo X, the great patron of art and letters. In Rome his attention was directed by the scholar Hermolaus Barbarus to a special study of Aristotle and Pliny, the Greek and Latin authorities on scientific subjects. At the University of Padua he studied medicine and received his M.D. degree, and in Vicenza he deepened his medical knowledge by further study with the learned Nicolaus Leonicenus. No wonder he impressed the printer and scholar Aldus Manutius Romanus when he reached Venice. On the way home he accumulated further knowledge and renown in Geneva and Paris.

The rest of his life was spent in England, where Oxford also conferred an M.D. degree upon him and where he gave back the treasures he had stored up abroad. He was physician to Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey among others. He taught medicine at Oxford and was Latin tutor and physician to the future Queen Mary, then a child. He wrote on linguistic and literary matters in English and Latin. Before he died, he took holy orders.

One of Linacre's productions was his *Rudimenta Grammatices,* prepared shortly before his death for the instruction of the Princess Mary. His original English text was translated into Latin by Robert Buchanan and printed at Paris by the famous printer Robert Estienne in 1533 and often reprinted.

The copy shown here is Estienne's edition of 1540.

From the Rare Book Division

Thomas Phayer

c 1510 – 1560

THOMAS PHAYER was a busy man even for the sixteenth century. He studied at Oxford University and read law at Lincoln's Inn, London. He is credited with having produced two handbooks which popularized legal methods and procedures. In addition to practising law, he began studying medicine around 1539 and within five years collaborated on a medical treatise for the general public. In 1559 Oxford granted him both an M.B. and an M.D. degree with permission to practise — as he had already been doing for two decades.

Somehow Phayer also found time for literary work, largely of a popularizing nature. In 1555 he began translating Virgil's *Aeneid* into English verse. By 1558 he had completed and published seven books. After his death, successive augmented editions appeared: nine books in 1562; twelve books in 1573, with Dr Thomas Twine, another "Doctor in Physicke," supplying what Phayer had not completed; and thirteen books in 1584 — with Twine's translation of the supplement of Maphaeus Vegius added. A copy of the 1584 volume is seen here.

From the Rare Book Division

Thomas Lodge

c 1558 – 1625

THOMAS LODGE'S late association with medicine might be called an act of contrition. The son of a lord mayor of London, he was a privileged young man, educated in that city at the Merchant Taylors' School and later at Oxford University, where he took B.A. and M.A. degrees. While he was studying law at Lincoln's Inn, he begun publishing satirical tracts defending poetry, drama, and music against the strictures of the godly. But he was restless: he became a soldier and next a sailor, voyaging as far west as the Straits of Magellan and writing all the time — verse and prose in the Euphuistic tradition. He won more literary than popular fame.

About 1596 Lodge underwent a change of religion, of point of view, and of occupation. He became a Roman Catholic; he abandoned literature as associated with his former wordliness; and he began to study medicine. To this turning point in his career belongs a moral renuncia-

tion of weaknesses and vices of character entitled *Wits Miserie, and the Worlds Madness: Discovering the Devils Incarnat of this Age*, London, 1596, shown here in a first edition.

Tradition has it that in 1600 he became a doctor of medicine in Avignon, a standing confirmed by Oxford in 1602, and began practising in London. He may have suffered persecution for his new faith and have had to leave the country; he was, however, a frequent traveller to the Continent for other reasons. Though he continued to write, now his work was somber in tone or translations of religious treatises.

From the Arents Collections

Thomas Campion

1567 – 1620

CAMPION'S connection with medicine is definite but hard to establish in detail. Though he studied at Cambridge University, it is not known where he obtained a medical degree. His first dated book, published in 1595, and his last, published in 1619, were collections of Latin verse. Between them he published collections of lyrics in English set to music, both of his own devising. He also wrote the words and music for several court masques.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century Campion was known as a "Doctor of phisicke." He practised at least in court circles toward the end of his life.

A copy of his last book, *Epigrammatum Libri II. Umbra. Elegiarum Liber Unus*, London, 1619, is shown here. The poems are all in Latin and consist principally of epigrams and elegies. The volume is a new edition of his first book with omissions, additions, and corrections.

From the Arents Collections

Sir Thomas Browne

1605 – 1682

SIR THOMAS BROWNE was well educated at Winchester College and Oxford University and by travel on the Continent, where he may have studied medicine at Montpellier and Padua. About 1633 he returned to England as a doctor of medicine of Leyden University. Oxford conferred the same degree upon him in 1637. By this time he was settled at Norwich, which was his home for the rest of his life.

Browne's mind was inquiring and his imagination expansive. His profession was conducive to speculation of a general, a medical, and a religious nature. His chosen form was the essay extended to considerable length. His first published work was called, appropriately enough, *Religio Medici*, of which two pirated editions appeared in 1642 and an authorized edition the next year.

Browne's view toward religion was too sceptical and independent for the orthodox but of international interest in a period of religious controversy. The popular attitude toward the religious views of doctors is summed up in Browne's reference to "the general scandall of my profession." *Religio Medici* was translated into Latin, Dutch, French, and German. It was placed on the *Index Expurgatorius*.

The copy shown here is of the London, 1642, edition, now accepted as the first edition.

Abraham Cowley

1618 – 1667

COWLEY'S medical studies seem to have sprung from his political activities rather than a genuine scientific bent. His literary talent manifested itself early and continued at Westminster School and Cambridge University. He rose in the favor of the great world and of the royal family in the troubled years before the Civil War, and he went into exile and performed dangerous confidential missions for the royal cause. It was in the latter interest that he returned to England in 1656 and, perhaps as a blind, studied a little medicine and surgery at Oxford. In 1657 Oxford University conferred the title of doctor of medicine upon him at the command of the government. It is not known that he ever practised in a career that was devoted to literature. The great reputation he achieved in his own day has not survived the intervening centuries.

Known primarily as a poet, Cowley wrote one play hastily put together under the title of *The Guardian* in 1641 when Prince Charles (later Charles II) was passing through Oxford. It was printed in 1650 when Cowley was on the Continent. Eight years later he rewrote it and saw it performed with success as *Cutter of Coleman Street*. He published it with this title in London in 1663, as seen in the copy on exhibit.

From the Rare Book Division

JOHN LOCKE
1632 – 1704

OF A PROSPEROUS Puritan family, John Locke found his way briefly into medicine as a result of the religious and political turmoil of seventeenth-century England rather than from any deep interest in the subject. After receiving a B.A. degree from Oxford University in 1656, he marked time as a tutor at Christ Church and a student of scientific subjects. He decided against the church as a profession in favor of medicine. Though he practised in cooperation with a college friend, David Thomas, he was granted not an M.D. degree — presumably because of political opposition — but an M.B. as late as 1674. His medical services to the first Earl of Shaftesbury brought him into the world of politics.

The rest of his life was devoted to political activity for his several patrons and to philosophical speculation. The great work of his maturity, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding. In Four Books*, London, 1690, was published anonymously. A copy of what is accepted as the first issue — with the imprint reading: "Printed by Eliz. Holt, for Thomas Basset at the George in Fleet St., near St. Dunstan's Church" — is here shown.

SIR RICHARD BLACKMORE
c 1650 – 1729

IT WAS ENERGY rather than native ability that gained for Richard Blackmore prominence as both a physician and a writer. He was educated at Oxford and briefly became a schoolmaster. While travelling on the Continent he obtained his medical degree at Padua. He practised in London and rose to be one of the physicians of King William III, who knighted him, and later of Queen Anne.

Blackmore also aspired to be an epic poet, and by working in his leisure and on his rounds he managed to turn out some six epics and as many volumes of other kinds of poetry. Though attacked and derided, he persisted. The first and best known of his long poems was *Prince Arthur, An Heroic Poem*, which first appeared in 1695 in ten books. Within two years he expanded it to the twelve considered the proper number for an epic and raised the title to *King Arthur*. A copy of this first enlarged edition, London, 1697, is shown here. The "M.D." on the title page demonstrates Blackmore's pride in his professional attainments: "Fellow of the College of Physicians in London, and One of His Majesty's Physicians in Ordinary."

From the general collection

SIR SAMUEL GARTH
1661 – 1719

SAMUEL GARTH was educated at Cambridge University, which granted him a B.A., an M.A., and after he had studied medicine at Leyden in the late 1680s an M.D. degree in 1691. He settled in London and achieved not only a practice but a reputation in literary circles. The reputation was augmented by his poem *The Dispensary*, which set forth the case against the opponents of his attempts to further free expert medical advice for the poor of London. The poet-physician attacked in barbed heroic couplets the adversaries of the charitable plan.

The Dispensary: A Poem, London, 1699, was published anonymously. That same year a second edition — of which a copy is shown here — and a third were called for. To these, without revealing his identity, Garth added a dedication to Anthony Henly, land magnate, wit, and politician.

From the general collection

JOHN ARBUTHNOT
1667 – 1735

ONE OF A FAMILY of Scotch Jacobites, John Arbuthnot received his medical degree from St Andrew's University in 1696. He had the good fortune to obtain the favor of the royal family and an appointment as one of the physicians to Queen Anne. He was not only her favorite physician but the favorite of other public figures and of literary folk. He also established a sufficient reputation as a writer of satirical prose and verse to make him the intimate of Addison, Congreve, Gay, Pope, and Swift. He was a member of the Scriblerus Club. Yet he was modest about his own literary work, and a devoted friend and family man.

Arbuthnot may have originated the name which for more than two hundred and fifty years has stood for England and the English: John Bull. If he did not originate it, he gave it wide currency in the four political satires for which he is best known. The first of these, *Law is a Bottomless Pit*, was published anonymously in London early in March, 1712, and the last of the four on July 31. A copy of the first printing of the fourth satire, *Lewis Baboon Turned Honest, and John Bull Politician*, is here displayed.

From the general collection

BERNARD MANDEVILLE
c 1670 – 1733

BERNARD MANDEVILLE was Dutch by birth and by education. In Rotterdam he attended the Erasmus School and the University, from which he obtained his medical degree in 1691. For reasons unknown he came to England to practise medicine, none too profitably. Though he had a somewhat crude personality, he received enough from petty patronage and from writing of a Grub Street or hack variety to make both ends meet.

Mandeville worked on one poem, a philosophical-economic satire, and raised it above the Grub Street level. The piece first appeared in 1705 as doggerel entitled "The Grumbling Hive, or Knaves Turned Honest." It aroused considerable curiosity and discussion. When it was republished nearly a decade later, polished and much enlarged with a lengthy prose commentary, under the title of *The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Public Benefits*, London, 1714, it created an uproar. A copy of the first edition is here displayed. Mandeville's thesis — that spending, not saving, advances the national economy — was assailed as cynical and unmoral.

JAMES GRAINGER
c 1721 – 1766

THE SON of a Scotch gentleman who had lost his property, James Grainger was educated for medicine at Edinburgh University and apprenticed to a surgeon. He did not receive his M.D. degree until he had done service as an army surgeon during the Stuart rising of 1745 and on the Continent. He settled in London in the mid-1750s and became friendly with such figures as Goldsmith, Johnson, and Smollett. When he could not earn his living by medicine, he turned to writing. He tried his hand at every kind of literary work.

It was attendance upon a former pupil on a four year visit to St Kitts in the West Indies that gave Grainger an interest in the giant grass which was the basis of the island's economy. This plant he extolled in his best-known work, *The Sugar-Cane: A Poem. In Four Books*, London, 1764. A copy of the first edition of the poem is shown here.

Though he was back in London when *The Sugar-Cane* was published, Grainger returned to St Kitts to invest a small inheritance and died there of fever.

From the R. L. Stuart Collection

MARK AKENSIDE
1721 – 1770

BORN INTO a family of Dissenters at Newcastle-on-Tyne, Akenside won precocious fame as a poet by his contributions to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, an outstanding journal of the time. The

local Dissenters showed their pride in him by paying for his education for the ministry at the University of Edinburgh. After a winter of theology, he abandoned the ministry, took up medicine, and refunded his scholarship. He pursued his medical studies in Edinburgh and in Leyden, where he took his degree as doctor of physic. The rest of his life he devoted to the practice of medicine and to letters both as a writer and as an editor. His career was a worldly success, despite his limitations as a doctor and a man of letters.

Akenside's literary reputation came early with a poem that he began writing at the age of seventeen. *The Pleasures of Imagination* was completed by 1743 before he ventured up to London. It was purchased by Dodsley, the leading London bookseller, for £120 upon the advice of Alexander Pope. A copy of the first printing in what is commonly accepted as the first issue, published anonymously in January 1744, is here displayed. It was claimed by an imposter until Akenside acknowledged authorship in a later printing that year.

From the R. L. Stuart Collection

Tobias Smollett

1721 – 1771

IT WAS SMOLLETT'S grandfather, Sir James, who, in attempting to work out livings for his several descendants, insisted that the future novelist qualify for the medical profession. Young Tobias was apprenticed in 1736 for five years to a Glasgow doctor. By 1739 the apprentice was on his way to London to make his fortune with a play. Instead, he kept alive by obtaining the post of surgeon's mate on a naval vessel. His naval career lasted five years. For another four years he attempted in vain to develop a profitable practice.

Smollett turned to writing with the intention of combining letters and medicine, for as late as 1750 he obtained an M.D. degree from Marischal College, Aberdeen, and set up as a physician in Bath. Beginning with *The Adventures of Roderick Random*, however, of which a first edition, London, 1748, is shown here, he caught the public taste and became more and more committed to literature. Roderick Random, who has certain resemblances to his creator, is qualified as a journeyman apothecary and as a surgeon's mate, serving as such in the navy.

So great was Smollett's industry that he not only turned out plays, poetry, and novels but also employed a number of assistants to help him produce editorial compilations like *A Complete History of England*. He was a man of crotchety disposition, with faithful friends and ardent enemies. He wore himself out by the age of fifty.

Oliver Goldsmith

1728 – 1774

GOLDSMITH'S connection with medicine belongs to the years when he was recklessly endeavoring to find a life's occupation. After obtaining a B.A. degree from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1749, he made vain attempts on the church, on teaching, on emigration to the American colonies, on law, and finally on medicine. Though most of these enterprises were abandoned almost before they began, he did make some pretense of studying medicine at the University of Edinburgh for more than a year and spent time pursuing the subject half-heartedly at the University of Leyden, where he claimed to have obtained a medical degree. He returned to England, after further continental travels, destitute.

In the next desperate years Goldsmith earned sustenance as best he could — sometimes briefly on the fringes of medicine as a drug pounder and errand boy for a chemist. He failed to obtain medical appointments with the East India Company and with a hospital. He went to work as a Grub Street hack. Gradually he worked his way up, with commissions from booksellers and with the help of other writers, until he emerged as the author of *The Vicar of Wakefield* in fiction, "The Deserted Village" in poetry, and "She Stoops to Conquer" in drama. He also achieved the friendship of such men as Burke, Reynolds, Garrick and notably Samuel Johnson, who tried periodically to bring order into his chronic financial confusion. Despite moments of prosperity earned by his pen, he died heavily in debt — after unsuccessfully prescribing for his own malady.

A copy of the first edition of *The Vicar of Wakefield: A Tale. Supposed to be Written by Himself*, London, 1766, into which much autobiography has been read, is found here.

Erasmus Darwin
1731 – 1802

THE DARWINS had been long established on the land in Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire. The family had a scientific bent that first appeared strongly in Erasmus Darwin, who also had a talent for versifying. He was educated at Cambridge, which awarded him an M.B. degree in 1755. He did not find it easy to establish a practice until he settled in Lichfield, a center of culture in the mid-eighteenth century. He was as interested in writing as he was in medicine. He wrote in every spare moment, even composing in his carriage as he made his rounds.

Erasmus Darwin's best known literary work is called *The Botanic Garden*, a long philosophical, scientific treatise in verse in two parts that appeared anonymously. The second part was published first, in 1789, as *The Loves of the Plants*, and the first part was published second as *The Economy of Vegetation, Comprising Part One of The Botanic Garden; a Poem in Two Parts*, 1791. A copy of "the first American Edition" of *The Botanic Garden. A Poem, in Two Parts*, New York, 1798, is shown here. The poem aroused a wide enough interest to be parodied in the *Anti-Jacobin* in "The Loves of the Triangles" by George Canning and John Hookham Frere. Even Darwin was amused by the satire.

From the general collection

Benjamin Rush
1745 – 1813

WHEN BENJAMIN RUSH obtained an A.B. degree from the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) at the age of fifteen, he hesitated between the study of law and of medicine. He was apprenticed to a Philadelphia doctor and attended medical lectures at the College of Philadelphia before receiving his M.D. degree at the University of Edinburgh in 1768 and training at St Thomas's Hospital, London.

Back in Philadelphia in 1769, Rush devoted the rest of his life to medical work, to politics, and to writing. He practised, taught, and wrote about medicine. He was an ardent patriot, a member of the Continental Congress, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and a surgeon-general in the American army. In the early years of the Republic he worked for ratification. An abolitionist, a temperance man, a believer in better education for women and in a scientific and utilitarian curriculum for men, he wrote voluminously on a variety of subjects.

Toward the end of his life Rush produced a selection from his non-medical writing entitled *Essays, Literary, Moral & Philosophical*, Philadelphia, 1798, of which a first edition is shown here. He has been called "the first medical man in the country to achieve a general literary reputation."

From the general collection

David Ramsay
1749 – 1815

A PENNSYLVANIAN by birth, David Ramsay graduated in 1765 from the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) and was tutor in a Maryland family before he turned to medicine. After receiving an M.D. degree from the College of Pennsylvania in 1772, he practised in Maryland for a year and then tried his luck farther south in Charleston, South Carolina. Politics as well as medicine occupied him during the Revolution and the early days of the Republic. He was active in state and federal affairs, but unwise speculation brought him to bankruptcy in 1798. To help pay off his debts he mortgaged his medical services to various merchants.

Ramsay found some consolation in continuing the interest in history which he had pursued for many years. He was a skilful user of other men's research, seasoned by the observations of an eye-witness, as in his *History of the Revolution of South-Carolina, from a British Province to an Independent State*, Trenton, 1785. On the title page the author identified himself as "M.D. Member of the American Congress." This copy of the first edition belonged to the eminent historian, George Bancroft.

Ramsay met an unfortunate end: he was fatally shot by a maniac.

From the Rare Book Division

George Crabbe

1754 – 1832

THERE WAS MORE hard work than schooling in George Crabbe's youth. Yet he developed a love for reading and writing poetry and an interest in medicine. He was allowed by his domineering father to go to London in his early twenties to learn surgery; he was later apprenticed to a surgeon in his home town of Aldeburgh, Suffolk; and finally he set up there as a surgeon himself. Fees were so small that he abandoned medicine to return to London to try his fortune with literature. His reward was crippling debt.

From this predicament he was rescued by the kindness of Edmund Burke, the statesman, hitherto unknown to him, who persuaded the bookseller Dodsley to bring out Crabbe's poem, *The Library*. Burke influenced the poet to take holy orders. Crabbe's livelihood was henceforward secure. He devoted himself to pastoral duties and intermittent literary work, which gained him a wide reputation. He continued his medical interests by treating his parishoners.

A copy of the first edition of *The Library*, London, 1781, published anonymously, is here displayed. It was reprinted in 1783 with Crabbe's name on the title page.

From the general collection

John Linnaeus Edward Whitridge Shecut

1770 – 1836

BROUGHT AS A CHILD to Charleston by his parents, who were both French Huguenot émigrés, Shecut spent his life in the South Carolina city. There he received his principal medical training. He became a prominent local figure. In his wide practice he experimented with the medical use of electricity, about which he wrote copiously. Though he believed a lack of electricity in the air was partly responsible for yellow fever, he was scientist enough to give up bleeding as a cure for this scourge. He studied botany; he helped found what became the Charleston Museum; he organized the Literary and Philosophical Society of South Carolina.

In addition to his scientific writing Shecut produced two historical novels, of which the earlier, *Ish-noo-ju-lut-sche: or The Eagle of the Mohawks. A Tale of the Seventeenth Century*, New York, 1841, is shown here in a copy of the first edition.

From the Rare Book Division

Mungo Park

1771 – 1806

LIKE THE BETTER known David Livingstone of a generation later, Mungo Park was a Scot, a physician, and an African explorer. After being apprenticed to a surgeon, he studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh and obtained his surgical diploma. He made his first scientific journey in 1792–93 as assistant medical officer on board an East Indiaman bound for Sumatra. His success in bringing back to England rare plants and fish led to his being appointed by the African Association to explore the course of the Niger in West Africa. On his first expedition in 1795–1797 he charted some 300 miles of the river. His explorations won him wide fame on the appearance of *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa: Performed under the Direction and Patronage of the African Association, in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797*, London, 1799, of which a first edition is shown here. On the title page he identified himself as "surgeon."

For a while Park practised in Scotland before embarking in 1805 upon his second and fatal visit to the Niger on behalf of the British government. The party of some forty Europeans under his command as captain was ill-fated. Three-quarters of the company died of fever or dysentery within four months. The remainder, including Park himself, were killed by natives not far from Timbuctoo. The explorer's body was never recovered.

From the general collection

Percy Bysshe Shelley

1792 – 1822

IT IS NOT usually remembered that Shelley thought seriously of entering the medical profession and began studies which would ultimately have led him there. At Eton and at Oxford he had developed scientific interests. Upon his expulsion from University College, he rejected the church and the bar as possible professions and attended, with a cousin, Mr Abernethy's famous anatomical lectures at St Bartholomew's Hospital, London, in the spring and summer of 1811. His medical interests were cut short by his elopement in August with Harriet Westbrook.

There was no return to medical studies. Shelley's imagination and energy were attracted to poetry, to which he devoted the remaining decade of his life.

A copy of the Pisan edition of *Adonais*, 1821, is shown here, published in the year before Shelley was drowned. The elegy is on the death of another former medical student turned poet, John Keats.

Joseph Rodman Drake

1795 – 1820

OF A FAMILY associated with the Puritan colonization of New England, Joseph Rodman Drake spent his brief life in New York City. Here he obtained his medical degree and here he opened a drug store. His literary interests developed along with his medical, largely through a close friendship with Fitz-Greene Halleck. It was with Halleck that he collaborated on the only work of his which was published during his lifetime, the "Croaker Poems."

Though on his deathbed Drake asked his wife to destroy his literary papers, his instructions were fortunately not carried out. He is now best known for the selection of nineteen poems, *The Culprit Fay and Other Poems*, New York, 1835, shown here in the first edition, which was brought out by his daughter.

John Keats

1795 – 1821

THERE WAS NOTHING in the early life of John Keats, son and grandson of the proprietors of a livery stable, to indicate that he would study medicine or become one of the great English poets. After the death of his parents he was apprenticed to a surgeon, whom he left to study at St Thomas's and Guy's Hospital, in London. Though he began by working hard at medicine, his love of poetry manifested itself, and he made literary friends. They encouraged him to write. Through them his first volume of poems was published before his twenty-second birthday. He gave up even the nominal study of medicine.

Though he published two more volumes of verse by 1820, Keats's career was cut short by the development of tuberculosis, which had killed his mother and his brother Tom. He went to Italy in an attempt to cure the disease and died there early in 1821.

His first volume, *Poems*, London, 1817, is shown here in a first edition that was given to C. Wilkinson, a lawyer in whose office the poet's brother George worked for a while. The inscription is not in John Keats's hand.

James Gates Percival

1795 – 1856

THE SON of a Connecticut doctor, James Gates Percival was a man of many problems and many talents. In childhood he was sickly, an omniverous reader, and a precocious versifier. He was a brilliant student at Yale. After graduating he hesitated for three years between teaching and the study of law or of medicine. He studied medicine both at the University of Pennsylvania and later at Yale, from which he received a medical degree in 1820.

His national reputation as a poet commenced with the issue — "published for the author" — of his *Poems*, New Haven, 1821, shown here in a copy of the first edition. The American press compared him favorably with Byron.

With time Percival's eccentricities became more apparent. An unhappy love affair drove him to attempt suicide. He gave up his medical practice and went into newspaper work in New Haven, taught chemistry at West Point, served as surgeon in an army recruiting office in Boston, and helped Noah Webster with his dictionary. He undertook geological research for the State of Connecticut. All the while he kept up a considerable literary career.

Percival quarrelled widely and became almost penniless. Finally he was allowed to reside in the State Hospital at New Haven, from which he occasionally emerged as geological consultant and railroad surveyor. He died surrounded by ten thousand books.

From the general collection

John Kearsley Mitchell

1798 – 1858

JOHN KEARSLEY MITCHELL, the son of a Scotch physician who had settled in Virginia, was left an orphan at the age of eight and sent to Scotland to be educated. After receiving an academic degree from the University of Edinburgh, he obtained an M.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1819. Poor health sent him to sea for three years as a ship's surgeon. The rest of his life was spent in Philadelphia, where he practised and taught medicine, physiology, and chemistry in several institutions and served in local hospitals. He also fathered nine children, of whom the third, Weir Mitchell, followed the paternal profession.

Though John Mitchell wrote much on medical subjects, he yet had time for poetry. In his middle forties he gathered together a collection of his verses as *Indecision, a Tale of the Far West; and Other Poems*, Philadelphia, 1839, found here in a copy of the first edition which he presented to his friend Dr Edward W. Southwicke. On the title page Mitchell identified himself as "M.D."

From the general collection

Edward Osler

1798 – 1863

THE FIRST MEMBER of the Osler family to combine medicine and letters was Edward Osler, son of a Cornish packet master. His medical career was planned for him from childhood; he was early apprenticed to a surgeon at Falmouth and further trained at Guy's Hospital, London. From the age of twenty he filled medical posts in England and at sea as a surgeon in the Royal Navy. His naval experiences gave him leisure to develop his inclination to write, which resulted in a long poem entitled *The Voyage*, 1830.

Osler was a devout man and from having been a Dissenter came into the established church. He contributed some fifty hymns to the so-called "Mitre Hymn Book," 1836, of the Church of England and several religious poems to other collections. He also took up the cudgels for his new affiliation in numerous tracts. Toward the end of his life he turned to journalism and in 1841 became an editor in Truro, Cornwall.

Osler's Cornish roots had a wide spread. His most important work was a biography of a Cornish naval hero of the Napoleonic wars and the wars against the Barbary pirates. A copy of the first American edition of *Admiral Viscount Exmouth*, New York, 1835, is here displayed, showing that the book aroused some interest on this side of the Atlantic.

From the general collection

Samuel Gridley Howe

1801 – 1876

THOUGH NOT STUDIOUSLY inclined, Samuel Gridley received a B.A. degree from Brown University and an M.D. from Harvard University. He put his medical knowledge to work in the cause of Greek independence and reconstruction between 1824 and 1830. Back home, he

organized and operated what became the Perkins Insitution for the Blind, which he ran for over forty years. He also worked for better public schools, for schools for feeble-minded youth, for prison reform and prisoner rehabilitation, for the insane, and for abolition. His imagination, energy, and purposefulness brought to success most of the enterprises he undertook, and in them his medical knowledge was useful. Only in his relationship with his beautiful and talented wife, Julia Ward, twenty years his junior, can he be said to have failed.

Despite his varied activity Howe took time to write and to publish. One of his best-known books, *An Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution*, New York, 1828, is here displayed. He identified himself on the title page as "M.D."

From the general collection

Thomas Lovell Beddoes
1803 – 1849

SON OF A DOCTOR and nephew of the novelist Maria Edgeworth, Thomas Lovell Beddoes's eccentric life was devoted to literature and medicine. He wrote much while a student at Charterhouse School and at Oxford University. He early achieved some reputation as a writer on account of a youthful play, *The Bride's Tragedy*, 1822. After three or four years devoted to writing, he decided to take up medicine. For approximately twenty-five years he studied and lived in Germany and Switzerland. He obtained his medical degree in 1832 at the University of Würzburg in Bavaria but spent more time on Continental politics than on medicine. He died under ambiguous circumstances, following a separation from a close friend, that indicate suicide.

Beddoes's masterpiece was the drama displyaed here, *Death's Jest Book, or The Eool's Tragedy*, on which he worked from his early twenties. It was not published until after his death, when it appeared anonymously in London in 1850. It demonstrates that the Jacobean playwrights and Shelley were the dominating influences of his literary career.

From the general collection

Robert Montgomery Bird
1806 – 1854

AFTER HE OBTAINED an M.D. degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1327, Robert Montgomery Bird practised medicine for only a year. Abandoning it, it is said, because he disliked taking fees, he turned to literature and was successful as playwright and novelist.

At first, in a happy collaboration between his own scope as a dramatist and the individual quality of the acting of Edwin Forrest, he achieved a considerable reputation in the theatre. When Forrest did not deal generously with him, Bird gave up writing plays and took to writing novels. Between 1834 and 1839 he published seven.

Bird's most successful work was *Nick of the Woods, or The Jibbenainosay. A Tale of Kentucky*, Philadelphia, 1837, which was much reprinted in England and on the Continent. A copy of the first edition is shown here. It carries an inscription to Mrs Sarah A. Frost and may be in a special presentation binding. Sarah Ann Burdett Frost of Philadelphia was the mother of Arthur Burdett Frost, illustrator of *Uncle Remus*.

The strain of earning a livelihood by writing brought on a breakdown, and Bird retired to the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Upon a temporary recovery he lectured on medicine at the Pennsylvania Medical College and became literary editor of the Philadelphia *North American*, a daily newspaper. At the mid-century he suffered a second collapse from which he did not recover.

Charles James Lever
1806 – 1872

BORN IN DUBLIN and considered the most Irish of novelists, Charles James Lever was almost entirely English by descent. Yet Lever's sense of fun, his wit, and his gift as a story teller are characteristic of his adopted people. He was always ready for adventure. After graduating from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1827, he travelled on the Continent and studied a little medicine at the University of Göttingen. His studies encouraged him to visit Canada in 1829

as an unqualified surgeon on an emigrant ship. In the Canadian wilderness he is supposed to have been taken into an Indian tribe and barely to have escaped with his life.

Back in Dublin in 1830, he continued to study medicine at Stevens's Hospital and the Medico-Chirurgical School. Though he did not pass his examinations, he was granted a B.M. degree by Trinity in 1831 and practised in Ireland. An unworldly marriage and the habit of gambling forced him to supplement his professional earnings by writing. Almost at once he made a popular hit with a sprawling narrative of Irish life called *The Confessions of Harry Lorrequer*, first issued in eleven separate parts between March 1839 and January 1840, as displayed here.

Flushed with success, Lever gave up medicine to edit the *Dublin University Magazine* and lived in Ireland and on the Continent, either in luxury or poverty depending on the output of his pen. His family life was happy regardless of his bank account. Powerful friends resuscitated his fortunes with a consulship first at Spezia and next at Trieste. Though he continued to write with considerable public favor, he died in a state of deep depression following the death of his wife.

Samuel Warren

1807 – 1877

SAMUEL WARREN, the son of the fiery founder of the United Methodist Free Churches, studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh only for the year 1826–27. He left to read law at the Inner Temple, London. After half a dozen years of legal practice he was called to the bar in 1837. A couple of decades later he served in Parliament and was granted the lucrative post of a mastership in lunacy in 1859.

Warren was skilful in using his medical and legal knowledge in dramatic fiction, for which he had some flair. He first achieved international success with *Passages from the Diary of a Late Physician*, which, after intermittently running in *Blackwood's Magazine* over a period of seven years, was published in book form in successive volumes, a first installment in 1832 and complete in 1838. The volumes were translated into several European languages and pirated in the United States. A copy of a Harper, New York, edition "from the fifth London edition" is shown here in three volumes, an uncommon form for the publication of fiction in America.

Warren achieved an even greater success with a later novel, *Ten Thousand a Year*, which was relished as an exposé of the legal profession.

From the general collection

Thomas Holley Chivers

1809 – 1858

MEDICINE WAS ONLY a short-lived interest in the career of Thomas Holley Chivers, who received his M.D. degree in 1830 from Transylvania University at Lexington, Kentucky. He practised briefly. The rest of his life was devoted to literature.

As a Southerner, a poet, and a romantic, Chivers is largely remembered in connection with Edgar Allan Poe, who, almost exactly his contemporary, was his friend and rival. Chivers wrote poetry, plays, and philosophical rhapsody as did Poe. After the latter's death Chivers accused him of plagarism in "The Raven," claiming that he himself had originated the music of that poem in an elegy on the death of his daughter, "To Allegra Florence in Heaven."

This elegy was first published in *The Lost Pleiad; and Other Poems*, New York, 1845, of which a first edition is shown here. On the title page Chivers describes himself as "M.D." This copy was presented by the poet "to the Editor of the 'New York News'" — possibly with the hope of a review.

From the Rare Book Division

Charles Darwin

1809 – 1882

CHARLES ROBERT DARWIN, the grandson of Erasmus Darwin and of Josiah Wedgwood, the great English potter, was the son of a doctor. His father guided the boy's interest in medicine by showing him how to care for a few charity patients. After Shrewsbury school, he

studied medicine at Edinburgh University. He was bored by materia medica, repelled by anatomy, and appalled by surgery. Though he was not particularly interested in science at the time, a teacher directed his attention to zoology. Leaving Edinburgh, he decided to become a clergyman and entered Cambridge University.

It was his clerical studies that really awakened Darwin's interest in natural history and shaped his life-work. A voyage of five years (1831–1836) as naturalist on the surveying expedition of H. M. S. *Beagle* to South Atlantic, South American, and Pacific waters confirmed his bent. His experiences led to his relating zoology, geology, and geography. He gave no further serious thought to medicine or the church. Within a year he began to work on the manuscript that was to become *On the Origin of Species*. The hypotheses advanced therein were further enlarged in his later publications, notably *The Variation of Animals and Plants Under Domestication*, 1868, and *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*, 1871.

The copy shown here of *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or The Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, London, 1859, was presented by Darwin to Herbert Spencer, the philosopher.

Oliver Wendell Holmes

1809 – 1894

AFTER SCHOOLING at Phillips Academy, Andover, and at Harvard, Holmes studied medicine in Boston and in Paris. Though he built up only a moderate practice, he achieved a great reputation as a writer of medical papers and as a teacher. From 1847 to 1882 he was professor of anatomy and physiology at the Harvard Medical School. In addition to his scientific papers he was constantly writing verse and prose which admirably combined pathos and humor. He was a poet, an essayist, and a novelist and published over a sixty year period.

Possibly Holmes' best-known work is *The Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table*, Boston, 1858, in which the charm of his personality is strongly felt. A copy of the first edition is shown here.

John Brown

1810 – 1882

ALL OF JOHN BROWN'S life except the first dozen years was passed in Edinburgh. There he was educated, receiving his medical degree at the University in 1833. There he practised, and there he achieved his literary reputation. He was early attracted to the essay and found much of his material in his professional work. The essays that appeared in *Horae Subsecivae*, 1858 and 1862, were widely read in their day. The 1858 collection contained the sketch, entitled "Rab and His Friends," by which undoubtedly Brown is most generally known. The story of the great mastiff, his master and his mistress, who does not recover from severe surgery, combines the author's sense of the humanity of dogs, of the pathos of humanity, and of the dedication of the doctor.

Though this copy of the separate printing of "Rab and His Friends," Edinburgh and London, 1860, belongs to the fourteenth thousand, it was presented by Dr John Brown to Nathaniel Hawthorne, inscribed: "The Author of the Scarlet Letter from Rab's surviving Friend . . . June 11, 1860."

David Livingstone

1813 – 1873

LIVINGSTONE WON his education the hard way: he began work at the age of ten in a Scotch cotton-mill and somehow prepared himself to enter college by the time he was twenty-three. At Anderson's College, Glasgow, he studied Greek, theology, and medicine. In 1838 he was accepted by the London Missionary Society as a candidate and two years later received his medical degree from the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, Glasgow.

In 1840 Livingstone went out to South Africa as a medical missionary and in 1856 returned to England as the discoverer of the River Zuga, of Lake Ngami, of the water system of the

Zambezi River and — presumably — of Victoria Falls. All his discoveries were made in the performances of his healing, teaching, and organizing duties. It was the confidence and devotion the natives felt for Livingstone as a man that made his travels and discoveries possible.

In England he received a hero's welcome, diluted with some criticism, and published his *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, London, 1857, of which a first edition is on display. He returned to Africa in 1858 as British consul at Quilimane to continue his explorations and his activity against the slave trade for half a dozen years before another home leave. In 1865 he returned to Africa to discover the source of the Nile. For the next eight years he suffered from ever-increasing ill-health, warring tribes, and moral crises over the slave trade. He died still looking for the Upper Nile.

From the general collection

Josiah Gilbert Holland

1819 – 1881

THE FAMILY of Josiah Gilbert Holland, though settled in New England since 1630, was in straitened circumstances, and the boy was early accustomed to hard work. At the age of twenty-one he decided to go into medicine and received his M.D. degree from the Berkshire Medical College in 1844. Married and unable to establish a practice in Springfield, Massachusetts, he abandoned medicine for ever. Next he tried school teaching in the South and then journalism and editorial work on the *Springfield Republican* and the *Century Magazine*.

Simultaneously he carried on his own imaginative writing, both in prose and verse. One of his most popular books was *Arthur Bonnicastle, An American Novel*, New York, 1873, of which a first American edition, first printing, is shown here.

Thomas William Parsons

1819 – 1892

THE FATHER of Thomas William Parsons was English born, received his M.D. degree from Harvard University, and practised medicine and dentistry in Boston. The son, who attended Boston Latin School without graduating, was also a student at the Harvard Medical School, though he obtained no degree. Parsons practised dentistry both in Boston and London and was given the courtesy title of doctor.

Temperamentally Parsons was not an achiever but a connoisseur and a poet; Longfellow, in fact, sketched him as the Poet in *Tales of a Wayside Inn*. He had travelled in Europe, especially in Italy, before he undertook the study of medicine, and he returned there as often as he could. An enthusiasm for Dante — indeed he was the first American to publish a translation at length of the great Florentine — helped to make a perfectionist of him. He devoted more of his time to polishing his own verse than to dentistry, especially in the last two decades of his life. After the death of his wife in 1881, he lived in great retirement. He died under tragic circumstances: his body was found in a well, into which it was believed he fell when overcome by an apoplectic stroke.

Parson's poetry has a wider range than might be expected. It has moments of gayety and humor as well as of contemplation and religious fervor. Much of his poetry appeared in periodicals and was occasionally garnered into slim volumes which had small circulation. One of these, *The Rosary*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1865 — "eighty copies printed" — is shown here. It contains his most admired lyric, "Paradisi Gloria."

From the general collection

Thomas Dunn English

1819 – 1902

FOR A MAN of Quaker descent Thomas Dunn English was rough and restless. He seemed to collect professions and occupations. In 1839 he was awarded an M.D. degree by the University of Pennsylvania, where his thesis had been a defense of phrenology. For the next three years he read law and was admitted to the bar in 1842. He had already turned to writing and was a contributor to *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine*, among others. He went into politics. He

undertook editorial work in New York and Philadelphia. All the while he kept up a steady flow of verses, mostly on patriotic themes.

In the 1850s English moved to Virginia, where simultaneously he practised law and medicine and was active in politics in Lawnsville. On the outbreak of the Civil War he came North and, a Copperhead in policy, was elected to the New Jersey legislature. He stayed in politics until his mid-seventies and even served a term in Congress.

His poems were popular in his day, notably the one which opens the collection shown here, "Ben Bolt." *American Ballads* was published in "Harper's Half-Hour Series," New York, 1880. English identified himself on the title page as "M.D., LL.D."

From the general collection

Elisha Kent Kane

1820 – 1857

KANE PACKED A VARIETY of experience into the thirty-seven years of his life. Of an intellectually distinguished family, he was at the University of Virginia studying civil engineering when he contracted rheumatic fever. Seeking a less strenuous occupation, he obtained a medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania and an appointment as assistant surgeon in the United States Navy. His first cruise, which lasted over three years, was to China, and in it he managed to include trips of exploration in South America, India, the Middle East, and Europe. On his return home in 1847 he transferred first to the U. S. Army, serving in Mexico, and afterwards to the U. S. Coast Survey.

When the Grinnell expedition set out in 1850 in search of Sir John Franklin, the Arctic explorer, Kane obtained permission to join it as senior medical officer. Undaunted by finding no trace of the Englishman, he helped to raise funds for and commanded a second expedition in 1853. This second expedition considerably advanced knowledge of the Arctic. Despite all this activity Kane found time to write up some of his discoveries and accounts of both his Arctic voyages. A copy of the first edition of *The U. S. Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin, A Personal Narrative,* New York, 1853, is on display.

From the general collection

Elizabeth Blackwell

1821 – 1910

THOUGH ELIZABETH BLACKWELL began and ended her life in England, she spent much the larger part of it in the United States. She was eleven when her family emigrated and only seventeen when her father's death thrust her into school teaching. Her consuming interest was a wider education and opportunity for women. She determined to become a doctor — a revolutionary ambition for her time. While teaching, she prepared herself to enter a medical school. She was turned away in New York and Philadelphia and finally accepted in 1847 at the Geneva, New York, Medical College. When she received her degree in 1849, she was the first accredited woman doctor in the modern world.

Determined to be an expert, Miss Blackwell took further training in London and Paris. When she returned to New York to place her knowledge at the disposal of women, she found it possible only by opening her own dispensary, later incorporated into the New York Infirmary and College for Women. A politician and a philosopher as well as a doctor, she wished to put her ideas on the improvement of woman's health, development, and position before a large audience. The most famous of her proselytizing studies was *The Laws of Life, with Special Reference to the Physical Education of Girls,* New York, 1852, found here in the first edition. On the title page she identified herself as "M.D."

From the general collection

Thomas Henry Huxley

1825 – 1895

WHILE HE WAS still a schoolboy, Huxley's early interest in mechanical engineering was superseded by an absorption in medicine. He began a regular course of medical studies at

Charing Cross Hospital when he was seventeen and passed his M.B. examination at the University of London. He was qualified by the Royal College of Surgeons and was granted the post of surgeon on a government survey vessel which spent four years largely in tropical waters. Huxley's opportunities for observation provided the basis of the studies that were to help revolutionize zoology.

His attention was now weaned away from medicine to scientific research. He began his long career in the chair of natural history at the Royal School of Mines, London. Developing a strong interest in the philosophical and religious implications of scientific discovery, he wrote several volumes in this field which had a wide influence in their time. The earliest of these, *Evidences as to Man's Place in Nature*, London, 1863, is here shown in a first edition.

George William Bagby

1828 – 1883

GEORGE WILLIAM BAGBY was born and died in Virginia, and his fame is largely regional. He was educated in the North both at school and at college, graduating in medicine from the University of Pennsylvania. He practised medicine but briefly. Before the Civil War he drifted into journalism. He was both reporter and editor for various Virginia newspapers and magazines. In later life he became popular as a lecturer in his native state, and some of his lectures and other occasional pieces were collected long after his death in the volume of which a first edition is shown here, *The Old Virginia Gentleman and Other Sketches*, New York, 1911.

From the American History Division

Silas Weir Mitchell

1829 – 1914

THE GRANDSON, SON, AND FATHER of physicians, Weir Mitchell received his M.D. degree from Jefferson Medical College in 1850. Not for fifty-six years did he receive his A.B. from the University of Pennsylvania as of the class of 1848, from which he had had to withdraw in his senior year on account of illness. He studied medicine in Paris in the 1850s and on his return to Philadelphia he specialized in nervous diseases. It was he who devised the rest cure for nervous disorders that has now become standard practice.

Though he was always interested in writing — verses and children's stories in the early days — he refused to devote much time to it until he was well established professionally. His first mature piece of fiction appeared in 1880, and for the next thirty years he divided his attention between medicine and writing. A first edition of his best-known novel, *Hugh Wynne, Free Quaker*, New York, 1898, is shown here. Like his father, he described himself as "M.D." on the title page.

William James

1842 – 1910

THE VARIED AND ECLECTIC education which Henry James the elder gave his family helped to produce two of the outstanding figures of American letters, William and Henry James. The elder brother's interest was divided between art and science, and the latter became paramount. At Harvard he studied chemistry, anatomy, and physiology. He attended the Harvard Medical School, receiving his M.D. degree in 1870, and studied further in Germany. He never intended to practise medicine. Yet his medical studies had a great effect upon the philosophy which he evolved during his thirty-five years of teaching at Harvard. By the time of his death James was the most famous living American philosopher. With Emerson he is still considered one of the greatest philosophers whom this country has produced. A copy of his most widely known book, *The Varieties of Religious Experiences*, New York, 1902, is here displayed.

From the general collection

Robert Bridges
1844 – 1930

ROBERT BRIDGES had the education of the privileged at Eton and Oxford University and travelled on the Continent while deciding on a profession. He studied medicine at St Bartholomew's Hospital in London. Though he served in several London hospitals, he was dedicated not to medicine but to poetry. He retired to live in the country and to write. In 1913 he was given the honor of poet laureate.

Bridge's first volume of poetry was published in 1873 and his most ambitious poem, *The Testament of Beauty*, the year before his death. A copy of the limited edition, Oxford, 1929, is here displayed. For a philosophical poem it achieved astounding popularity: it was reprinted fourteen times the first year.

Sir William Osler
1849 – 1919

SIR WILLIAM OSLER, the nephew of Edward Osler, was born in Ontario, to which his father, a clergyman, had emigrated to do mission work. Though the boy's interest in science had been awakened when he was in school, he intended at first to enter the church like his father. After a year at Trinity College, Toronto, however, he transferred first to the University of Toronto to study medicine and then to McGill University, Montreal. There he obtained his M.D. degree in 1872; there he returned from two years' study in Europe and taught medicine for a decade.

In 1884 the American phase of Osler's career began. He taught at the University of Pennsylvania and went to the young Johns Hopkins University to organize the department of medicine. His influence on medical education in North America and England became brilliant and paramount. He achieved an international reputation.

In 1904 Osler became Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford University, where honors were heaped upon him. He was a delegate of the Clarendon Press and a curator at the Bodleian Library. He had time to collect a famous medical library, which he left to McGill, and to serve as president of the Bibliographical Society. He had time to speak and to write on non-medical subjects. Only the loss of his son in the First World War dimmed the happiness of his final years.

A first edition of one of Osler's non-professional writings is shown here: *Science and Immortality*, Boston, 1904. The subject combines two of the vital interests of his life.

From the general collection

William Henry Drummond
1854 – 1907

DRUMMOND SPENT the first ten years of his life in Ireland before his family emigrated to Canada. His father's early death interrupted the boy's education and sent him outside Montreal to Rivière des Prairies as a telegraph operator. Here he first knew the French Canadians whom he was later to interpret in his poetry. He was thirty before he had completed his education at McGill University and Bishop's College, Lennoxville, which granted him an M.D. degree in 1884. He spent four years in a country practice, coming again in close contact with French Canadians. It was only after he accepted the post of professor of medical jurisprudence at Bishop's College that he had leisure to work seriously at his verse. His specialty was the dialect poem, which did not ridicule French Canadians but gave insight into their way of life. A first edition of his *Phil-o-rum's Canoe and Madeleine Vercheres*, New York, 1898, is here displayed.

Sir Ronald Ross
1857 – 1932

RONALD ROSS was born in India into a family that long had had connections with the country. As a schoolboy, he was deeply absorbed in zoology and poetry. Though he wanted to become an artist, he acceded to his father's wish that he study medicine and enrolled at St

Bartholomew's Hospital, London, in 1874. Unable to obtain full medical qualification at first, he made several voyages as a ship's surgeon, which allowed him leisure to write a blank verse drama and a novel. In 1881, when fully qualified, he entered the Indian Medical Service, in which he served until 1899. About 1894 he became associated with Sir Patrick Manson in scientific research into the nature and transmission of malaria, with epoch-making results. Yet his interest in writing poetry never abated despite his scientific publishing. The two poetic dramas shown here, *Edgar or The New Pygmalion and The Judgment of Tithonus*, Madras, 1883, appeared anonymously early in his career in the Indian Medical Service. His collected poems were published nearly half a century later.

From the general collection

Charles Alexander Eastman

1858 – 1939

WHEN THE FUTURE Charles Alexander Eastman was born a Santee Sioux Indian, he received the childhood name of Hakadah or "The Pitiful Last" because of the death of his mother. His childhood was typical of Indian life before the tribes were confined to reservations: he was given the best education in hunting, prairie and forest lore, self-preservation, bravery, and endurance, which earned him his mature name of Ohiyesa or "Winner." When he was fifteen, his father, long presumed dead, returned to the tribe and with difficulty persuaded the boy to try the white man's way of life. Ohiyesa received a bachelor of science degree from Dartmouth when he was nearly thirty and a medical degree from Boston University three years later. Aside from brief private practice in St Paul, he devoted his life to working for and with his people as a doctor, as a missionary, and as an interpreter to the world and to writing about them. A copy of the first edition of his *Soul of the Indian: An Interpretation*, Boston, 1911, is shown here. It was Ohiyesa who headed the government commission to give the Sioux Indians names in the American style.

From the American History Division

Francis Thompson

1859 – 1907

FRANCIS THOMPSON'S father was a homeopathic physician and his two Thompson uncles were both writers. It was to please his father that at the age of seventeen he took up the study of medicine at Owens College, Manchester. He was hostile to the profession, though he persevered for six years, three times failing his examinations for a degree. He was not successful in earning a living at home and in 1885 went to London. There he lived below subsistence level and contracted the opium habit. Like his uncles he tried his hand at writing.

The very first pieces Thompson submitted for publication earned him the friendship of the family of Wilfrid Meynell, the editor. The Meynells did what they could to restore his health and to help him give up opium. From the appearance of his first collection, *Poems*, London, 1893, shown here in the first edition, which contains his masterpiece "The Hound of Heaven," he was recognized as a mystic of great power. The volume was dedicated to the Meynells.

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle

1859 – 1930

THE DOYLES first won recognition as a family of artists: the novelist's grandfather John Doyle and his uncle Richard Doyle were famous in their day as cartoonists. After a strict early education at Roman Catholic schools, Conan Doyle worked for five years for his medical degree at Edinburgh University. For several months he went to sea as ship's doctor on an Arctic whaler and then on a steamer that ran to the West Coast of Africa. For eight years he settled down in England to a meager medical practice.

It was to supplement his income that Doyle turned his imaginative abilities to writing. He created the personaltiy of Sherlock Holmes (who owed his last name to Dr Oliver Wendell

Holmes) around one of his Edinburgh teachers, Dr Joseph Bell — "thin, wiry, angular, a skilful surgeon whose strong point was diagnosis of character and occupation as well as of disease." He gave the detective a medical foil in Dr Watson. Holmes became famous from the short stories Doyle published in the *Strand Magazine* and collected in *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*, London, 1892, shown here in a copy of the first edition in the earliest binding. Ultimately Doyle gave up medicine to devote himself to writing.

Havelock Ellis

1859 – 1939

AT THE AGE of eighteen Havelock Ellis was teaching school in Australia, where he had gone for his health. As he early discovered that his bent was towards sociology and philosophy, he returned to England to receive a thorough scientific training. He studied medicine at St Thomas's Hospital, London. Though he practised medicine, it was for a few years only. His chief interest was research and writing, and his studies of the psychology of sex, pioneer work in English, opened the way to a more scientific approach to sexual problems. Ellis was a many-sided writer, producing scholarly editions of the Elizabethan playwrights, critical essays historical studies, poetry, and even a novel. *Kanga Creek: An Australian Idyll*, Waltham Saint Lawrence, 1922, shown here in a first edition, is based upon his four years as a teacher in Australia.

From the Rare Book Division

Leonard Wood

1860 – 1927

AFTER AN IMPOVERISHED youth spent on the coast of Massachusetts, Leonard Wood decided to follow in his father's footsteps and graduated from the Harvard Medical School in 1884. Not liking private practice in Boston, he entered the Army Medical Corps. On his first post in Arizona, he found himself involved in the campaign against the Apaches under Geronimo, in which he saw duty as surgeon, commander of troops, and even hostage. Stationed in Washington, he numbered President and Mrs McKinley among his patients. He met Theodore Roosevelt in 1897 and helped organize the Rough Riders, with whom he served as colonel. His military and medical ability won him the appointment of military governor of Cuba and later of Moro Province in the Philippines.

Now a general in the regular army, Wood became chief of staff, reorganized the army and initiated civilian training camps. Because of political and military antagonisms he was passed over both for foreign and home command during the First World War. Unsuccessful in his bid for the Republican nomination in 1920, he served as governor general of the Philippines.

One of the responsibilities which General Wood undertook was extensive writing to acquaint the United States with its military responsibilities and the duties of the ordinary citizen toward the armed forces. He was a quarter century ahead of most of the country in his thinking. His *Military Obligation of Citizenship*, Princeton, 1915, is found here in a copy of the first edition.

From the general collection

Richard Austin Freeman

1862 – 1943

R. AUSTIN FREEMAN had devoted nearly a quarter century to medicine before his health forced him to retire. Receiving his training at the Middlesex Hospital Medical College, London, he specialized in surgery and in 1886 became a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons and a Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries. Though the Middlesex Hospital appointed him house physician, his energetic and adventuresome spirit took him in 1889 to the African Gold Coast as assistant colonial surgeon and into Ashanti and Bonduku on a medical expedition. He had blackwater fever and was invalided home.

At first Freeman attempted to practise in England both privately and as acting assistant medical officer at Holloway Prison, London. By 1904 he had practically given up his professional work and devoted himself to writing. It may have been the example of Conan Doyle, his own scientific training as a doctor, and his experience in prison work that attracted him toward the detective story. Like Doyle he used the same protagonist in all his stories, Dr John Thorndyke, who as a medical man worked on laboratory principles and who, it is believed, introduced the fingerprint into crime fiction. Shown here is a copy of *The Famous Cases of Dr. Thorndyke. Thirty-seven of His Criminal Investigations*, London, 1929, a late compilation.

From the general collection

Clara Barrus

1864 – 1931

CLARA BARRUS was on the staff of the State Hospital in Middletown, New York, when in 1901 she initiated a correspondence with John Burroughs. She had been an admirer of his work for years and had found in his writing an antidote for her work with abnormal personalities. A deep friendship developed between them. He would send his manuscripts to her to be typed, and she saw his last fourteen books through the press. She early formed the ambition of being his official biographer. In the course of time she developed the habit of spending her summer vacations with Mr and Mrs Burroughs; eventually they came to live with her at Riverby. She gave up her medical work at the hospital and practised from their common home. She was with Burroughs on his last journey and at his sudden death on the way home.

During his lifetime Clara Barrus published two biographies of the subject with whom she had so lovingly identified herself. Burroughs had to warn her constantly against her desire to idealize him. All her writing life was devoted to the several biographies of him and the editing of his work. A first edition of her preliminary study, *Our Friend John Burroughs*, Boston, 1914, is here displayed.

From the general collection

Sir Wilfred Thomason Grenfell

1865 – 1940

THOUGH HIS NAME is imperishably connected with Labrador, Grenfell was born and educated in England. He attended Marlborough College and Oxford University, from which he received his medical degree. He had further training at a London hospital. Grenfell was an athlete, an idealist, an altruist, and a devout Christian who wanted a life of strenuous service. The American evangelist, Dwight Moody, was one of those who inspired him to look into the work of the Royal National Mission to Fishermen. He was twenty-four when he entered the medical branch of the Mission and cruised in the North Sea, helping to establish centers and mission vessels. Three years later he visited Newfoundland in a ketch of less than one hundred tons yet furnished with a small hospital. In three months he treated 900 patients.

The rest of Grenfell's life was dedicated to serving those who lived in Labrador: he set up six hospitals, four hospital ships, and seven nursing stations. He had a gifted pen and wrote copiously about the people to whom he had given himself, thereby influencing others to follow his unselfish example. A copy of his first study of his new people, *Vikings of To-Day: Or Life and Medical Work among the Fishermen of Labrador*, New York, 1895, is on display.

From the general collection

Matthew Phipps Shiel

1865 – 1947

M. P. SHIEL was born on the island of Montserrat in the British West Indies, the son of a Methodist minister of Irish descent and of imaginative vigor. His father had him crowned King of Redonda, then an unclaimed adjacent islet. Though Redonda had been annexed by Great Britain shortly after the coronation, Shiel always considered himself King Felipe I and he handed down the title to a friend.

Shiel was educated in Barbados and at King's College, London, before he began training for a medical career at St Bartholomew's Hospital. After six months he abandoned medicine for writing, which had been his love from an early age. His first book was a collection of three exotic short stories and was entitled *Prince Zaleski*. They reveal more the influence of Edgar Allan Poe than of St Bart's. *Prince Zaleski*, of which a copy of the first edition, London, 1895, is shown here, was the first of at least thirty volumes, remarkable for their fantastic atmosphere and style.

Harvey Williams Cushing

1869 – 1939

THE SON, GRANDSON, AND GREAT-GRANDSON of physicians, Harvey Cushing was born in Ohio to an outstanding medical tradition. In his senior year at Yale University, where he had hitherto shown more athletic than academic ability, he was stimulated to a lasting interest in science. He received his medical training at the Harvard Medical school, by which he was awarded his M.D. degree in 1895. He developed an extraordinary surgical facility and in 1896 was appointed assistant resident in surgery at the Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore.

There Cushing's interest in cerebral surgery was further advanced by his contact with William Osler, William Welch, and William Halsted. His experimental techniques were extended by study in Europe in 1900–1901. For over a decade he was associated with Johns Hopkins Hospital, where he perfected his skills as a neurological surgeon. He gained a national reputation for a successful operation on General Leonard Wood, another figure in this exhibition.

In 1912 Cushing accepted a post in a Boston hospital and began teaching at the Harvard Medical School. In the First World War he served as surgeon from 1915 on. He was asked by Lady Osler upon his return to write the life of his old mentor, Sir William, a task which occupied most of his time for five years. A first edition of this classical medical biography, *The Life of Sir William Osler*, Oxford, 1925 — appropriately printed at the Clarendon Press — is shown here. It won the Pulitzer Prize. Most of his other writing was wholly professional, though he did publish a few non-medical essays.

Upon his retirement from Harvard, Cushing taught at Yale from 1933–1937. His collection of historical medical books — a collection he was stimulated to make by Osler — is a choice possession of the Yale Medical Library.

From the general collection

Henry Cottrell Rowland

1874 – 1933

ROWLAND LIKED ADVENTURE in his life and in his writing. He graduated from the Yale School of Medicine in 1898, just in time to enlist in the United States Navy as an able seaman and to participate in the bombardment of Santiago, Cuba. Next he transferred to the Army Medical Corps, serving aboard a hospital ship and taking part in the Philippine campaign. In 1903 while he was practising surgery in New York he published his first book, a collection of short stories, and two years later a novel, *To Windward: The Story of a Stormy Cruise*, New York, 1904, of which a first edition is seen here.

These publications encouraged Rowland, when he sailed as a surgeon aboard a yacht in 1905 and went ashore for a few days in France, to risk settling down there for fourteen years. The rest of his life was devoted to writing a book or so a year, to such adventures as crossing Europe in a motorboat; and to performing medical service in the First World War.

From the general collection

Gertrude Stein

1874 – 1946

WHEN SHE WAS at Radcliffe College, Gertrude Stein specialized in psychology and even published an article on automatic writing. She was well thought of by William James, one of

her teachers, but she left college without a degree because she had a strong antipathy toward taking examinations. She went on to Johns Hopkins and for four years studied medicine. Again she refused to take examinations and received no degree. Her interest was study for itself and not as a step toward a career, for she made no professional use of her medical training.

It may be argued that she made use of her knowledge of psychology in developing her own writing, which has been likened to the production in words of what the abstract artists of her generation were doing in other media. Her mature life, which she spent in Paris, was devoted to studying and collecting works of art and to her writing. As an example of her abstract work a first edition of *Portrait of Mabel Dodge at the Villa Curonia,* Florence, 1912, is on display.

William Somerset Maugham

WHEN MAUGHAM, who was born in 1874, was left an orphan at the age of ten, he was brought up by his father's brother, a severe and inflexible clergyman. Temporarily his uncle allowed the boy the freedom to write and to study informally at Heidelberg. Then his guardian insisted that he prepare himself for a profession — preferably the church. Young Maugham chose medicine instead. He studied for six years at St Thomas's Hospital, London, and became a qualified physician and surgeon.

Maugham practised only during his time as an interne, and it was that experience which ultimately produced *Liza of Lambeth,* London, 1897, his first novel, of which a first edition is shown here. He gave up medicine and decided to do nothing but write. Success came slowly, but it came abundantly, in the theater and in fiction. Author of more than sixty books, he is now the doyen of English writers.

Zane Grey

1875 – 1939

THE SON of a man who combined the occupation of farmer, preacher, and doctor, Zane Grey was born in Zanesville, Ohio. His potential as a schoolboy baseball player had many colleges competing for his enrollment. He was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1896 as a doctor of dental surgery. For four years he struggled to establish a dental practice in New York City. When failure and boredom compelled him to give up, he turned to writing, which had been his hobby.

His first attempt, *Betty Zane,* an historical novel, Zane Grey paid to have published. It took him nearly ten years to perfect the blend of Western atmosphere, romance, and elementary style that suited the taste of — it was once computed — 56,141,995 readers. *Riders of the Purple Sage,* New York, 1912, shown here in a copy of the first edition, which Harper's hesitated to publish, sold about a million copies. By the time of his death, when he had three novels in manuscript in his desk, he had published some sixty titles. These had been translated into twenty languages, sold 17,000,000 copies, and made him rich.

From the general collection

Robert Briffault

1876 – 1948

ROBERT BRIFFAULT was born in London, the son of a Frenchman who became a British subject and of his Scotch wife. At the unusually early age of eighteen he received his medical degree. That same year he settled in New Zealand and practised. He began to publish occasional articles on social anthropology. After the First World War he returned to England and devoted himself to study and to writing. Toward the end of his life he produced several novels embodying his social theories. The best known of these, here displayed, was *Europa: The Days of Ignorance,* New York, 1935.

From the general collection

Warwick Deeping
1877 – 1950

THE SON of a country doctor, Warwick Deeping tried at first to emulate his father. He studied science and medicine at Cambridge University and completed his training at a London hospital. For a year he practised as a country doctor. An early enthusiasm for romantic medievalism led him to try his hand at writing historical novels. These sold sufficiently to encourage him to give up medicine for writing. During the First World War he returned to his original profession to serve his country in the Royal Army Medical Corps in France, Belgium, Egypt, and the Gallipoli campaign.

Deeping said that *Sorrell and Son*, London, 1925, of which a first edition is on display, grew from the knowledge of human nature he gained in the war. This most popular of his novels has for one of its heroes a young man who finds happiness in a medical career. Deeping devoted the post-war years to writing.

Hans Zinsser
1878 – 1940

HANS ZINSSER came of a German family settled in New York that endowed him with an interest both in science and in the arts. At Columbia University he was absorbed in poetry and biology, and after receiving his A.B. degree in 1899, he obtained an M.D. in 1903. His great medical interest was bacteriology; he abandoned private practice in order to teach the subject at the University of California, at the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University, and at the Harvard Medical School. His medical service in the First World War gave him opportunity to specialize in the study of typhus, epidemiology, and the control of infectious disease. He pursued his specialty in this country, Europe, Russia, and Mexico. His professional papers on the subject were authoritative and his popular account, *Rats, Lice and History*, 1935, was a best-seller.

Zinsser was also a writer of a poetic and reflective turn of mind, which found expression in the disguised autobiography, *As I remember Him*, 1940, written when he became aware of his own imminent death from leukemia, and in his poems. A copy of the first edition of his posthumous collection entitled *Spring, Summer, & Autumn: Poems*, New York, 1942, is seen here.

From the general collection

Oliver St John Gogarty
1878 – 1957

THOUGH HE WAS most widely known as the original of "stately, plump" Buck Mulligan in Joyce's *Ulysses*, Gogarty had claims to fame of his own making. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin, he was a surgeon and throat specialist, a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Ireland. He was active as an opponent of the Sinn Feiners in the bitterest partisan politics in the English-speaking world and survived to serve fourteen years in the Irish Senate. He was a motorcycle racer, a licensed aircraft pilot, and an expert archer. In addition he wrote several novels and volumes of poetry. A first edition of *Wild Apples*, Dublin, 1930, with a preface by William Butler Yeats, is on display.

James Joyce
1882 – 1941

JAMES JOYCE'S connection with medicine seems to have progreessed only a few steps beyond a world of fantasy in which he cast himself in the part of Dr Joyce, successful financially and amorously. After graduating from University College, Dublin, he entered the St Cecilia Medical School in October 1902 and attended classes about a month. For a complex of reasons that included his father's inability to pay his tuition, his own inability to deal with the chemistry

requirement, and a sense of persecution arising from the first two factors, he decided he would obtain a better medical education in Paris. He planned to support himself on what funds he could raise from friends and mere acquaintances in Ireland and from giving English lessons to the French. He was allowed to begin courses provisionally at the Faculté de Médicine on December 7 1902, despite incomplete credentials. By December 23 he knew the project was beyond him financially, educationally, and emotionally and he returned to Dublin. About a year later he seems to have made another brief try at the St Cecilia Medical School and then to have abandoned the ambition to become a doctor.

Joyce did not settle in Ireland. His adult life was spent on the Continent, principally in Trieste, Zurich, and Paris. All his famous work was produced abroad, including *Ulysses*, Paris, 1922. A copy of the limited edition of 1000, presented to the Irish poet and novelist, James Stephens, is seen here.

William Carlos Williams

1883 – 1963

WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS' diverse talents may have owed something to the mixture of Danish, Dutch, English, French, and Jewish strains in his background. He was born in Rutherford, New Jersey, where he spent most of his life. After attending school in New York City and in Geneva, he received an M.D. degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1906 and did postgraduate work in Leipzig. In his school days he began writing poetry and continued throughout his busy career as a physician around Rutherford, New Jersey. "One feeds the other, in a manner of speaking," he said of his two interests. "Both seem necessary to me." He published numerous volumes of poetry and essays, novels and short stories. His first "commercially published" book of verse appeared in England: a copy of the first edition of *The Tempers*, London, 1913, is seen here.

Francis Brett Young

1884 – 1954

ON BOTH SIDES Francis Brett Young came of medical people. He received his M.D. degree at the University of Birmingham and practised at Brixham, Surrey, for seven years. During the First World War he served with the Royal Army Medical Corps in East Africa, where he contracted a severe case of malaria. Invalided out, he was no longer able to continue a medical career.

Fortunately Young had all along been developing his talent for writing: he had published several novels and collections of poetry before the end of the war. In peacetime he travelled widely with his wife and wrote voluminously — poetry, criticism, plays, stories, and novels, some of which deal with the medical world. A first edition of his most popular, *My Brother Jonathan*, London, 1928, of which the hero is a doctor, is displayed here.

Robinson Jeffers

1887 – 1962

ROBINSON JEFFERS turned into many blind alleys before he found his way to Point Sur, near Carmel, California, and to a life devoted to writing poetry. He was educated in Germany and Switzerland and at the University of Pittsburgh and received an A.B. degree from Occidental College, Los Angeles, in 1905. He next tried the graduate school of English at the University of Southern California and then transferred to the medical school for three years. This was followed by a little desultory study at the University of Zurich and a year of forestry at the University of Washington. In 1914, when he was still under thirty, he received a legacy which made it possible for him to live where he liked and to put all his energy into writing poetry.

It was then that Jeffers built with his own hands the stone house and stone tower in which he afterwards lived and worked. The Carmel scene permeates his poetry and even lends its place names to his titles, as in *The Women at Point Sur*, New York, 1927, seen here in the limited signed issue of the first edition which was published shortly after the trade edition.

Sir Geoffrey Keynes

SIR GEOFFREY KEYNES was born in 1887 into a family notable for longevity and intellectual achievement. His father, Registrary of Cambridge University, lived to be 97; his mother, daughter of the biographer of Bunyan and once Mayor of Cambridge, to be 96. An uncle was a well-known physician; a brother-in-law was a Nobel Prize winner; a brother was John Maynard Keynes, First Baron Keynes, the most influential economist of this century. His wife is a Darwin, a granddaughter of Charles, a great-great granddaughter of Erasmus.

Sir Geoffrey has accumulated high distinctions entirely his own. Educated at Rugby School, Cambridge University, and St Bartholomew's Hospital, London, he interrupted his training to serve throughout the First World War in the Royal Army Medical Corps, coming home with the rank of major. Cambridge granted him an M.D. degree in 1918. Since then he has been primarily connected with St Bartholomew's, where he has achieved eminence in two fields — as an excellent doctor and a great scientific surgeon. In the Second World War as Senior Consulting Surgeon in the Royal Air Force he was Air Vice-Marshall.

It is an extraordinary feat that Sir Geoffrey has been a busy practising surgeon, the author of well over two hundred medical articles, and one of the outstanding bibliographers of his time. His are the authoritative bibliographies of such men of science as Sir Thomas Browne, Dr William Harvey, and Dr Robert Hooke, and of such writers as Jane Austen, William Blake, Rupert Brooke (his friend from boyhood, for whom he is literary executor), John Donne, John Evelyn, William Hazlitt, and William Pickering, the publisher. In addition he has done much critical, editorial, and scholarly work on diverse figures like Blake, Brooke, Samuel Butler, William Cowper, John Donne, Edward Gibbon, William Harvey, to name only a few. A first edition of one of his books of criticism, *Blake Studies: Notes on his Life and Works*, London, 1949, is on display.

From the general collection

James Bridie
1888 – 1951

BETTER KNOWN by his pseudonym, Osborne Henry Mavor was born and educated in Glasgow. His interest in enjoying himself and in writing — he contributed prose, verse, and drawings to the university magazine — was as great as his interest in his courses while he was studying medicine at the University of Glasgow. Beginning at the age of twenty-five, he became a popular general practitioner and consulting physician at a large Glasgow hospital.

Mavor's desire to try his hand at drama was aroused by the Abbey Theatre Players: he wanted to help achieve in Scotland what they had achieved in Ireland. Playwriting became his hobby. The first of his plays to be performed by the Scottish National Players in Glasgow was "The Sunlight Sonata," which he signed with the pseudonym Mary Henderson. From 1923 on, as James Bridie, he turned out plays with what has seemed to some too great a facility. With his particular blend of morality, wit, and humor, however, he made a definite contribution to the entertainment of the English-speaking world. His first successful play, "The Anatomist," seen here in a copy of the first edition of *The Anatomist and Other Plays*, London, 1931, dealt with the activities of the notorious Dr Knox of Glasgow in the early days of anatomical experiment.

From the general collection

Helen Ashton
1891 – 1958

HELEN ASHTON studied medicine at London University. Though she was qualified, she never practised. During the First World War, however, she used her training to nurse the wounded. She began publishing in her mid-thirties and drew upon her medical knowledge in her novels. This is especially true of her fourth. Her husband had doubted that she could make an absorbing story out of the events of a day in the life of an English country doctor. *Doctor Serocold: A Page from His Day-Book* was internationally successful: in the United States it was a Book of the Month Club choice. A copy of the first American edition, Garden City, New York, 1930, is here displayed.

From the general collection

Wilder Graves Penfield

THE SON OF A DOCTOR, Wilder Graves Penfield was born in 1891 in Spokane, Washington. At Princeton University he excelled in the classroom and on the football field. He began his medical studies as a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University, interrupting his course in 1916 to perform medical service during the First World War. After obtaining an M.D. degree at the Johns Hopkins University in 1918, he returned to Oxford, again as a Rhodes scholar, to receive a B.S. and an M.A. in 1920. He did postgraduate work in Germany and Spain and at Harvard University.

From 1921–28 Dr Penfield was associated with Columbia University, the Presbyterian Hospital, and other New York medical institutions, where his specialty was neurosurgery. In 1928 he was called to McGill University and to two Montreal hospitals. He became a naturalized Canadian citizen six years later. His work on the brain and its functions, particularly on epilepsy, has made of him a world figure.

In a life crowded with professional work Dr Penfield has found time to carry out his desire to write on non-medical subjects. He has written essays and two historical novels, one about Abraham and one about Hippocrates, the father of medicine. A copy of the latter, *The Torch*, Boston, 1960, is here displayed.

From the general collection

Michael Arlen

1895 – 1956

IT IS A FAR CRY from Rustchuk, Bulgaria, where Dikrān Kuyumjian was born of Armenian parentage, to the West End of London, which Michael Arlen brought to the provinces in the 1920s. Coming to England as a boy, he later changed his name to its familiar form by deed poll. He began his education at Malvern College with the intention of continuing in medicine. For three months he was a medical student at the University of Edinburgh. His real interest, however, was in writing. He came to London and worked industriously to succeed as a writer in a language not his own.

Michael Arlen was not thirty when he achieved an international success with *The Greeen Hat: A Romance for a Few People*, London, 1924, of which a first edition is displayed here. The novel was devoured by a multitude who thought they were seeing life as the super-privileged live it. Though his numerous other novels and short stories were also popular in the 1920s, his vogue did not survive the depression.

Walter Russell Brain, First Baron Brain

BORN IN 1895, Russell Brain early showed his native ability by the scholarships he won on his way through Mill Hill School and Oxford University, by which he was granted an M.D. degree. He continued his medical training at the London Hospital, where he was later appointed physician. His brilliance as a neurologist also earned him an appointment to the Maida Vale Hospital for Nervous Diseases, London.

Not only was he active in medical practice, Lord Brain was editor of *Brain* and of the *Quarterly Journal of Medicine*. His interest in writing has not been confined to medical work. He has published literary criticism, philosophical essays, and poetry. A first edition of his *Poems and Verse*, Cambridge, 1961, privately printed in an edition of 100 copies, is here displayed.

His eminence in the medical profession ensured his election as President of the Royal College of Physicians from 1950 to 1957. In 1952 he was made a knight, in 1954 a baronet, and in 1962 a baron for his service to medicine.

From the general collection

Archibald Joseph Cronin

BECAUSE HIS MEDICAL studies at the University of Glasgow were interrupted by service as a surgeon sublieutenant in the First World War, A. J. Cronin, who was born in 1896, did not obtain his medical degree until 1925. In the meantime he had gone out to India as a ship's

surgeon and had had hospital experience at home. Within five years he built up a large and lucrative practice in London. Then his health gave way. While convalescing he wrote his first novel, *Hatter's Castle*, London, 1931, of which a first edition is on display here. He had always been interested in writing, and the enormous success of his first book led him to devote himself exclusively to popular fiction.

Rudolph Fisher
1897 – 1934

BORN in the District of Columbia, Rudolph John Chauncey Fisher received his early education in the public schools of New York City and Providence, Rhode Island. From Brown University he received a B.A. degree in 1919 and an M.A. in biology in 1920. He had now determined to be a doctor and entered Howard University Medical School, from which he obtained his M.D. in 1924.

Rudolph Fisher practised in Jamaica, Long Island, and devoted some of his time to writing. His first published novel, *The Walls of Jericho*, New York, 1928, shown here in a first edition, was one of the early studies of life in Harlem and was praised for its authenticity. In a second Harlem novel, *The Conjure-Man Dies*, 1932, he created Dr John Archer — by profession a doctor, by inclination a detective — who has been hailed as "the colored Sherlock Holmes."

From the general collection

Merrill Moore
1903 – 1957

MERRILL MOORE received his A.B. and M.D. degrees from Vanderbilt University. There he was one of the writers, principally poets, called the "Fugitives," who advocated an agrarian solution for the problems of the contemporary South. While he was serving in Boston hospitals, he started his psychoanalytical training and completed it six years later. For the rest of his life he practised privately and taught.

An indefatigable writer of medical papers, he also had what he described as "a compulsive addiction" to writing sonnets. He called this habit his "occupational therapy." He wrote some 150,000 sonnets and published innumerable collections. One such collection, *Clinical Sonnets*, New York, 1949, is here displayed in a copy of the first edition presented by the author to Francis Stanton.

From the general collection

Frank Gill Slaughter

FROM CHILDHOOD Frank Slaughter, who was born in 1908, was "studious and an omnivorous reader." He still finds that he enjoys "the research for novels more than any other part of my work." He was graduated from Duke University at the age of eighteen, a Phi Beta Kappa, and from Johns Hopkins Medical School at twenty-two. He has practised surgery in Virginia and Florida and served in the Army Medical Corps. Despite a full professional life, he began writing as a hobby in 1935 and gave up practice about ten years later to develop his talents as novelist, biographeer, journalist, and broadcaster. A copy of his first novel, *That None Should Die*, New York, 1941, is here displayed in the profitable Book League of America edition.

From the general collection

Editor's Note: This exhibit catalogue is available as a separate booklet in paper covers at $1.00.

The Letters of George Gissing to Gabrielle Fleury

Edited by PIERRE COUSTILLAS
University of Paris

A SELECTION: PART III (*Conclusion*)

47

January 29 1899

Dorking

Oh, my dear, dear girl, we say there is no such thing as a miracle, but how else can I describe what has happened this morning. The postman brings me a little piece of card, with a few words written upon it, and no sooner have I read the words than I am transported into a world of ecstasy; I lose all control of myself in passionate delight! Thank you, thank you, my Gabrielle! Who but you could send so much joy in so few words? They glow before my eyes; every one of them is a priceless jewel. I feel that one might give one's life only just to hear once such words as these.

Beloved, in each one of your letters there is some passage which fixes itself in my mind and will not be forgotten. [. . .] I, who have waited for you in suffering and in misery for twenty years! I fear you cannot imagine what *my* longing is. This, of course, is the explanation of my moments of terrible fear, of all but intolerable desire to be near you. Gabrielle, if you were to fall seriously ill, I believe — indeed I am dreadfully sure, that I should lose my senses. I have often felt the possibility of that, when a letter from you happened to be delayed. If fate played me any such trick now, I could not survive it. My life would break off like a snapped bough. Always remember this state of my thoughts, darling, and be very patient with your poor old George. You are his *everything*. Apart from you he has no strength, no hope. Worse than that, apart from you, he is at any moment face to face with the agony of despair.

I must now reply to several things in your letter, which I left unnoticed. [. . .]

The flannel shirts. — I have often worn these, and have found one very great objection to them: they *shrink* so greatly in washing. Do you think we can count upon a good laundress? If so, it would be a different thing. Sometimes I have bought expensive shirts, and have had to throw them away, because they became too small, after a few weeks.

You are quite right to keep the proofs of M. Jupp. Send me the story when it appears.

I am troubled about M. [. . .] Indeed, I suppose my trouble is a sort of jealousy. I cannot help feeling bitter against these men who are able to offer you legal marriage. I spent a black hour in thinking about that the other day. Oh, I wish the days would pass, pass!

[. . . .]

You will have received the postcard on which I gave you Pinker's address.[1]

[1] He lived at Worcester Park, but his office was at Effingham House, Arundel Street, Strand, W. C.

I was pleased to hear of the flowers from Mrs. Collet. No wonder every one is so kind to you. Who that knows Gabrielle does not worship her?

The name reminds me to tell you that, in returning through London yesterday, I called upon Miss Collet.[2] She was admirable in her kindness, and spoke of *you* with great respect. Indeed, knowing all the fact of my life and my position, she looks upon you as my guardian angel. Her discretion is perfect; she will be at all times our best friend in England. Speaking of our difficulties, she asked "Why not declare the truth, like George Eliot?" (You know that George Eliot made a free marriage with a man of letters miserably married already, and that English society forgave it out of consideration for her genius?) I replied that it seemed impossible, because of your numerous connections with the "respectable" world.

Yes, there is a garde-meubles at Dorking, and I must make inquiries about it. It would save a great deal of money. You shall hear about this. I fear it would be impossible to find a *room* in a house which would be perfectly safe. I should always feel uneasy.

Yes, I shall bring my bureau, and chair, and lamp. The transport will be very small.

About the piano, Dear, I will find the money for that, oh so gladly! I ought to tell you that I have just made up my accounts for last year, and I find I have received £542 — more than ever before! Unfortunately, my expenses have been absurdly heavy. But it will not be so in future. I have no doubt at all that I can count upon £500 quite certainly, every year — probably much more — oh, much more! [3] When I am rich, I will give my Gabrielle such presents!

My sister Nelly played and sang for me. She sang some of Heine's Lieder, and the effect was the same as always — immense courage, boundless hope! What will be the effect of *your* music? I know I shall do much better things than ever yet. You are going to give me inspiration for the best work of my life, darling girl.

Yes, I will get rid of duplicate French books.

And now let me tell you that I have returned in perfect health. Indeed, I feel better and stronger than for years! The sudden changes of climate and of weather — the railway journeys — the irregular hours — have done me not the slightest harm. [. . .] I feel able to say, with perfect truthfulness, that I am *not* an invalid. Day by day I get stronger; day by day my breathing is easier. If hope has done this for me, what will actual happiness do?

Not a trace of cold all this winter!

Oh, my dear love, I have grieved so over the line in your letter which speaks of broken sleep.[4] Since reading it, I too have awoke at that early hour — to think

[2] See Introduction. Her home was at 36 Berkeley Road, Crouch End, N.

[3] These were sanguine expectations. In his account of books for the last years of his life, the following sums are mentioned: £427.5.1 for 1899; £297.6.2 for 1900; £722.19.1 for 1901; £226.9.0 for 1902.

[4] Gabrielle added a footnote in French explaining that since her father's death, she woke up at 2 o'clock every night: "Depuis la mort de mon père survenue brusquement à 2 h la nuit, je me réveillais tj à cette heure. J'avais grand peine à me rendormir, hantée par le funèbre souvenir. G. F."

of you. My heart's darling, when you are sleepless and sorrowful, promise me to think of our future. [. . .]

I shall write very often, I grow terribly impatient. Sometimes I walk about the room, unable to do anything but say your dear name to myself, a thousand times. Cruel girl! You are making me mad with love of you. — Oh no, no! Not cruel girl; but bright angel, who came down to me, and drew me out of my misery!

Dear, I should not have lived through this year 1899. No! I feel sure that I should not have lived another twelvemonth, but for you. I was sinking, losing courage. Not even duty to the little boys would have kept me alive.

Write soon again — a letter full of love! Oh, I am so well, and I love you so much better in health than in weakness. [. . .] Dearest, sweetest Gabrielle — the most beautiful, the noblest, the bravest girl on earth! I worship at your feet; I take you in my arms, and kiss you with rapture.

GEORGE

51

February 6 (evening) [1899]

C'est décidé! — Your second letter, which I find on returning, settles everything. *C'est décidé pour tout de bon!* [1]

I saw the detective. He had *no faith at all* in the anonymous letter,[2] and things shall go no further. How I grieve that you will read two other letters of mine before you receive this!

How shall I try to express my feeling after reading your letter to-night? I am helpless — wordless. What word in human language is sufficient to declare your magnanimity, your greatness of soul, your infinite beauty of mind? I am overwhelmed with unutterable emotion in reading your sentences. My brave, brave Gabrielle! My glorious girl!

It is too true. In what state should I have been after waiting for you for a year or two? *Scarcely* alive. [. . .]

I forgot that you did not know who Miss Orme was. She is the lady with whom that terrible person lived for six months, in London, after my departure for Italy in late summer of '97. Her age is about 53, and she is a very strong-minded woman, who has been a good friend to me. In return for her kindness to that poor, foolish creature, she was insulted and abused and all the peace of her home ruined.

You see, I did *everything* possible to save that creature from her fate. When Miss Orme could no longer endure her, she went (with her own furniture) into the house of some very decent people in North London and in six months she had ruined their peace, just as she did Miss Orme's. I had to pay *nearly a pound* for

[1] Gabrielle had decided against waiting until his unlikely divorce. In a letter of the same day to his friend Roberts, Gissing quoted the following paragraph: "Plus je réfléchis et plus la lumière se fait dans mon esprit, plus je suis assurée que mon impression est juste. *Il vaut mieux renoncer* à se lancer dans cette voie d'une longueur interminable et d'une issue si lointaine — même en admettant que cette issue soit favorable. En un mot je crois fermement qu'*il ne faut rien faire,* et laisser les choses en l'état où elles étaient, et tout comme si cet incident singulier ne s'était pas produit. [. . .] Nous nous marions parce que nous nous aimons, parce que nous sommes sûrs l'un de l'autre, non par convenance mondaine."

[2] It warned him of relations between his wife, Edith, and "a certain man." Gissing put an advertisement in the personal column of the *Daily Mail,* with no result.

violent damage done by her in that house. She broke furniture, tore up the plants in the garden, and finally, after attacking the man and his wife with a stick, had to be removed by a policeman! — And remember that, during all this time, she was spreading the most terrible calumnies about me — terrible, *unspeakable* things, such as no good woman has ever heard of!

I endured life with her for *seven years*. Have I not won my liberty?

Miss Collet will some day *love* you; I know she will.

I wish to ask your permission to tell the truth about our marriage to my good old friend Roberts and to Bertz.[3] If you permit it, these two are the *only men* whom I shall tell; both are absolutely trustworthy, and I should find it very difficult to conceal from them my true position. The *only woman* in England who will know is Miss Collet[4] (I shall not desire, just yet, to tell Miss Orme.)

Never again one word of hesitation between us, my soul's darling! We will do our utmost to save the situation, and that is all.

I am so overcome with joy that my hand shakes. I have got back my Gabrielle, my wife!! In two months! Oh, you are good and sweet — divinely good! Again and again you save me.

I think, beloved, that I have answered all your questions.

Ah, and we are so like each other! — except that you are a thousand times better than I!

My wife! my wife! Will not fate be kind to so much love, to so much devotion?

Kiss "Maman's" dear hand for me; she is my true mother.

You have made everything easy, everything smooth. Henceforth, nothing but joy! I am well and strong; how much better shall I be when I have your first kiss! I take it in imagination; I press you to my heart; I look into your matchless eyes. When I *really* do it, I believe I shall shed tears.

You are my soul's beloved for ever and ever

GEORGE

[3] In fact he had told them already, as is made evident by a letter to Roberts dated Feb 3 1899 and another to Bertz written as early as Nov 1 1898.

[4] Gissing let her know a few days later, perhaps at Gabrielle's request. See letter of Feb 15

53

[February 15 1899]

[. . . .]

I like to say "you and I." It seems to shut out the rest of the world, and leaves us alone together — alone and for ever united. — We shall have so much to say, you and I. [. . .]

How terrible it would be if, in a few years, you lost your love for me! Is it possible?

[. . .] I have heard from Roberts, who has been pursuing inquiries from London, that the American project is *impossible*. First he finds that I should have to become naturalized in America; which would take years. Then, if I somehow succeeded without that (by some trick) my second marriage would be *bigamy* under the English law — I should never again be able to go to England, and I should ruin the future of my children.

This is making me heavy-hearted to-night. You tell me *not* to grieve, in any case; but I think of my Gabrielle, of my beloved. — Yesterday, and all to-day till receiving Roberts's letter, I have been so joyful.

What will my girlie say to me?

What a mad man I was to talk of waiting for you for more than a year. As if I could have done it! I am like a man hanging on the edge of a precipice, feeling his strength fails; it will last for a certain number of minutes; then, if help does not come, he falls! My strength is coming to its end. I work only with extreme difficulty. Only by repeating to myself "a few weeks more" do I keep up courage.

But I will not be guilty of troubling you, now that you have passed into a calmer state of mind. I too, my beloved, shall be calm, some day — in a few weeks.

Let me reassure you on another point of which you speak. Our troubles have no power whatever to affect my love. They agitate me; but it is only like a wind that breaks the surface of the sea, whilst down below there is perfect peace. Only one thing now could throw my whole being into storm — the fear of your death, or the fear of my own. In the former case, I should become mad, insane; in the latter, I should sink into the abandonment of despair. — But fate has not that cruelty in store for us.

[. . .] Alas! how often I have had to tell you sorrowful and disappointing things.

[. . .]

Yes, the two wardrobes both have locks. So have all the drawers.

Your praise of The Whirlpool [1] is sweeter than it would be from anyone else. Oh! but I am going to do my best work now. Will you help me? Will you encourage me?

I feel that I have twenty years more of good, good work. Moreover I have a strangely strong conviction that there is great happiness for us in the future, in spite of our present disappointments. [. . .]

Yes, I think the people at the garde-meubles will be able to send my bureau etc. If not, it is easily given to London people.

In a day or two I go to London to order my black suit, to purchase *two rings*, and to do several other things. I must not leave everything until the last few days.

I am working at my Prefaces, — ah! but your face comes ever between me and the paper! Méchante!

[. . .]

February 16

Dearest, I grieve so to send you this letter with disappointing news. But I am able to add something which will please you. A day or two ago I wrote to Miss Collet, telling her how glad I should be if any way could be found for a legitimate marriage, but that I feared. — To-day she replies: "Can you not impress upon Gabrielle that, here in England, the best men and women recognize love and

[1] Published by Lawrence and Bullen in April 1897. Stokes published it in America in Feb 1898.

loyalty and courage? — Moreover, I solemnly promise you that, whilst I live, Gabrielle shall never be without a friend and a home in England — never!" [2]

Is not that good?

[...]

GEORGE

[2] Clara Collet kept her promise. As late as 1928, i.e. twenty-five years after Gissing's death, they were still exchanging letters.

56

March 1 1899

Dorking

My darling [wife], you know the intellectual alertness and appetite which follows upon illness? All to-day I have been thinking eagerly of the delight which will be ours when we talk as long as we like — oh, what talks! — of everything in the world that interests us. I have not often spoken to you of this aspect of the future, but it is very often in my mind. I have met a great many literary people, men and women, and heard them talk their best, but, quite certainly, I never met anyone who seemed to me to have an intellect as fine in quality as yours. How much I have to learn from you! It occurred to me to-day that, by keeping silence about it, I run a risk of seeming to undervalue your mental endowment. You will know before long how deeply I respect and admire it. Be assured, my Gabrielle, that your old George *can* appreciate your high qualities. They are not lost upon me; my beloved. If I do not speak of them, it is because the subject is so wide; one does not know where to begin. I look to your companionship for the completion, the ripening, of my intellectual life. Never have I met man or woman from whom I greatly desired to learn, except you alone. In a year or two my whole mind will be affected by your influence. If I do not do better work, it will be the fault of my idleness. But I shall!

[March] 2

I have slept *very* well, and my appetite is alarming. How I shall eat in the mountains! I fear you will think it gross and brutal.

Now I will tell you about my book. Pinker has made certain changes in the agreements, which now stand thus:

1) English publishers will be Methuen & C° — the same who pubd "The Town Traveller," and for whom I am doing the Dickens.

They pay a royalty of 20 per cent on the first 2,500 copies, and 25 p.c. afterwards. Also 4d a copy on the Colonial edition. And, on account of royalties, they pay £300.

2) American publishers pay a royalty of 15 p.c., and £100 on account.

It is decided to postpone publication till the *autumn*. I am not sorry, as I shall now be spared the labours of correcting proofs next month.[1]

Moreover, Pinker is doing his best to get the novel *serially* published.[2] It seems an extraordinary thing that this is so difficult. "Eve's Ransom" is the only

[1] *The Crown of Life* was published on Oct 23 1899. From letters to other correspondents it is clear that he was not altogether pleased with this postponement. He was to regret it bitterly when the war in South Africa broke out.

[2] There was no serial publication of the novel.

one of my novels which has appeared serially.[3] Editors of magazines etc regard them with contempt!

I have just corrected a proof of my short story for the *Pall Mall Magazine*.[4] It is about 5,000 words, so the payment will be £25.

In the course of this year I shall receive payment for several of the Prefaces, probably about 6 — which would be £60.

So we need not be anxious. Everything is clear. [. . .]

[How we shall grow in knowledge of] [5] each other, and in love of each other, measureless love! Whatever thought comes to me, I shall say "Gabrielle!" and share it with you.

There is in me a *great* capacity for happiness, and in my whole life I have not known one entirely happy day. [. . .]

[3] Gissing's memory was at fault on this point. *A Life's Morning* had appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine* (Jan – Dec 1888) and *Demos* had been reprinted in *The Manchester Weekly Times* (July 20 1889 – Feb 1 1890). A Budapest newspaper, *Pester Lloyd*, had also published *New Grub Street* as *Ein Mann des Tages* in 1892.

[4] *A Poor Gentleman*, published in that magazine in Oct 1899.

[5] A part of the original letter has been cut off and these words have been added by Gabrielle.

60

March 16 1899

Dorking

Dearest love, the weather here has been greatly against my recovery. Day after day there was a hot sun and a cold wind, until three days ago, when a thick fog began, which has lasted ever since. The doctor says he never knew so much sickness at this time of year. It is my unfortunate lung that is keeping me so weak. I cannot entirely get rid of the results of the congestion with which my influenza began. Impossible to go into the open air in this fog. All I can do is to eat as much as possible, and hope for an increase of strength.

It is so kind of you, girlie dear, to offer to come to me. But I had so much rather get well alone, before I see you. It will be so soon now, our meeting! Trust me to do everything possible. I am sure I shall soon be able to give you a better report.

One reason of my low spirits is that I keep thinking what a miserable thing it will be for you — for you with your youth and health and good spirits — if I often have attacks of illness. How I shall reproach myself with injustice to you!

Dear love, I have never told you untruths about my health. From my return to England in April 1898 until this attack of influenza, I never had one day's *illness* (except the eczema). But I have often felt the climate here very oppressive. It seems such a long time since I felt *cold*. I am always suffering from the heat. And indeed, this year there has been absolutely *no winter* in England. Remember that I was born in the north, and I need a bracing climate. This midsummer temperature in February and March is very hard to bear.

But I shall soon be well again. And, as soon as I feel strong, I have of course a great many things to do, in preparation for my departure. I shall be very busy indeed.

How strange that you dreamt of poor little Walter! I have very good news of him; he is quite recovered. In Wakefield he has many little friends, and they have kept his room *full* of fruit and flowers!

I live in a dream of the mountains. I constantly have visions of glorious peaks and valleys, such as I have seen in the S. Gothard, and the Brenner — especially a great snowy mountain top which I saw early one morning, flushed the colour of rose by the rising sun! How I long for that world! And at the same time for you, sweetest girlie!

Will you tell [. . .] that her translation of "An Inspiration" is perfect? [1] Will you thank her, from me, for the trouble she took about it? [. . .]

I think the prices for your translations are very good indeed. Much higher than would be paid for translations in England or Germany.

It gratifies me enormously to be told of the success of my books on the Continent. The truth is, girlie, that very few people in England have intelligence in art. *My motives are too subtle.* You know that I constantly use *irony*; and this is never understand [sic]; it is all taken in the most stupid literal sense.

Do you think my reputation on the Continent will go on increasing? I hope so — for my girlie's sake.

Have you told your Hungarian friend [2] about *me*? I hope you have. Was she glad? She must be a good and interesting girl to be Gabrielle's friend.

About marriage in England. You know that one can have either a civil or a religious marriage (not *both*, as in France.) In both cases the legal formalities are the same. A certificate of birth is required, and two witnesses — only two, who may be (and often are) perfect strangers. In the case of a church marriage, one can either give notice of 3 weeks, and have the banns publicly proclaimed each Sunday; or, by paying more, obtain a license which dispenses with all preliminaries. So also in the civil marriage — which is performed at the office of the Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages. The ceremony takes three minutes, and, as I said, the two witnesses can be obtained at a moment's notice, if necessary. It is true that the law requires a certain *term of residence* in that district, but this is never strictly demanded, [. . .]

Tell me, darling, if there is anything more you would like to ask.

The story about poor Art is delicious. He must have remembered his letter to me — "je trouve ce procédé absolument déloyal!" But I am sure he would be consoled when he remembered my reply to that letter; I wrote to him very quietly and reasonably.

Yes, I am sorry he is going to occupy the Revue de Paris again.[3] You know that I do not care much for "The Town Traveller." I am so anxious to be known to French readers by some of my more serious work.

When you say, darling, that you would like to give me your health, remember that this is what you *will* do — not only morally, but literally. Your love will make a new man of me — you will see. [. . .] It is useless to think of obtaining quietness now before we meet. My days and nights are spent in longing for you. [. . .]

1 Translation published in the *Revue Hebdomadaire* (March 11 1899). The text of the letter here would lead one to think that the short story had been translated by another than Gabrielle, but the deletion was probably a pet name, since the translation is signed: E. F. d'Arzinol, Gabrielle's pen-name.

2 Has escaped identification.

3 Georges Art's translation was never published in the *Revue de Paris*.

I don't know what story to suggest for M. Ferrari — who is really very kind. Perhaps if you look over the titles in "Human Odds and Ends" you will be able to select one suitable.[4]

Dear, whenever you are uneasy about my health, remember that I have a very strong *will* (in one way), and that no man living ever had a stronger inducement to recover his health than I have now. The sweetest, loveliest, cleverest wife in Europe is waiting for me — is not that enough? Trust me, darling, all will go well. I do not disguise the truth from you, and have never done so. Let us be patient; in another week or two, the poison of the influenza will all be gone.

[. . .] (Some day I shall ask you to let me loosen your beautiful hair, and pass it through my fingers, and kiss it, and press it against my face. Will you let me?)

[Dearest girlie, dear, sweet, noble wife, I love you more than I can say, I love you and long for you.]

For ever your own GEORGE

[4] The only other Gissing story in the *Revue Bleue*, in his lifetime, is *A Poor Gentleman* translated as "Un philanthrope malgré lui" (March 17 1900).

63

APRIL 1 1899

Dorking

Gabrielle! My darling, my darling! how you have misunderstood that wretched letter of mine! Dear, dear girl I never said — I never *thought* — that my illness was due to the solitude of *these last months*. It is the long habit of solitude that has affected me so badly. Why, my dearest, the truth is that you, and you alone, have kept me alive. Not another man in England is so lonely as I have been (I mean *literally* lonely) for the last two years, and it is this abnormal mode of life which has increased my tendency to nervous illness. Dear love, I never said that this weakness of the chest had begun in the last six months. I merely reported the doctor's opinion that a life of total solitude was very, very bad for anyone with a tendency to lung-disease.

Gabrielle! Gabrielle! You say that I have "already" made you shed tears! This almost breaks my heart. It makes me feel that it would have been better if I had died before we met. Make Gabrielle shed tears! "Vous faire pleurer *si tôt*!" Darling, darling, do you think I shall make you shed tears in *future*? Never, never, never!

It is impossible, my own love, to *describe* to you those fits of misery. One cannot describe a nightmare. It is mental illness, resulting from a whole lifetime of wretchedness. Since I was a boy until the day you said you loved me, I had never known a tranquil mind. The reason? — Poverty, frustrate ambition, and above all vain desire of love. Combine these things with the imaginative temper, and *must* not mental suffering — the gravest mental suffering — result?

Such a state of mind exaggerates every evil. The words "encore un grand mois" were like a blow to me. Foolish? Very foolish? But my state is abnormal. And, in addition to this mental illness there is my bodily weakness, and my mad, mad love of you, which makes every day's delay seem a month.

How can I entreat you to pardon me for those tears. Oh! my Gabrielle! My heart aches, aches!

Look at my letter once more, darling; try to see how you mis-read it; and *then destroy it* — I beg you to destroy it.

I have many things to speak of. How I regret that I spoke of *money*. It is another instance of my fatal habit of *thinking aloud* to Gabrielle. Dear [wife], I do not wish you to spend any of your money after our marriage.[1] I will see to everything, and without difficulty. In a short time, we shall have plenty of money, my beautiful. Only let me be strong again, as I shall be when we are married. Girlie's money is to be put aside, at all events for the present.

My hand is still unsteady from the shock of reading your letter. I had never conceived the possibility of your understanding my last as a personal reproach — never, never! Nothing was further from my mind. Accuse *you* — accuse Gabrielle! — Dear, if I had really done that, it would have justified you in breaking our engagement at once.

I am glad to know that it was Miss Ward who supplied the information to *Literature*.[2] It will do me a great deal of good in England. Thank you, dearest, for thinking of that.

You attach too much weight to that phrase of mine: "If I live a few more years." It is a phrase I am in the habit of using, and has no particular significance. The doctor agrees with me that I may live *many* years, provided I change my mode of life. And that, I assured him, I should certainly do!! [. . .]

1 There is abundant evidence that she contributed to the expenses of the household.

2 Miss Ward was probably also responsible for previous and vague allusions in the same journal to the translations of his works. In the number for Feb 18 1899, p 180, we read: ". . . it is no less pleasing to note that they [the French] have lately discovered Mr. George Gissing. In England Mr. Gissing's novels have often been considered 'too good' to be acceptable as serials; but several of them have lately appeared serially in some of the best French magazines and journals."

66

Thursday night [May 4 1899]

Lewes [1]

Darling girlie, my letter this afternoon was a very hasty scrawl. I know you will forgive it. I was enraged by the stupidities of the post, and I had been waiting, waiting, waiting for the postman. — Moreover, this hotel is uncomfortable, as English hotels nearly always are.

By this time I hope you are recovering from the fatigue and excitement of your journey, dear one. Oh! how I have trembled lest anything should happen to keep you at Paris! Indeed, I almost sank down with fear as I took your postcard.

Nothing can happen now, surely. I shall see you on Saturday,[2] my own dear wifie!

1 He had come to Lewes on May 1, and put up at the White Hart to wait till Gabrielle sent for him. She had arrived at Rouen with her mother on May 3.

2 He did cross on Saturday 6.

The weather is very bright but bitterly cold. But I am glad to say that the fierce east wind seems to do me good rather than harm. My health has steadily improved since I left Dorking. Here I am on a dry soil, and high up — the only favourable conditions. My cheeks *glow* with the splendid air, and I eat like Gargantua!

Last night the stars were wonderfully brilliant. Whenever I see such stars, I think of the Mediterranean. I shall not be satisfied till you and I have walked up and down on the deck of a steamer, on a night of perfect calm, and seen together the Mediterranean sky. Of course, you know it at Marseilles. But, one has to be *on* the sea, and near Sicily, there it is best of all.

Shall you be glad to see me, girlie darling?

Remember, the train *may* be late. Oh! I do hope it will not. You were two hours late, when I waited for you at East Croydon! Do you remember?

You are resting now. Of course I do nothing but think of you, nothing. Here there is no one to speak to, and indeed I desire no society. My [wife] [3] is with me in thought.

To-day you feel better, I am sure. If you also have this bright sunshine, it will do you good.

I shall post this very early to-morrow morning, so that you may read it with your coffee on Saturday morning. When you are reading it, I shall be starting for Newhaven.

As this is *my last letter* to you, beloved, I want to ask you to forgive me all the troubles, great and small, which I have caused you since first we met. Never for one moment have I thought of you without love — never without unspeakable tenderness and reverence. I have now but one aim in life, to prove myself worthy of the great sacrifices you have made for my sake. I live for *you*, Gabrielle.

Ask Maman, also, to forgive me everything. Whatever fault I have committed has been due to passion which I could not control — to love and worship of Gabrielle.

We shall have an exquisite time in Normandy. This delay has advanced the spring. For the first time in my life I shall know happiness.

So — one more day of waiting!

Deepest love to my ever beloved wife. But I feel the emptiness of these words.

Ever, ever yours, beautiful girlie,

GEORGE

[3] "Wife" was changed to "angel" by Gabrielle.

77

July 3 1901

East Anglian Sanatorium, Nayland, Suffolk

My girlie bird, I have nothing but good news to send you. I lead a life of absolute idleness, walking about a mile or two every day. My temperature is normal and the cough very slight indeed. Still, I do not deceive myself into the belief that all the danger is over. I regain my strength slowly. The satisfactory

thing is to see how my body is getting its right shape again. You remember how terribly thin I was. My arms are now *full* again, and my ribs (côtes) invisible. All this is very good, and I feel sure that at the end of July I shall be able to travel without risk.

There is pleasant society here — fortunately. Otherwise, I should make myself ill with worry. It is strange that I should be glad, sometimes, to be prevented from thinking of my darling wife. I long for you so, my beloved, and it makes my heart ache. But the time will not be long, and the future is once more full of hope.

This country is very beautiful. I never lived in Suffolk before, and I am glad to be here, because it was the country of my good father.[1] Ah, if he had lived, how he would have rejoiced in my success! It was his one hope that I might become a man of some note.

Good old Clodd writes begging me to come to Aldboro,[2] before I leave England. But I tell him that I cannot. I shall not have time. Nor can I see Whale,[3] who is clamouring to have me at his house. Some day we shall have to devote several months to a succession of visits, from house to house. — Pinker begs for "two days" before I go away. But I cannot; I must travel as quickly as possible to my girlie, who has the first claim upon me.

Henry James[4] gave some interesting reminiscences of Tourguéneff in Paris. He inquired after you in a very sympathetic way. I saw the édition de luxe of Bourget lying in his room. His house is *most* beautiful — an unique place!

Of course I am regarded with much interest and curiosity here. It is curious, this feeling of being an important person! You will see that, if I live another five years, my position will be very different. (Pinker is almost angry that my work has to be so much delayed.)

Are you feeling better, my sweetest? Look well when I come, darling. Talking about *looks*, I never looked so well in my life. I have a *red* face, which is marvellous for me.

Kisses, kisses, endless kisses to darling girlie sweet — to dear, dear wife — to my own love Gabrielle.

Ever your own

GEORGE

I have a long letter from de Littrow, begging me to come and write a book about Dalmatia! He promises every help, and fine illustrations. — But, no, no!

1 His father was born at Halesworth.

2 Edward Clodd (1840–1930), a banker and an author. He was, with Shorter, one of the founders of the Omar Khayyám Club in 1892. Admittedly Clodd had a genius for friendship. His magnetic personality brought nearly all the late eminent Victorians to Aldeburgh, where his father's cottage had been enlarged into "Strafford House," a place famous for the annual party he held at Whitsuntide. Gissing had been his guest there in 1895. His letters to Clodd, nowadays scattered in various English and American libraries, testify to his great friendship After Gissing's death Gabrielle resorted to Clodd for advice in her very intricate financial concerns.

3 See letter of Nov 18 1898, note 3.

4 During Gissing's stay at Sandgate, Wells had arranged for him to pay a visit to Henry James who then lived at Rye.

80

Monday. 11 o'clock
[December 16 1901]

Arcachon [1]

My dearest, your card came by the first post this morning, and your telegram at 10 o'clock. Of course I have passed a night of extreme disquiet and anxiety, but I feel better knowing you are safe. Yesterday afternoon the sun shone for two hours; I wish you had had it at Bordeaux; but I went up to the Casino to look at the northern sky, and saw nothing but clouds. In the night it rained; this morning we have the sun again, but it is cold — too cold to write much.

[. . . .]

I do hope, darling, that you will not take cold. Be very careful, for my sake, if not for your own.

I was so miserable at our parting, that I quite forgot to ask you to remember me kindly to Maman. Please do so; also to all the others.

Yours always lovingly, my dearest wife,

GEORGE

[1] On leaving the Sanatorium at Nayland, Gissing joined Gabrielle at Autun, in Saône-et-Loire. Then they spent the most part of November at the Château de Tazières from which they moved south to Arcachon, as Chauffard thought it dangerous for Gissing to stay for the winter in the Passy flat. Early in December he settled at the Villa Souvenir, a *pension* where some invalids were spending the winter. Gabrielle was soon to be called back to Paris on account of her mother's bad health. As can be deduced from the contents of this letter, she had left on the 15th. She first went back to Tazières.

87

January 26 1902

Villa Souvenir — Arcachon

Dearest love, to-morrow the Williamsons go away. They regret very much not having been able to meet you. They go to Biarritz, thence to Marseille, Naples, Capri and Sicily — to return to London in May. They have been very pleasant to me, and I dare say their acquaintance will be an advantage.

In the terrible storm of yesterday, a fishing steamer of Arcachon was wrecked off the coast, and out of 12 men, only one (a fisherman) was saved. I wonder whether the engineer whom we met in the train has perished with that boat?

This morning I have had a letter from my brother, from which I must quote a passage. At the same time that I told my sisters about our marriage,[1] I also wrote to tell him. As he has never referred to the matter, I suppose he did not wish to. This, I find, has been a great mistake. My letter never reached him. — He writes: — "You can't think how relieved I am to find that my harassing picture of you in hired hands and remote from all personal and affectionate care is a mis-

[1] Gissing had revealed his union with Gabrielle in a letter to Margaret dated "Nayland, July 30 1901."

take. Thinking I knew, Margaret has only just mentioned the domestic tie you have formed. I can't enough rejoice that you have had this solace so long, and the fact renews my hope that you will yet recover a good share of your old health. Pray give my sincerest greetings to your good, brave more-than-wife. I feel a little hurt, though, that I was not told of it before."

As I knew this would please you, I write at once.

Ever yours, my own darling,

GEORGE

The W.'s have spoken to me of a place called *Valescure*,[2] near St Raphael, which is called the Arcachon of the South. Do you know anything of it? It seems to be situated among pines, inland, and to have a climate less exciting than that of the Riviera. The W.'s are going to make inquiries about it for me.

[2] In the Var department, not far from the French Riviera.

90

Thursday [February 20 1902][1]

Arcachon

Dearest love, it relieves me to know that you keep well through the cold. For the moment, our suffering here is over; to-day we have warm sunshine. Yes, of course you must come when travelling can be done with comfort; I hope that will be soon.

Either you have misread my letter, or I made a slip of the pen in writing. What I *meant* to say was (and I think I *did* say it) that I should be free from expense for "*two or three* years." No, she had no private resources whatever; all that money has been saved out of what I sent, and of course, in order to do so, she lived in miserable squalor, and all but ruined the child's health.

I can see that we shall have great difficulty in deciding upon our residence. Three days ago I spoke to Festal about Cambo,[2] and he replied: "It is pleasant in summer, but I should never send a patient there in winter, for it is both damp and cold." Evidently we must see for ourselves. You will notice that Planté speaks of the delightfulness of Cambo "en été."

I have been extremely careful, and have had no sign of a cold; Festal has hopes that my progress will be much more rapid as soon as the warmth begins. My temperature always rises a little in dry cold; in moist warmth it is always very good — a most, most unfortunate thing that your health requires just the opposite conditions to mine. But about all this you will talk with Festal himself.

The Williamsons have sent me a present of a stylographic pen, like Miss Ward's. It is a very great convenience for writing in the open air.

I am puzzled about that notice in the *Academy* of my "Dickens." What "Dickens," I wonder? It cannot be the book published years ago. Perhaps the

[1] Date supplied by Gabrielle.

[2] A small resort in the Basque country.

prefaces (Methuen); and yet that seems unlikely; for you say that the notice is copied from an American review.[3]

By the bye, Methuen has been astonishingly polite to me lately. It is obviously the result of my increased reputation.

You see Miss Ward sometimes, no doubt. Please remember me kindly to her.

It will gladden you to hear that Pinker has sold my short story "The Riding-Whip" to the *Illustrated London News*,[4] for £25 (650 f).

I am going to make a great effort to write a short story, which is all ready in my head; but it will be terribly difficult here in the *galerie de cure*. Festal again and again has advised me "not to be idle." He thoroughly agrees with me that I am better in health when I am regularly occupied.

You received my card, in which I told you about the departure of the Delarues.

Oh, it does me good, this warm sunshine! We have had a miserable winter.

The good old Radcliffe comes to see me about every ten days.

Love to you, darling. I hope Maman keeps well, in spite of the cold. Is René *still* unoccupied?

Ever tenderly yours,

OLD G.

Curious thing that Festal (and I think the other doctors here) has ceased to use *cacodylate*, as having no satisfactory results. My forehead is considerably better.

Extraordinary! Festal said to me, two days ago, "It might perhaps do you good *to take a sea voyage*!!!"

[3] *The Academy* (Jan 25 1902, p 76) said that Gissing was abridging Forster's *Life of Dickens* and quoted the *New York Times Saturday Review* about Sproul's edition of Dickens's works to which Gissing had contributed a preface to *David Copperfield*.

[4] Gissing had sent it to Pinker, his agent, on Oct 6 1901. It was published in two parts on March 22 and 29 1902.

98

May 6 1902

Ciboure

My girlie, things go slowly, because I dare not overtax my strength; but I think I shall soon have something definite to report.

Let me set your mind at rest on two points. There is a good doctor, speaking French and English — and playing the 'cello etc. (St Jean de Luz is a very musical place, and *your* society will be valued.) Then again, it is not difficult to get a good servant. Mlle Batéza will help us in that matter. Servants are dear when hired by the month, but, by the year, they are more reasonable.

The B.[1] have introduced me to a Mr. Genty, a white-haired old man formerly professor of Classics at the College of St Nazaire. He lives with his wife and

[1] The Batézat ladies.

daughter in a delightful *little* house, with a beautiful garden; spends nearly all his time in gardening and botanizing, and, when it rains, reads Latin and Greek![2] Under his guidance I went this afternoon to see a villa about half an hour out of town. A wonderful place — but, alas! it will not do for us, as it is situated on the top of a hill, and faces the sea-winds. However, I am to see the proprietor to-morrow, and to ask the rent. Delightful house, with about 6 bedrooms, standing in a sort of private park, and with a view which has not many equals in France, I am sure. The whole of St Jean de Luz, and of the seashore lies before your eyes. It is called *Villa Olaberrieta* (basque) — remember this for purposes of reference. — Oh, it tempted me very much; but the position is really too exposed, and then the walk up that hill would be too fatiguing. — It looks rather like a château, and has a *private chapel* built at one side of it, with coloured glass-windows! — I have no idea what the rent can be. Beautifully furnished rooms; but water *not* in the house. It never is (or very rarely), for the servants here have the custom of fetching water from the nearest spring. Not only is there good drawing-room and dining-room, but a *study, with a splendid writing-table*! — Ah, but it is impossible, or at least I fear so. I shall see what the rent is — probably much too high.

To-morrow I go to see two much smaller houses, in better positions — that is to say, more convenient for us. Almost all the houses here are *very* large; eight or ten bedrooms. They ask, for a house like that, 1000 f.[3] for August and September! The Mlles Batéza are extremely helpful. — By the bye, you misunderstood my question. I meant: What is the plural of "Mademoiselle?" Is there such a word as "Mesdemoiselles," or does one say "Mesdames." But it doesn't matter.

Now for an astonishing piece of news. Since I came here, I have gained *1½ kilo*! That, notwithstanding all my walking, and notwithstanding the fact that I eat a very light dinner, in order to sleep — though I still don't sleep much. It is astonishing! For months at Arcachon, I steadily lost, lost, lost — right to the end. — Moreover, the mark on my forehead, which, when I last saw him, Festal declared to be *worse*, is now very decidedly *better*; and I think it will soon go away altogether.

I am taking full notes of every place I see. Have no fear; I shall find a place soon.

Much love, darling,

OLD G.

Tired to death!!

May 7

Six hours unbroken sleep, without dreams. At Arcachon I never slept without frightful nightmares.

2 A way of life reminiscent of that of Henry Ryecroft.

3 £40 in those days.

(*End of Selection*)

The complete series of 100 letters, with M Coustillas' Introduction, is being published by The New York Public Library as a separate book next month. Available clothbound $6.50 or in paper covers $5.00.

Latest Publications NYPL

The Letters of George Gissing to Gabrielle Fleury. Edited by Pierre Coustillas. 100 letters. 194 pages. Clothbound $6.50. Paper covers $5.00. December

Dancing in Prints 1634–1870; A Portfolio of Twelve Fine Etchings, Engravings, and Color Lithographs Assembled from the Archives of the Dance Collection. With commentary by Marion Eames. $10.00

Publishing Then and Now 1912–1964. By Alfred A. Knopf. Twenty-first of the R. R. Bowker Memorial Lectures. 23 pages. 25 cents

Doctors as Men of Letters: English and American Writers of Medical Background. An Exhibition in the Berg Collection. By John D. Gordan. 32 pages. $1.00

Secular Music in America 1801–1825: A Bibliography. By Richard J. Wolfe. With an Introduction by Carleton Sprague Smith. 3 volumes, clothbound. $35.00

The Early Engravings of Flaxman's Classical Designs, by G. E. Bentley, Jr. Illus. 60 pages. December. $1.00

* * *

Literature as a Mode of Travel: Five Essays and a Postscript. With an Introduction by Warner G. Rice. Illustrated. 120 pages. $4.00

Simon Wheeler, Detective. By Mark Twain. First edition, from manuscripts in the Berg Collection. Edited and introduced by Franklin R. Rogers. With 5 collotype illustrations. Clothbound. xxxix, 204 pages. Second Printing. $5.00

A Bibliography of Ship Passenger Lists, 1538–1825; Being a Guide to Published Lists of Early Immigrants to North America. Compiled by Harold Lancour; third edition, revised and enlarged by Richard J. Wolfe, with a List of Passenger Arrival Records in the National Archives by Frank E. Bridgers. Clothbound. 140 pages fully indexed. $5.00

New in the Berg Collection, 1959–1961: An Exhibition. By John D. Gordan. Illustrated, 4 plates. 36 pages. $1.00

Stravinsky and the Dance: A Survey of Ballet Productions, 1910–1962. Edited by Selma Jeanne Cohen, with an Introduction ("Stravinsky and the Muses") by Herbert Read. Profusely illustated. 60 pages. $2.50 (For index, see next volume)

Stravinsky and the Theatre: A Catalogue of Decor and Costume Designs for Stage Productions of his Works, 1910–1962. Profusely illustrated. Index to works, portraits, and artists in this and the preceding volume. 60 pages. $2.00

The Arents Collection of Books in Parts and Associated Literature; A Supplement to the Checklist, 1957–1963. By Perry O'Neil. Illustrated. 36 pages. $1.00
The original checklist of the Collection by Sarah Augusta Dickson (1957; 88 pages; $2.00) is still available from the Library's Public Relations Office.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

President, GILBERT W. CHAPMAN
First Vice-President, ROY E. LARSEN
Second Vice-President, JOHN M. SCHIFF
Secretary, BETHUEL M. WEBSTER
Treasurer, GRANT KEEHN
Assistant Treasurer, UNITED STATES TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK
Director, EDWARD G. FREEHAFER
MRS VINCENT ASTOR
C. WALLER BARRETT
ROSWELL GILPATRIC
MORRIS HADLEY
ARTHUR A. HOUGHTON, JR
DONALD F. HYDE
DEVEREUX C. JOSEPHS
MRS MILLICENT C. McINTOSH
NEWBOLD MORRIS
THOMAS L. PERKINS
ROLAND L. REDMOND
DAVID A. SHEPARD
FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN
NORMAN H. STROUSE
WALTER N. THAYER
MRS ARNOLD WHITRIDGE

THE MAYOR, THE COMPTROLLER, AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, *ex officio*

HONORARY TRUSTEE
ELIHU ROOT, JR

STAFF OFFICERS

DIRECTOR, Edward G. Freehafer
DEPUTY DIRECTOR, John Mackenzie Cory
ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR, James Wood Henderson (Acting)
CONTROLLER, Mrs Angela M. Lyons
EXECUTIVE OFFICER, Bayard Schieffelin
CHIEF OF THE PERSONNEL OFFICE, Mrs Winifred Luthy (Acting)
CHIEF OF THE PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICE, Miss Marion L. Simmons

REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

Central Building, Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street. Annex, 521 West 43rd Street
JAMES WOOD HENDERSON, Chief

EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT, Gilbert A. Cam
AMERICAN HISTORY AND GENEALOGY DIVISION, Gerald D. McDonald, Chief
ANNEX REFERENCE SERVICES, 521 West 43rd Street, Saro John Riccardi, Chief
ARENTS COLLECTIONS, John D. Gordan, Acting Chief
ART AND ARCHITECTURE DIVISION. Karl Kup, Chief
BERG COLLECTION, John D. Gordan, Chief
BOOK DELIVERY DIVISION, David C. Maclay, Chief
DANCE COLLECTION, Miss Genevieve Oswald, Curator
ECONOMICS DIVISION, John Fall, Chief
INFORMATION DIVISION, Archibald P. DeWeese, Chief
JEWISH DIVISION, Abraham Berger, Chief
MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, Robert W. Hill, Keeper of Manuscripts
MAP DIVISION, Gerard L. Alexander, Chief
MUSIC DIVISION, Philip L. Miller, Chief
ORIENTAL DIVISION, John L. Mish, Chief
PERIODICALS DIVISION, Barron M. Franz, Chief
PREPARATION DIVISION, Joseph A. Rosenthal, Chief
PRINTS DIVISION, Karl Kup, Chief
RARE BOOK DIVISION, Lewis M. Stark, Chief
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY DIVISION, George S. Bonn, Chief
SLAVONIC DIVISION, John L. Mish, Chief
SPENCER COLLECTION, Karl Kup, Adviser
THEATRE COLLECTION, George Freedley, Curator

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

Headquarters: Donnell Library Center, 20 West 53rd Street, New York, N. Y. 10019
MRS JEAN ORTH GODFREY, Chief

ASSISTANT CHIEF, Miss Mary Dana
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES, Mrs Julia Brody, Coordinator
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT, Mrs Dorothy Homer
TECHNICAL SERVICES, Mrs Sydney G. Marcu, Coordinator
ADULT SERVICES, Miss Katherine L. O'Brien, Coordinator
CHILDREN'S SERVICES, Mrs Augusta Baker, Coordinator
YOUNG ADULT SERVICES, Miss Margaret Scoggin, Coordinator
MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES & RECORDS CENTER, James Katsaros, Administrator

LIST OF BRANCHES AND LIBRARIANS

MANHATTAN

COORDINATOR, Miss Casindania Eaton

ASSISTANT COORDINATOR, Walter Roziewski

AGUILAR. 174 East 110th Street.
Miss Marie Ferrigno

BLOOMINGDALE REGIONAL. 150 West 100th Street.
Miss Erna Obermeier

CATHEDRAL. 564 Lexington Avenue.
Robert Powers

CENTRAL CHILDREN'S ROOM. Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street.
Miss Maria Cimino

CENTRAL CIRCULATION. Fifth Ave. & 42nd St.
Miss Mary C. Hatch

CHATHAM SQUARE. 33 East Broadway.
Miss Virginia Swift

COLUMBIA. Room 101, Butler Lib., Col. Univ.
John Slade

COLUMBUS. 742 Tenth Avenue.
Miss Eliza Perry

COUNTEE CULLEN REGIONAL. 104 West 136th Street.
Miss Esther Walls

DONNELL LIBRARY CENTER. 20 West 53rd Street.
Miss Sally Helfman

EPIPHANY. 228 East 23rd Street.
Miss Regina Sludock

FIFTY-EIGHTH STREET. 127 East 58th Street.
Raymond Harris

FORT WASHINGTON REGIONAL. 535 West 179th Street.
Mrs Winifred Carruthers

GEORGE BRUCE. 518 West 125th Street.
Howard Rickert

HAMILTON FISH PARK. 415 East Houston St.
Mrs Mary Pieper

HAMILTON GRANGE. 503 West 145th Street.
Mrs Dorothy Pitman

HARLEM LIBRARY. 9 West 124th Street.
Mrs Rosa C. Brown

HUDSON PARK. 10 Seventh Avenue South.
Mrs Alice Vielehr

INWOOD REGIONAL. 4790 Broadway.
Miss Clara Rees

JACKSON SQUARE. 251 West 13th Street.
Miss Ruth Shinnamon

LIBRARY FOR THE BLIND. 166 Avenue of the Americas.
Miss Charlotte C. Harrison

MACOMB'S BRIDGE. 2650 Seventh Avenue.

MUHLENBERG. 209 West 23rd Street.
Miss Alice McQuaid

MUNICIPAL REFERENCE LIBRARY. 2230 Municipal Building.
Eugene Bockman

Public Health Division. 125 Worth Street. Room 224

MUSIC LIBRARY. 127 East 58th Street.
Mrs Catharine K. Miller

NATHAN STRAUS. 20 West 53rd Street.
Miss Elizabeth A. Boyle

NINETY-SIXTH STREET REGIONAL. 112 East 96th Street.
Miss Irene Patjens

115TH STREET. 203 West 115th Street.
Miss Anne Judge

125TH STREET. 224 East 125th Street.
Dale Middleton

OTTENDORFER. 135 Second Avenue.
Miss Mercy Kellogg

PICTURE COLLECTION. Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street.
Miss Romana Javitz

RIVERSIDE. 190 Amsterdam Avenue.
Miss Myrtle Reynolds

ST AGNES REGIONAL. 444 Amsterdam Ave.
Miss Dorothy Cobb

SCHOMBURG COLLECTION. 103 West 135th Street.
Mrs Jean Blackwell Hutson

SEWARD PARK. 192 East Broadway.
Miss Joan Treble

SIXTY-SEVENTH STREET. 328 East
Mrs Margarethe Kortenbeutel Voorhis

TOMPKINS SQUARE REGIONAL. 331 East 10th Street.
Mrs Alice Alexander

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS. 1000 St Nicholas Avenue.
Mrs Regina M. Andrews

WEBSTER. 1465 York Avenue.
Miss Edna Thomson

YORKVILLE. 222 East 79th Street.
Miss Helen Rawstron

THE BRONX

COORDINATOR, Gerald Gold

ASSISTANT COORDINATOR, Miss Mary Barrett

ALLERTON. 2740 Barnes Avenue.
Miss Grace Iijima

BRONX BOOKMOBILES. 321 East 140th Street.
Mrs Mabel Bell

CASTLE HILL. 2220 Cincinnatus Avenue.
Philip Wolcoff

CITY ISLAND. 325 City Island Avenue.
Mrs Stella Webber